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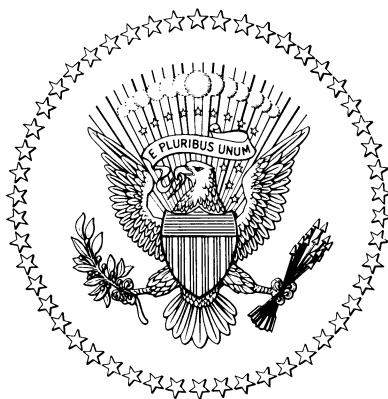
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PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES



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OF THE
UNITED STATES

Ronald Reagan



1987

(IN TWO BOOKS)

BOOK II—JULY 4 TO DECEMBER 31, 1987



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Foreword

In 1987, we witnessed the first major fruits of our policy of peace through strength with the successful conclusion of the INF treaty. This treaty is the first agreement in the nuclear age actually to reduce nuclear arsenals. Some derided the idea of eliminating an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles as a fantasy when I first proposed it in 1981. Yet, in December 1987, General Secretary Gorbachev traveled to the United States, and we signed that treaty in the East Room of the White House in the sight of the world.

At home, 1987 was a year of powerful economic growth as millions of jobs were created, unemployment fell sharply, and productivity reached new heights. While a precipitous drop in the value of the stock market led many to fear that our economic boom was over, our economy proved more than capable of dealing with that event, and as we entered 1988 we were as strong as ever.

Ronald Reagan

Preface

This book contains the papers and speeches of the 40th President of the United States that were issued by the Office of the Press Secretary during the period July 4–December 31, 1987. The material has been compiled and published by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration.

The material is presented in chronological order, and the dates shown in the headings are the dates of the documents or events. In instances when the release date differs from the date of the document itself, that fact is shown in the textnote. Every effort has been made to ensure accuracy: Remarks are checked against a tape recording, and signed documents are checked against the original. Textnotes, footnotes, and cross references have been provided by the editors for purposes of identification or clarity. Speeches were delivered in Washington, DC, unless indicated. The times noted are local times. All materials that are printed full-text in the book have been indexed in the subject and name indexes, and listed in the document categories list.

The Public Papers series was begun in 1957 in response to a recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission. An extensive compilation of messages and papers of the Presidents covering the period 1789 to 1897 was assembled by James D. Richardson and published under congressional authority between 1896 and 1899. Since then, various private compilations have been issued, but there was no uniform publication comparable to the Congressional Record or the United States Supreme Court Reports. Many Presidential papers could be found only in the form of mimeographed White House releases or as reported in the press. The Commission therefore recommended the establishment of an official series in which Presidential writings, addresses, and remarks of a public nature could be made available.

The Commission's recommendation was incorporated in regulations of the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, issued under section 6 of the Federal Register Act (44 U.S.C. 1506), which may be found in title 1, part 10, of the Code of Federal Regulations.

A companion publication to the Public Papers series, the Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents, was begun in 1965 to provide a broader range of Presidential materials on a more timely basis to meet the needs of the contemporary reader. Beginning with the administration of Jimmy Carter, the Public Papers series expanded its coverage to include all material as printed in the Weekly Compilation. That coverage provides a listing of the President's daily schedule and meetings, when announced, and other items of general interest issued by the Office of the Press Secretary. Also included are lists of the President's nominations submitted to the Senate, materials released by the Office of the Press Secretary that are not printed full-text in the book, and acts approved by the President. This information appears in the appendixes at the end of the book.

Volumes covering the administrations of Presidents Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, and Carter are also available.

The Chief Editor of this book was William King Banks, assisted by Clifford W. Colby and E.B. Swidal.

White House liaison was provided by Marlin Fitzwater, Assistant to the President for Press Relations. The frontispiece and photographs used in the portfolio were supplied by the White House Photo Office.

Martha L. Girard
Acting Director of the Federal Register

Don W. Wilson
Archivist of the United States

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Administration of Ronald Reagan

1987

Radio Address to the Nation on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork and the Economic Bill of Rights *July 4, 1987*

My fellow Americans:

Happy Fourth of July! Today we celebrate our country's independence and its freedom. It's a time to enjoy ourselves with friends and family, watch the fireworks, and perhaps to reflect a bit on the meaning of it all.

Certainly freedom is something I had in mind this week when I nominated Judge Robert Bork to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Judge Bork is recognized by his colleagues and peers as a brilliant legal scholar and a fair-minded jurist who believes his role is to interpret the law, not make it. He is also a highly respected teacher, having devoted 15 years as a distinguished professor at one of this nation's most prestigious law schools.

As a member of the United States Court of Appeals, Judge Bork has always heard each case with an open mind, following the law and legal precedent—not his personal preferences. In arriving at a decision, no appellate judge in America has a finer record. Not a single one of his more than 100 majority opinions has ever been reversed by the Supreme Court. To maintain the independence of the judiciary, I hope that we can keep politics out of the confirmation process and promptly schedule hearings. The American people deserve a Supreme Court with nine Justices operating at full strength. This, of course, is serious business because the Court plays such a significant role in the preservation of our way of life and the protection of our liberty.

Yesterday, I hope none of you missed the announcement I made of a new policy initiative which has a lot to do with the principles we commemorate on the Fourth of July. During a ceremony at the Jefferson Memorial here in Washington, we discussed the four basic economic freedoms: the freedom to work, the freedom to enjoy the

fruits of one's labor, the freedom to own and control one's property, and the freedom to participate in a free market. Then, in the shadow of the statue of Thomas Jefferson, I presented a package of fundamental economic reforms designed to protect those freedoms: the equivalent of an economic bill of rights. We don't have time now to go into all the proposals, but I'd like to tell you about a few of the important ones.

The centerpiece is something aimed at one of our toughest domestic challenges—deficit spending. It's about time we constitutionally mandate the Federal Government to do what every American family must do, and that is balance its budget. That doesn't mean taking more out of your pocket by raising taxes. In fact, our Economic Bill of Rights suggests a balanced budget amendment should contain a provision requiring more than a mere majority vote in Congress—which is all it takes now—to raise your taxes.

Our reform also calls for full disclosure of the vital details of pending legislation. The people, as well as State and local government, have the right to know precisely how much fulfilling the will of Congress is going to cost them. Similarly, we deserve "truth in spending" from Congress. Any new legislation which calls for increased spending should indicate where the money is coming from.

And part of any reform must be reestablishing certain checks and balances set down in the Constitution by our Founding Fathers. As of late, for example, the Presidential veto, a powerful force for responsible government, has been all but emasculated by changes in the way Congress does business. It's imperative we reestablish this Presidential authority by granting to the

Chief Executive of the United States the tool now used by the chief executives of 43 States in keeping spending under control. I'm talking about a line-item veto, which lets the President cut out the fat, but keep the meat of all legislation that gets to his desk.

We the people, deserve to know that our jobs, paychecks, homes, and pensions are safe from the taxers and regulators of big government. Jefferson warned us of this threat 200 years ago. Our Economic Bill of Rights is designed to protect the economic freedom of all Americans and to keep our country growing and prospering.

I hope you've heard the most recent figures which indicate that unemployment

continues its steady decline—we're down to 6 percent—that prices are steady, and that the economy continues to grow. We've come a long way in the last 6½ years. The economic bill of rights, the package of basic reforms I proposed yesterday, will protect the progress we've made and keep our country moving forward. On this Fourth of July let us reaffirm that together, living in freedom, there's nothing we Americans can't do.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of Kiwanis International July 6, 1987

It's wonderful to be with the Kiwanis again. Coming here, I was thinking back to the last time I addressed this gathering in person, and that was more than 20 years ago, back in 1964. So, let's promise each other something: that in the future we won't be such strangers. [Applause] A lot has changed in the last two decades. I remember the first time I was introduced to the Kiwanis, I was described as an "actor" and "spokesman for American business." Of course, that's how a lot of people still think of me. [Laughter] But I've never felt far from the Kiwanis. Since that day in 1964, I've watched Kiwanis International grow to include 315,000 members in 71 countries, bringing the Kiwanis ideal of service and charity to over 8,200 communities. Now, that's one kind of inflation I'm all for.

I've watched as your organization led the Nation in the fight against drugs back in 1969—even as others talked of tolerance and experimentation—and you've been a leader in that fight ever since. With your help, America is winning. We're getting the message across that drugs are an evil, pure and simple, and we're convincing our children to say that magic word when it comes to drugs, to just say no. I can't help but

insert something here. I don't know whether you know where that phrase came from about "Just say no." Nancy was speaking to some schoolchildren in Oakland, California, and a little girl asked a question about what do you do if someone offers drugs? Nancy said, "Just say no." And today there are over 12,000 Just Say No Clubs in schools across the United States.

But from the innumerable acts of personal caring and charity the Kiwanis perform to the clubs you sponsor in our nation's schools to instill the spirit of voluntarism in our youth, Kiwanis exemplifies the American tradition of neighbor helping neighbor. And then, of course, there are the Kiwanis public service billboards that line highways across the country. If you'll forgive this old actor, I just have to tell you it feels good to once again see my name up in lights. [Laughter]

And by the way, speaking of the spirit of voluntarism and your great generosity reminds me of a story about a friend from my show business days who couldn't have been more the opposite, the famously stingy Jack Benny. Jack was having lunch with another famous entertainer of the time, Edgar Bergen. In those days, Edgar Bergen and

his dummy, Charlie McCarthy, were the biggest things on radio. Well, there was a group of show business types there, and after lunch when the check arrived, Benny picked it up, even though by that time his cheapness had become legend. Someone turned to him and said, "Jack, I'm surprised you asked for the check." Benny said, "So was I." [Laughter] "And it's absolutely the last time I'll ever have lunch with a ventriloquist." [Laughter] Well, after telling that, though, I have to make it plain that that was all part of the act. Jack wasn't really that way; indeed, he was the soul of generosity and kindness. The other was just part of the public performance, his act.

The great generosity of the Kiwanis is what's become legend. The services you perform reach beyond the direct beneficiaries to embrace all of America in a community of caring. You represent America's heart—good, strong, knowing. You give generously, and you give well, often putting comparable government programs to shame. You know the difference between private charity and public programs, that with personal giving there are two winners: the person who gives as well as the person who receives—and very often it's the giver who receives the most precious gift. Personal, private charity humanizes society. It makes us more aware of each other, of our hopes and needs, of our sorrows and joys. It makes us all more compassionate. The Kiwanians have demonstrated this compassion and caring over and over again in thousands of communities, and for that reason I'm today proud to announce that you have been selected to receive my Private Sector Initiative Citation award for all that you've done to fight school-age drug abuse. Nancy and I congratulate you all on a job well done.

And because you exemplify what is best about our private life, I want to talk to you today about what we must do to protect that way of life. I want to enlist your support in the campaign I began on July 3d on the steps of the Jefferson Memorial. There I called on America to complete the work of the author of the Declaration of Independence with an Economic Bill of Rights that will restore to Americans the freedoms our Founding Fathers assumed we would

always have and protect us and future generations from the encroachments of big government in our lives. Make no mistake, we face a clear and present danger in Congress. The momentum of big government, which we've managed to hold back these last few years, has only been gathering steam, getting ready to burst through all the restraints that we've imposed upon it.

Let me give you just a few examples. First, the so-called budget process—an article in the Washington Post recently described a part of that process. The article was entitled "A Member's Menu for Airport Pork," and it described how one of the members of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee circulated a "fill in the blanks" form among the members, asking them to sign up for their favorite pork-barrel project. According to the Post, few could resist grabbing—and I quote—"a piece of the action."

Piece of the action? That sounds more like a movie review of "The Untouchables." [Laughter] A piece of the action—like the UDAG program that will spend millions of your tax dollars to build luxury hotels, restaurants, and condominiums; or the so-called demonstration projects in the highway bill that don't demonstrate anything but the ability of some in Congress to bring home the bacon. A piece of the action—sometimes the waste is absurd, like the 1,000 acres of underwater property the Federal Government is planning on buying. The shameful secret of the farm programs is that one of the biggest recipients of agricultural subsidies in America isn't even an American. He's the Prince of Liechtenstein, and he happens to own a few hundred thousand acres in Texas.

It seems that everybody is getting a piece of the action, and that's why when the House-Senate conference committee agreed on a budget recently it included \$41 billion in increased domestic spending with essential defense programs held captive to a \$64 billion tax hike. It's always the American people who are expected to foot the bill with higher taxes. Now, I promise this: From now till the day I leave office, I won't hesitate for one moment to use my veto power. And if a tax hike makes it to my

desk, I'll veto it in less time than it takes Vanna White to turn the letters V-E-T-O. [Laughter]

But what happens in the years ahead? Can we always count on the occupant of the Oval Office to stand fast against this tide? Will the next President hold the line against tax hikes and big spending? And even if he's determined, the fact is, the Presidential veto power has been seriously weakened in the last 15 years. The checks and balances our Founding Fathers designed into our Constitution have been put awry by a Congress unwilling to give up its spendthrift ways.

Later in life, when Jefferson examined our Constitution, he found one glaring omission: a failure to include an article in the Constitution that would prohibit government borrowing, what we've come to call deficit financing. His concern ran deeper than his well-founded fears of profligate government. From history and experience, he knew that it was in the economic realm that the oppression of government was most often keenly felt. He knew that a government with no limit on borrowing was a government with no limit on its power over the individual, that this power to borrow was like a wedge that could be driven between the individual and his God-given rights of freedom and property.

When I signed the tax reform bill, I said that these last decades had seen an expansion and strengthening of our civil liberties, but that our economic rights have been too often neglected, even abused. Well, it's time that abuse stopped. And that's why we're calling for an Economic Bill of Rights that will complement and strengthen Jefferson's political Bill of Rights. So, Congress: Sit up and take notice. The people are entitled to the fruits of their labor and shall not be burdened by excessive taxation. Therefore, more than a mere majority of the Congress will be required to raise taxes under our plan.

Let me just say something here. On one of the talk shows over the weekend, I heard someone complaining that to ask for more than a 50 percent plus one vote to raise taxes was somehow pulled out of the blue and unusual and didn't make sense. Well, it's not that unusual. Why should 50 percent

of the Representatives plus one be able to pass something as important as more money out of your pockets, while there were 50 percent less one who didn't want that to happen? And it isn't that unusual. When I was Governor of California, it took two-thirds of the legislature to approve the budget. And in voting bond issues, which is government borrowing, it took 60 percent of the vote, not 50 percent plus one. We're a federation of sovereign States, and sometimes I think the Federal Government should take more of a close look at how well some of the States are doing and improve itself accordingly.

But what we intend is that the future of succeeding generations shall not be mortgaged to the national debt through deficit spending. The Congress shall be required under our plan to balance the budget each and every year. Now, I grant you that can't happen in a single year. To those who say, "Well, why don't you present a budget?"—no, when for 50 years or more, we have been deficit spending and building that debt. The deficit is to the point that it cannot be undone in 1 year without causing great hardship to a number of people in the country. So, we have to set a pattern, as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill did, of each year reducing that deficit to a designated date, at which point then the budget must, by Constitution, remain balanced.

Special interest legislation shall not be hidden from the people. The President shall have the right to veto individual appropriations. In other words, the President shall have the line-item veto.

Truth in Federal spending—Congress shall specify how every single new program is to be paid for.

The people are entitled to pursue their own livelihood, free from excessive regulation and tax-subsidized competition. And I will appoint a Presidential commission to spearhead efforts to privatize public-owned enterprises.

The burden of government shall not be hidden from view. The Congress shall require that a financial impact statement accompany each bill, specifying the effect on economic growth, employment, and competition overseas.

Educational development, creativity, and initiative will be fostered by diversity in our educational system.

Welfare programs must not harm the structure of family and community. Through the use of incentives, the Congress will seek to lift the least fortunate to independence and full participation in American life and economy.

Free and fair trade will be encouraged. The Congress shall pass no measure that slows growth, shrinks markets, or destroys jobs by erecting high tariffs or other trade barriers.

And we shall take seriously the 5th and 14th amendment guarantees to "life, liberty, and property." Whenever government expropriates the use or value of private property, whether outright or through government regulations, owners will be justly compensated.

When I spoke before the Kiwanis those 23 years ago, I said we had come to a time for choosing. The choice was between freedom and increasing state control. "It is time," I said, "that we ask ourselves if we still know the freedoms that were intended

for us by the Founding Fathers and if we will pass on to these young people the freedoms we knew in our youth, because freedom is never more than one generation away from extinction. It has to be fought for and defended by each generation."

This is the recurrent challenge, the one from which we cannot shrink. Today we have the chance to write into the structure of the law guarantees of our so-much-abused economic freedoms, to ensure that this generation and the next will enjoy the fruits of their labor, will continue to live in a land of hope and opportunity where big government no longer blocks the doors to progress. We can proclaim this truth to be self-evident, that the American dream is our sacred birthright, that in this time for choosing, with one voice, we proudly choose freedom.

Thank you all very much. God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 11:06 a.m. in Hall A at the Washington Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Vanna White, hostess of the television game show "Wheel of Fortune."

Statement on Proposed International Agricultural Trade Reform July 6, 1987

Last month in Venice, I joined with the leaders of the other six industrialized democracies in calling for a major reform in world agricultural trade. All of us recognized that only by working together could we solve the problems in agriculture facing each of our countries. Today in Geneva, U.S. negotiators from the Department of Agriculture and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative will present the most ambitious proposal for world agricultural trade reform ever offered. The United States will call for a total phaseout of all policies that distort trade in agriculture by the year 2000.

It has become clear that ultimately no one benefits from the current agriculture policies employed around the world—not

farmers, not consumers, and not taxpayers. It is equally clear no nation can unilaterally abandon current policies without being devastated by the policies of other countries. The only hope is for a major international agreement that commits everyone to the same actions and timetable. The heart of our proposal is the elimination, over a 10-year period, of all export subsidies, all barriers to each other's markets (including tariffs and quotas), and all domestic subsidies that affect trade. Farm policies that provide payments to farmers and do not affect pricing or production decisions would not be required to be eliminated. Finally, our proposal calls for instituting uniform food health regulations around the world to prevent nontariff barriers to agricultural trade.

I fully recognize that this proposal is ambitious, that the negotiations will not be easy, and that any agreement will not be painless. But if we are successful, agriculture around the world, once out from under the yoke of government policies, will flour-

ish, benefiting farmers and consumers in all nations. Today, I renew my commitment, as I did along with all our trading partners in Venice, to achieve the goal of free agriculture markets around the world by the year 2000.

Nomination of Kathleen A. Buck To Be General Counsel of the Department of Defense

July 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kathleen A. Buck to be General Counsel of the United States Department of Defense. She would succeed H. Lawrence Garrett III.

Since 1986 Ms. Buck has been General Counsel for the U.S. Department of the Air Force. Prior to this she was Assistant General Counsel for the U.S. Department of Defense (1981-1986). From 1977 to 1981, Ms.

Buck was counsel and assistant director of government relations for Esmark, Inc., in Washington, DC.

Ms. Buck graduated from St. Mary's College (B.A., 1970) and Indiana University (J.D., 1973). She was born November 14, 1948, in South Bend, IN. Ms. Buck is married, has two children, and resides in Great Falls, VA.

Appointment of Tom Loeffler as the Principal Coordinator for Central America in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs

July 7, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Tom Loeffler, of Texas, as Principal Coordinator for Central America in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs. This is a new position. Mr. Loeffler will serve as a coordinator for legislative activities in support of administration initiatives regarding Central America. He will be responsible for ensuring close coordination of those individuals involved in this area from the White House staff, the NSC staff, the Office of Management and Budget, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and other agencies. He will serve in this capacity until such time as relevant legislative actions have been completed for this session of Congress.

Since January 1987 Mr. Loeffler has been a partner in the law firm of McCamish, Ingram, Martin and Brown, based in San

Antonio, with offices in Austin and Washington. He served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1979 to 1986 and left Congress to seek the Republican nomination for Governor of Texas. While in the House, Mr. Loeffler served on the appropriations and budget committees, and as chief deputy whip, a ranking position in the House Republican leadership. Prior to his election to the House, Mr. Loeffler was Special Assistant for Legislative Affairs to President Gerald Ford. He also served as chief legislative counsel to former Senator John Tower.

Mr. Loeffler graduated from the University of Texas at Austin (B.B.A., 1968; J.D., 1971). He was born August 1, 1946. Mr. Loeffler has three children and resides in Austin, TX.

**Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on the Meeting of the President's Blue Ribbon
Commission on Defense Management**

July 7, 1987

The President announced today that former members of the Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management, chaired by David Packard, will meet in Washington on July 8-9.

When the Commission submitted its final report last year, the President asked Mr. Packard to return later for an update on implementation of the Commission's recommendations. Meeting informally, Mr. Packard and the former Commissioners will receive briefings from the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Organization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Office of Management and Budget, representatives of indus-

try and others, concerning the changes in defense management and organization now underway.

The Commission's charter ran from June 1985 to July 1986. Its recommendations, initially contained in an interim report, were endorsed by the President in April 1986. The Commission issued its final report in June 1986. The Commission presented recommendations on national security planning and budgeting, military organization and command, acquisition organization and procedures, and government-industry accountability.

**Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on the Proposed Private Sector Taxpayer's Commission**

July 7, 1987

The President met today with J. Peter Grace, chairman of W.R. Grace Co. and founder of the Grace commission, and pledged his support for Grace's intention to establish a new private sector coalition—a taxpayer's commission—united against wasteful Federal spending. The President stated that reducing wasteful spending remains an important weapon in the administration's deficit reduction arsenal.

The administration remains committed to the goal as stated in the Economic Bill of Rights, to eliminate Federal competition with the private sector for functions that can be better provided outside of government and at less cost. The new commission is an indication of private sector support for

the President's continuing efforts for a smaller, less intrusive, and more efficient Federal Government.

Through the President's management improvement program, Reform '88, as well as the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency (PCIE), this administration's management reform initiatives have begun to focus on Federal Government management eliminating waste and inefficient practices and freeing resources to be used for more productive purposes. The taxpayer's commission is expected to draw upon the experience of the original Grace commission—a privately funded organization which in 1984 recommended 2,478 suggestions for increased government efficiency.

Nomination of Theresa Anne Tull To Be United States Ambassador to Guyana

July 8, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Theresa Anne Tull, of New Jersey, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador to the Co-Operative Republic of Guyana. She would succeed Clint Arlen Lauderdale.

Miss Tull began her career in 1953 as a secretary and worked in that capacity until 1963 with the following: Rose & Epstein, Esqs., Camden, NJ; Campbell Soup Co., Camden; Raymond Siris, Esq., Camden; Alex M. Malamut, realtor, Camden; and Vincent B. Kling, architect, Philadelphia, PA. She was also a teacher with the diocese of Camden in 1956. Miss Tull joined the Foreign Service in 1963 and served as an adjudicator in the Passport Office in Chicago, IL, as her first assignment in 1964 and also took French language training that year. She was assigned as a junior officer to the U.S. Embassy in Brussels, Belgium, 1965-1967, and thereafter returned to the Department of State for Vietnamese language training. From 1968 to 1970, Miss Tull served as a political officer at the U.S.

Embassy in Saigon, Vietnam. She then served as an international relations officer on the Vietnam working group in the Department of State until 1972, when she was detailed to the University of Michigan. From 1973 to 1975, Miss Tull was deputy principal officer at the U.S. Consulate General in Danang, Vietnam. Thereafter, she was deputy division chief, Southeast Asia, Bureau of Intelligence and Research until 1977, when she was assigned as Principal Officer in Cebu, Philippines. Miss Tull attended the National War College, 1979-1980. She was assigned as office director in the Office of Human Rights, Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, 1980-1983, and served concurrently as Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary, 1981-1982. Miss Tull was assigned Chargé d'Affaires ad interim in Vientiane, Laos, 1983-1986. She has just completed the senior seminar at the Foreign Service Institute.

Miss Tull graduated from the University of Maryland (B.A., 1972) and the University of Michigan (M.A., 1973). She is fluent in French and Vietnamese. Miss Tull was born October 2, 1936, in Runnemede, NJ.

Appointment of Stephen J. Ledogar as United States Representative to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations, and Nomination for the Rank of Ambassador

July 8, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Stephen J. Ledogar, of Connecticut, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Representative of the United States of America for Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations (MBFR). He would succeed Robert Dean Blackwill. Mr. Ledogar is presently the United States Representative to the European Conventional Arms Negotiations, a secretarial appoint-

ment, and will continue in this capacity and serve concurrently and without additional compensation as the Representative of the U.S.A. to MBFR. The President also announced his intention to nominate Mr. Ledogar for the rank of Ambassador during the tenure of his service in both positions.

Before joining the Foreign Service in 1959, Mr. Ledogar was a surety claims attorney for Chubb & Son in New York City. He was assigned as a consular officer at the

U.S. Consulate in Montreal, Canada, 1960–1962, followed by administrative officer at the U.S. Consulate in Milan, Italy, 1962–1964. Mr. Ledogar then became the AID provincial representative in Vietnam from 1965 to 1967, and moved as the Department of State representative, Pentagon National Military Command Center in 1967. Thereafter he was named officer in charge of pacification programs, Vietnam working group in the East Asian Bureau of the Department of State. He served there until 1969, when he went to Paris, France, as press spokesman and member of the U.S. delegation to the Paris Vietnam peace talks. From 1972 to 1973, he took senior training at Stanford University in Palo Alto, CA. From 1973 to 1976, Mr. Ledogar was deputy political advisor at our Mission to

NATO in Brussels, Belgium, and returned to the State Department, 1976–1977, as special assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance Programs. He became director of the Office of NATO Affairs in the Bureau of European Affairs, 1977–1980, and then for a year was a member of the executive seminar in national and international affairs. Since 1981 Mr. Ledogar has been deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Mission to NATO in Brussels.

Mr. Ledogar graduated from Fordham University (B.S., 1954; LL.B., 1958). He served in the United States Navy, 1949–1952, and the Navy Reserve, 1954–1960. Mr. Ledogar was born September 14, 1929, in New York, NY. He is articulate in Italian, French, and Vietnamese. Mr. Ledogar is married and has two children.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Federal Republic of Germany-United States Social Security Agreement *July 8, 1987*

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to Section 233(e)(1) of the Social Security Act, as amended by the Social Security Amendments of 1977 (P.L. 95–216, 42 U.S.C. 433(e)(1)), I transmit herewith the Supplementary Agreement between the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) on Social Security, signed at Washington on October 2, 1986. The Supplementary Agreement consists of two separate instruments, one amending the basic social security agreement and the other amending its related administrative agreement.

The U.S.-FRG social security agreement is similar in objective to the social security agreements in force with Belgium, Canada, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Such bilateral agreements, generally known as totalization agreements, provide for limited coordination between the United States and foreign social security systems to overcome the problems of gaps in protection and of dual coverage and taxation for workers who

move from one country to the other. The present Supplementary Agreement would amend the original agreement with the Federal Republic of Germany and its related administrative agreement to update and simplify several of their provisions to take account of changes in U.S. and German law and to simplify the method of computing U.S. benefit amounts.

I also transmit for the information of the Congress a comprehensive report prepared by the Department of Health and Human Services, which explains the provisions of the Supplementary Agreement and the effect on Social Security financing as required by the same provision of the Social Security Act.

The Department of State and the Department of Health and Human Services join with me in commending the U.S.-FRG Supplementary Social Security agreement and related documents.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
July 8, 1987.

Proclamation 5676—Northwest Ordinance Bicentennial Day, 1987 July 8, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

On July 13, we celebrate the Bicentennial of the Northwest Ordinance, considered one of the foundation documents of our Nation because it became a model for the Constitution and the Bill of Rights and because of its significance for the expansion of the Union.

The Confederation Congress adopted the Northwest Ordinance at the same time the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia was drafting the new United States Constitution. The Ordinance embodied the highest ideals of a free people; its principles of civil liberty and its blueprint for national expansion so impressed the delegates to the Constitutional Convention that it became an important influence on the Constitution they were writing.

The Ordinance's arrangement for expansion included opening settlement of the area known as the Northwest Territory, providing civil government, and ensuring settlers the protection of Common Law under territorial government until permanent State governments could be created. States formed from the Territory—present-day Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota—would be organized and admitted into the Union "on an equal footing with the original States, in all respects whatsoever."

The Northwest Ordinance was vitally important for individual and civil rights in the United States. It forbade slavery in the Territory and guaranteed all citizens equality before the law. The Ordinance provided complete freedom of religion, the writ of habeas corpus, trial by jury, proportionate

representation in the legislature, reasonable bail, no cruel or unusual punishment, and no deprivation of liberty or property but by the judgment of peers. The Ordinance also required full compensation for property or services taken for the common preservation and, in the just preservation of rights and property, forbade interference with bona fide private contracts and engagements.

Finally, the Northwest Ordinance recognized that religion, morality, and knowledge are all necessary elements for good government. It proclaimed that schools and the means of education would forever be encouraged to ensure the establishment of good government throughout the Territory.

In recognition of the importance of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, the Congress, by House Joint Resolution 181, has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe the Bicentennial of the enactment of this law.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim July 13, 1987, as Northwest Ordinance Bicentennial Day. I urge the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities and to reflect on the role of the Northwest Ordinance in the Constitution whose Bicentennial we mark this year.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:04 p.m., July 8, 1987]

Remarks to Community Leaders in New Britain, Connecticut July 8, 1987

Before lunch today, I had a talk with Congresswoman Johnson and Mayor McNamara and 11 other distinguished citizens of New Britain. And I know that some were Republicans and some were Democrats, and they represented many occupations and backgrounds. And we had a good discussion, and I got to straighten out some things that I thought might be not straightened out in some people's minds. I don't know whether we agreed on everything—everyone was very polite—but I think we do agree on the principles of economic freedom that all of us cherish.

And while we were there, I couldn't help being reminded of a story. A lot of things remind me of stories these days. [Laughter] I'm a collector of stories—I really am—that I can verify are told by the Soviet citizens among themselves. They reveal that they have a sense of humor, but also that they have a certain kind of cynical outlook on their system there. And these stories give you an idea on what they're thinking. And this one's just very brief. It's about two Soviets who were talking to each other. And one of them asked, "What's the difference between the Soviet Constitution and the United States Constitution?" And the other one said, "That's easy. The Soviet Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and freedom of gathering. The American Constitution guarantees freedom after speech and freedom after gathering." [Laughter]

We had a lively discussion there, though, as the mayor can attest. And today on the city steps, I'll be asking New Britain to join a great national discussion, the kind that our founders launched 200 years ago when they drafted our Constitution and submitted it to the people for ratification, the kind that the 14 of us were having a few minutes ago. If we didn't agree on everything, well, neither did the generation that gave us the Constitution.

But I'm here today because I believe that the outcome of this discussion will determine the strength and health of our nation and what it stands for in the decades to

come. I'll be talking out there about what I hope will be among the most important legacies of my Presidency: the Economic Bill of Rights. Now, you've heard a lot about this from our critics. On one hand they say it's a ploy, something I've cooked up to distract attention from whatever—I don't know, but—[laughter]. On the other hand, they say little that's new here, which I guess means it's made up of things that I believed in and fought to achieve for years, and now I'm working to make certain that America doesn't lose all that we've done.

Well, it can be one or the other, not both, and I'll plead guilty to the second charge. I went to Washington to do a job: lower taxes, restore our defenses, cut the size and intrusiveness of government, tune up the carburetor and step on the gas of the greatest engine against poverty and for opportunity in the history of man—the free enterprise system of the United States of America. We've achieved a great deal of that. We still have a government that spends too much and a deficit that's too large. As long as we have those, we can't be sure that the growth that we've enjoyed these last 4½ years will continue.

Today I'll talk about the way that things were before I came into office and the way they are now and about the role of economic freedom and the opportunities that America offers all peoples. But I thought I'd make one especially important point to you; it's about poverty. Between 1979 and 1980, in the years before we were elected, the breakdown of our economy hit the poor the hardest. The poverty rates soared, growing at the fastest rate even as 3 million people were pushed into poverty in that brief time. With our recovery, that rise has been stopped and poverty has dropped at the fastest pace in 15 years. Although today New Britain's unemployment rate is 3.9 percent, which is very much lower than the national average, I know many families here were hurt by those economic dislocations. So, a lot's at stake in what I'll be talking about today.

Let me close by telling you a little story. It dates back to when I was running 7 years ago. I told it once then on TV. If anyone should remember it, just please pretend you didn't hear it. [Laughter] It comes from a newspaper report about a fifth-grade girl out in Indiana. She wanted to buy a pair of roller skates. In the great American tradition, she saved her allowance until she had the money to get them. But, as she told the reporter, "When I went back to the store, the price had gone up. I saved more money, but when I got back again, the price had gone up again." And then she said, "It's just not fair." Well, it wasn't. We all remember that. I remember a friend of mine went to the supermarket and was buying lettuce, and when he heard the price, he said, "It would have been cheaper to eat money." [Laughter]

Well today, 7 years later, things are much fairer for all Americans. We've polished up the American dream, and now it shines as never before, a great star of hope once again for all the world. We did it by freeing Americans of the burdens of too much taxation and regulation and of the threat of inflation. And, yes, we did it also by respecting our country's most deeply held and cherished traditional values.

I know you have a big memorial out in the park. Over the two centuries, generations of Americans have fought, and many have died, to protect America's freedom,

America's values, and America's promise. Well, it's the least we in our time can do to make sure that all our nation has achieved in these last several years to protect America's dream and promise—see that it is for generations to come.

I'm going to do it. I shouldn't anyway, but I'm going to tell another story. I know yours is an industrial community, and you're out there and competing in the world. To show you again what some of the Soviets think of their system, this story has to do with the fact that in the Soviet Union to buy an automobile you have a 10-year waiting period. And when you start out to buy it, you go through a number of departments and sign papers and so forth, and then you have to put down the money first. And then the fellow says to you, "Come back in 10 years and get your car." And this happened to one Russian. And their story is that as he started to leave and they said, "Come back in 10 years," he said, "Morning or afternoon?" [Laughter] And the fellow said, "Ten years from now, what difference does it make?" "Well," he said, "the plumber is coming in the morning." [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 12:44 p.m. at Elks Lodge No. 957 to members of the Community Action Council and the Chamber of Commerce. In his opening remarks, he referred to Representative Nancy L. Johnson and Mayor William McNamara.

Remarks to Citizens in New Britain, Connecticut July 8, 1987

The President. Thank you. Thank you all. And a special thanks for that great music to the 102d Army National Guard band. You know, seeing the band, I can't help saying that one of the great things about being President is visiting our young men and women in uniform around the world. They're keeping the peace, protecting freedom, and in the last few years they've even freed one small nation, Grenada, from Communist oppression. They're the best, and we're darn proud of them. And let me

also say thanks to your Mayor, William McNamara, to Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, and to one of Congress' best—you're lucky to have her—Nancy Johnson.

Now, in times past, I've had a few words to say about some of the folks in Congress—just a few of them. But let me say at the start, I'm not talking about people like Nancy Johnson. There's a story about the kind of lawmaker I'm talking about—just the opposite of Nancy. As you may have

heard, I love to tell stories. This Congressman's wife was sitting outside his office one day when someone from home went in, wanted the Congressman to vote for a certain bill and gave his reasons. The Congressman sat back, listened, and when the fellow was done, he said to him, "You're right. You're right. You're absolutely right." And the fellow left happy. A few minutes later, someone else from back home went in to talk about the same bill, but wanted to vote against it. And again, the Congressman listened, and then when the fellow was done, he leaned back and said, "You're right. You're right. You're absolutely right." So when the fellow left, the Congressman's wife went in, and she said, "That first man wanted you to vote for the bill, and you said he was right. And the second wanted you to vote against it, and you said he was right." The Congressman leaned back and said, "You're right. You're right. You're absolutely right." [Laughter]

Well, Nancy's not like that. You know where she stands. And not long ago I said I was going to go around the country talking about an economic bill of rights, because we in America have come to a time for choosing what kind of a future we'll have. Somebody asked why, of all the cities in the country, I'm starting here in New Britain. Well, it's just that New Britain is the place to be. And when it comes to hard work, to a spirit of enterprise, and to patriotism and love of freedom, to the strength that comes from faith and family, when it comes to the depth of character that builds a family, a community, and our nation, you can't be in any better place than right here in New Britain.

For the last 7 years, New Britain's story has been America's story. You remember 7 years ago. Inflation was sprinting so fast that just about every time you shopped for groceries or stopped for gas, prices had gone up. And whenever the family made a little extra to keep up with the rising cost of living, Washington took extra in taxes, and you ended up with less. Mortgage rates had climbed so high that young couples had to forget the American dream of owning their own homes. Between high taxes and high interest rates, it was becoming harder to pursue that other dream so many Ameri-

cans have—the dream of starting your own business. Jobs here were becoming more and more scarce, and what with inflation and a stagnating economy, it was hard to think of anyone who could keep up.

Well, we, the American people, made a choice back in 1980. We decided not to continue the policies of government growing bigger and bigger without end. We decided that high taxes and government that had gotten too big were the source of our economic mess. We decided to teach Washington a simple lesson: that government must work for America and not the other way around. So, joining together, we cut tax rates—twice. We cut job-strangling regulations. We cut the growth of government spending. And we said the secret to restoring America's greatness was where that greatness had come from in the first place: in the churches and synagogues, in the neighborhoods, in the homes, and in the dreams of every American. It's not government, it's the American people who have made America great.

By the way, one of the things I like about New Britain is that you've gone ahead with things Washington still hasn't got the hang of—like enterprise zones. When Congress blocked our enterprise zones proposal, Connecticut and New Britain got started on their own. And we're standing in the enterprise zone right now. Today, between 5 and 10 percent of all the jobs in New Britain are here thanks in part to the enterprise zone. I think Congress could learn a thing or two from New Britain.

But you know the results of what we have been able to do. Inflation and interest rates are down; growth is up. Families can buy more with what they earn. Across America and here in New Britain, entrepreneurs are starting new businesses and creating new jobs in record numbers, while major, established companies like Stanley Works now beat foreign competition at home and are expanding exports as well. New homes are springing up like daisies. By Thanksgiving, our economic expansion in American history—well, it'll be the longest economic peacetime expansion in that American history. Because of it, the unemployment figures out last week were the

best in this decade. You can walk through neighborhoods all over America and find that more people have held jobs this year than ever before in our history.

Yes, a bigger proportion of Americans have been at work this year than ever before in the history of the United States of America, and I'm determined to keep it that way. I had to learn—I don't know whether you know that the potential employment pool of America is considered to be everybody, male and female, above the age of 16. And today over 61 percent of that total group have jobs.

Now before I go any further, I'd like to ask you a few questions. I'd like to know how you feel about this, so after each question, why, you just shout back yes or no, and make it so loud they can hear you all the way to Washington. [Laughter] Do you want to go back to the days of inflation and stagnation?

Audience. No!

The President. Do you want to go back to the old formula of more taxing and more spending?

Audience. No!

The President. Or do you want to keep taxes low and balance the budget once and for all?

Audience. Yes!

The President. In other words, do you want to go on to a future of more growth, more jobs, and more opportunity?

Audience. Yes!

The President. You know, I sort of thought those might be your answers. Well, that's why I'm here today. In my TV address 3 weeks ago, I told you we've come to breakpoint, a time for choosing. And that's why last week I proposed an Economic Bill of Rights to protect economic growth and opportunity for you, your family, and all the American people.

Now this choice is not about ideology, not about left or right, but about backward or forward—back to the nightmare of inflation, stagnation, higher taxes, and unrestrained government spending, or forward on the road that has brought so much bright hope and opportunity to America these last 4½ years.

Like the first Bill of Rights almost 200 years ago, the Economic Bill of Rights is

built on our belief that America means freedom. Our political freedoms—press, speech, worship—are all guaranteed in our first Bill of Rights, which also protects some, though not all, economic freedoms. As people in Communist countries around the world have found, political freedom and economic freedom go hand in hand. Lose economic freedom, and soon we'll lose political freedom, too. And when economic freedoms fade, so do opportunity, prosperity, and hope.

The Economic Bill of Rights will guarantee four basic economic freedoms. First, the freedom to work: to work in the way you choose and where you choose. Recently a scholar of our country, who happens to speak fluent Russian, was going on a visit to Russia. He was in a cab going to the airport—this is a true story—and the cab driver was quite young. And in a conversation with him that developed, he was still going to school, cab driving on the side, and so the scholar said to him, "Well, what do you want to do when you finish your education?" And the young fellow said, "I haven't decided yet." Well, by coincidence, when he got off the plane in Moscow and got in a cab, he had another young fellow driving. Being able to speak Russian, he asked him what he was going to do, and the young fellow said, "They haven't told me yet." [Laughter] There's the difference in what we're talking about between two systems. As people in Communist countries said, they found that political freedom and economic freedom go hand in hand. Lose one, and you'll lose the other. And when economic freedoms fade, so do opportunity, prosperity, and hope.

The Economic Bill of Rights will guarantee four basic economic freedoms. As I said, the freedom to work where you choose. Second, the freedom to enjoy the fruits of your labor: what Americans make by honest effort, whether profits from a business or the money in a paycheck, government should not take away. And then the freedom to own and control property: to trade or exchange it and not to have it taken through threat or coercion. And finally, the freedom to participate in a free market: to contract freely for goods and services, and

to achieve one's full potential without government limits on opportunity, economic independence, and growth.

Just as our political freedoms need protection by and from the Government, our economic freedoms need the same recognition and protection. And this is not a distant or abstract matter. Your right to these freedoms is at the heart of the battles over taxes and government spending that are going on right now in Washington. The big spenders think they're in the driver's seat again in Washington. After our years of progress, they want to shift America into reverse. Well, I believe it's time, once and for all, to show them that, in the United States of America, it's the American people who are really at the wheel, and that's what the Economic Bill of Rights is all about.

The field of battle is the Federal deficit. And let me clear something up. You've heard leaders on Capitol Hill shout and point fingers and say that I'm responsible for the big deficits. They're the same ones who, year after year, have shouted dead on arrival when I've sent up budgets that cut the excessive spending they love. I haven't been given a budget since I came to Washington as President. Then they've said that defense spending is the only place cuts are possible. So in the 3 years before Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, they cut billions from our defense requests and then turned around and added more than three times as much as they had cut from defense to the domestic spending.

Anyone—

[At this point, the President was interrupted by hecklers in the audience.]

Is there an echo in here?

Anyone who tells you that we can't reduce the deficit without raising taxes and cutting defense is not telling you the truth. Last year, with tax reform, we got the special interests out of the tax code. Now it's time to get them out of the budget. And that's just what I mean to do. You know, when I talk like this it gets some up on Capitol Hill hot under the collar. The way they put it—forgive me with the children present, but they say that I'm giving them hell. Well, didn't Harry Truman speak from these steps 35 years ago? And isn't he the

one who said, "I didn't give them hell. I just told them the truth, and they thought it was hell."

As part of protecting our economic freedoms, we, the American people, have a right to the truth about Federal spending. The Economic Bill of Rights will guarantee us that right. The Economic Bill of Rights will put into our system of checks and balances a tool for focusing a spotlight on spending that we, the American people, might think is wrong. It gives the President something that 43 Governors have: the ability to veto spending, project by project, to force bad spending out of hiding to where Congress has to vote on it in the open, where you can see what's going on. I'm talking about a line-item veto.

The Economic Bill of Rights will also say that if the Federal Government wants to spend more on new programs, it must find the money to pay for it—not borrow it. And to make sure nobody cheats, it will include a provision that 44 States have in their constitutions and that 85 percent of the American people want. It's long overdue—a balanced budget amendment in our Constitution. And to make sure that Congress doesn't use a balanced budget amendment as an excuse for raising taxes, the Economic Bill of Rights will say that if taxes are raised, more than a bare majority of the Congress will have to do it. It should take more than 50 percent plus one of the Congress to impose an increase in your taxes. What's wrong with saying 60 percent or even two-thirds must agree to increase taxes? Raising taxes must never again be the easy way out. In the last 6 years, as I've told you, we've cut tax rates twice. Let's be sure that taxes stay cut. And this is what the Economic Bill of Rights is all about.

Now, some in Washington say the chances of enacting it are zero. But when it comes to amending the Constitution, the States don't have to wait for Congress to act. And if necessary, I'll go to the States and ask their help. The American people want a balanced budget amendment, and the American people deserve a balanced budget amendment. And I am determined that the American people will get a balanced budget amendment.

Now, you may have heard of some people, maybe even some that are present, talk about a certain lameduck and the end of an era. Well, all that lameduck is for the birds. [Laughter] The era we've begun won't end any time soon, because it's not my era, it's yours, the era of the American people. You did this. And in America, when you, the people, put your foot down, you're the boss. You'll make the Economic Bill of Rights part of America's heritage.

For two centuries men and women have escaped oppression, crossed the continents, crossed the oceans to find their way to this land of freedom and opportunity. And many of them settled, at last, in this city. We're all custodians, guardians of the freedoms they found—the freedoms that our

nation's Founders passed down to us. This year, in this 200th-year anniversary of our Constitution, let us, like those Founders, make a gift of freedom's guarantee to the generations that will follow us. We'll be guaranteeing America's opportunities and strength, as well. We can do this because we are a free people—because we are Americans. Let us start here and start now. Let us dedicate ourselves to the task ahead, to give our children, ourselves, and the generations to come an Economic Bill of Rights.

Thank you all, and God bless you all. Well, almost all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:13 p.m. at the city hall.

Appointment of Four Members of the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad

July 9, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad:

For terms of 2 years:

Levi Goldberger, of New York. This is a new position. Since 1966 Mr. Goldberger has been a field underwriter for Mutual of New York in Secaucus, NJ. Prior to this he served as the supervisor of the Investors Planning Corp., 1960–1966. Mr. Goldberger graduated from Rabbinical College of Galanta in Czechoslovakia, 1936–1938; Theological College, Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, 1938–1943; and Mesifita Torah Vodaath—Post Graduate School of Rabbinical Studies, Brooklyn, NY, 1947–1950. He was born August 3, 1922, in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. Mr. Goldberger is married, has two children, and resides in Brooklyn, NY.

Asher J. Scharf, of New York. This is a new position. Since 1976 Mr. Scharf has been president of the 33d Street Real Estate Development Corp., in New York, NY. Prior to this he was

the owner and operator of senior citizen residences in New York, 1957–1976. Mr. Scharf graduated from the Yeshivah of Bobov, Poland, 1940. He was born February 9, 1919, in Biala-Bielsko, Poland. Mr. Scharf is married, has three children, and resides in Brooklyn, NY.

For terms of 3 years:

Gerald E. Rosen, of Michigan. This is a new position. Since 1979 Mr. Rosen has been a partner with Miller, Canfield, Paddock & Stone in Detroit, MI. He graduated from Kalamazoo College (B.A., 1973) and George Washington University (J.D., 1979). Mr. Rosen was born October 26, 1951, in Chandler, AZ. He is married and resides in Detroit, MI.

Edward H. Sims, of South Carolina. This is a new position. Mr. Sims is an author and is currently publisher of Editor's Copy Syndicate. He attended Emory University. Mr. Sims served in the U.S. Army during World War II. He was born May 29, 1923, in Orangeburg, SC. Mr. Sims is married, has four children, and resides in Sarasota, FL.

Appointment of Three Members of the National Council on Vocational Education

July 9, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the National Council on Vocational Education for terms expiring January 17, 1990:

George Johnston Ames, of Texas. This is a reappointment. Since 1977 Mr. Ames has been president of A.S.A. Properties, Inc., in San Antonio, TX. Prior to this he served as president of Sweeney & Co., Inc., 1977-1983. Mr. Ames graduated from Trinity University in San Antonio (B.A., 1967). He served in the U.S. Army, 1965-1972. Mr. Ames was born July 28, 1940, in Gladewater, TX. He is married, has two children, and resides in San Antonio.

Michael R. Farley, of Arizona. Since 1965 Mr. Farley has been president of Farley and Associ-

ates in Tucson, AZ. He graduated from the University of Arizona (B.S., 1967). Mr. Farley served in the U.S. Army, 1967-1969. He was born March 6, 1944, in Los Angeles, CA. Mr. Farley is married, has three children, and resides in Tucson, AZ.

Mary S. Pyle, of Mississippi. This is a reappointment. Since 1985 Mrs. Pyle has been the coordinator of training and personnel development in the merchandising division of the Mississippi Power Co. Prior to this she served as the supervisor of consumer marketing at the Mississippi Power Co., 1982-1985. Mrs. Pyle graduated from Southwest Junior College (A.A., 1967) and the University of Southern Mississippi (B.S., 1969). She was born March 27, 1948, in Magnolia, MS. Mrs. Pyle is married and resides in Gulfport, MS.

Nomination of Three Members of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation

July 9, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation. These are new positions.

For terms of 6 years:

George D. Hardy, of Maryland. Since 1986 Mr. Hardy has been chairman of the board of the Aerospace Education Foundation. Prior to this he was president of the foundation. Mr. Hardy served in the United States Army Air Corps, 1942-1945. He was born September 19, 1923, in Washington, DC. Mr. Hardy is married, has two children, and resides in Hyattsville, MD.

Lt. Gen. William W. Quinn, USA, Ret., of the District of Columbia. Since 1982 Lt. Gen. Quinn has been president of W.W. Quinn Asso-

ciates, Inc., in Easton, MD. Prior to this he was vice president at Martin Marietta Corp., 1966-1967. Lt. Gen. Quinn graduated from the United States Military Academy (B.S., 1933). He served in the United States Army, 1933-1966. Lt. Gen. Quinn was born November 1, 1907, in Crisfield, MD. He is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

For a term of 2 years:

Hans M. Mark, of Virginia. Since 1984 Mr. Mark has been chancellor of the University of Texas system in Austin. Prior to this he was Deputy Administrator of NASA, 1981-1984. Mr. Mark graduated from the University of California at Berkeley (B.A., 1951) and from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Ph.D., 1954). He was born June 17, 1929, in Mannheim, Germany, and became a U.S. citizen in 1945. Mr. Mark is married, has two children, and resides in Austin, TX.

Appointment of Paul G. Stern as a Member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee

July 9, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Paul G. Stern to be a member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. He would succeed Monroe M. Rifkin.

Dr. Stern is currently president of the Unisys Corp., in Bluebell, PA. Prior to this, he served as president and chief operating officer of Burroughs Corp., 1982-1986, and

executive vice president for engineering and manufacturing, 1981-1982.

Dr. Stern graduated from Farleigh Dickinson University (B.S., 1961), the Stevens Institute of Technology (M.S., 1963), and the University of Manchester in London (Ph.D., 1966). He was born October 31, 1938, in Czechoslovakia. Dr. Stern is married, has three children, and resides in Villanova, PA.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Members of the Deficit Reduction Coalition

July 10, 1987

Thank you. I once heard a magician get a hand like that before he started, and he finally told them that as an encore he'd sing "Yankee Doodle Dandy" while he drank a glass of water at the same time. [Laughter]

I know that most of you are no strangers to briefings here or up on Capitol Hill. You've supported us in the past on so many crucial issues and so many crucial battles. That's why I know when you heard about the new economic bill, the Bill of Rights that we unveiled a week ago, you probably anticipated being invited here. In fact, some of you may even be thinking of that epitaph on a tombstone in the old cemetery that read: "I expected this but not quite so soon." [Laughter]

But we've done much together during the last few years. In fact, seeing you also reminds me of another story. People are always saying I have a weakness for stories. I don't know how that got started. [Laughter] Anyway, this one's about an unforgettable American and great musician, Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong. A tourist comes up to him one day in New York and says, "I can't wait to hear your performance tonight. I'm on my way to get tickets right now. By the way, how do I get to Carnegie Hall?" Satchmo replied, "Just practice, baby, practice." [Laughter]

And hard work—your hard work—and support of millions of Americans hasn't just brought us a long way in a few years; it's created a revolution. And sometimes the hardest thing in the world is to understand how the present will look to historians of the future. But take it from me, once you've had a little time to think about what's happened, we may even be astonished ourselves. So many old myths have been exposed and old ways of doing things changed.

When we first proposed tax cuts, for example, there were those who were certain that our plan would cause even larger deficits, because revenues would shrink. We all know what happened. An economy featuring growth and opportunity produced \$44 billion more in revenues by 1985.

And then there were those who said our plan was a giveaway to the rich. Well, guess what? According to figures recently pointed to by Senator Bill Roth of Delaware, since our tax cut plan was installed, the payments of lower and middle income earners have shrunk by 11.1 percent while the payments of high-income taxpayers have increased by 12.6 percent. Of the \$44 billion increase in tax revenue from 1981 to 1985, 81.6 percent was paid for by the tiny 1.5 percent of

all taxpayers whose income was over \$100,000. In fact, taxes paid by all those with incomes above \$50,000 rose by \$63.5 billion, and this allowed for a substantial \$18.9 billion tax decrease for those with incomes below \$50,000.

And then, finally, there were those who said that cutting taxes would cause more inflation. Boy, do I remember that one. Believe me, the now-embarrassing quotes make a lengthy list. Anyway, after 2 years of back-to-back, double-digit inflation—the first time that had happened since World War I—we saw inflation head downward and stay down. Today it's between 3 or 4 percent, and once again the critics were wrong.

There were other stories, too, not just predictions that unemployment was going to go higher but that high levels of unemployment were here to stay. Some folks even said we had to get used to unemployment rates of 7 and 8 percent or even higher. But we created over 13 million new jobs instead, and last month the total unemployment rate hit an even 6 percent.

So, you see, it's more than a question of just silencing our critics; America astonished the world. Chicago school economics, supply-side economics, call it what you will—I noticed that it was even known as Reaganomics at one point until it started working—[*laughter*—all of it is fast becoming orthodoxy. It's not just that Milton Friedman or Friedrich Von Hayek or George Stigler have won Nobel prizes; other younger names, unheard of a few years ago, are now also celebrated. People are reading George Gilder. They know what the Laffer curve is. And a few months ago the French Government inducted Paul Craig Roberts into the Legion of Honor.

And the acclaim given these economists and thinkers is evidence of a worldwide revolution, proof that they were right and the conventional wisdom was wrong. They were right for a very simple reason: They understood the power of the human spirit. They understood the capacity of the individual, once released from the stultifying hand of government, to reach and climb, and build and dream, and to achieve and succeed, and make life better for all human-kind.

And from the outset, this idea of economic freedom has been our political lodestar. That's why in creating our political revolution for this economic freedom our goal was simple, as Jefferson said about the revolution of his own time: "to place before mankind the common sense of the subject." All we said was this: Give the American people a chance, and they'll come through. They'll make the difference. They'll get us out of the worst economic mess since the Depression. And they have, building one of the mightiest prosperities in our history, a prosperity that I know every one of us in this room is determined to keep making stronger with every passing month and every passing year.

But to achieve what we achieved economically, we first had to make political changes. Our guide here was still the same: Trust the people—put the facts before them, then trust the people. And thanks to dedicated Americans like you, we got our message out. And the people spoke, and they demanded change. But let's remember it didn't come easy. Our victories took months, sometimes years, of preparation. And all the way along we heard about how our calls for reform and change were just meaningless rhetoric, that none of our goals had a chance of legislative passage. Now, I learned a long time ago to take this sort of skepticism with more than a grain of salt. In fact, I call it the Harry Warner Factor. You see, it was Harry Warner, of Warner Studios, back in the days of silent films, when they were talking about talking pictures, and he said, "Who the hell wants to hear actors talk?" [*Laughter*]

But let's face it, old myths die hard. [*Laughter*] Lately, we've been hearing from Capitol Hill about a return to the old days. In fact, this week Congress pored over 100 different ways to increase taxes. Maybe they should use next week to look for 100 ways to cut spending. It's all a matter of setting the right priority. I'm here to tell you today—and I hope Congress takes notice—what ails us now is what has always ailed us: The Federal Government is too big, and it spends too much money. So, let me assure you, any budget-busting spending legislation or tax increases sent down here from

Capitol Hill are heading right back up Pennsylvania Avenue stamped with the most respectable four-letter word I know: V-E-T-O.

But think of this, too: Hasn't the time come to get around this year-in and year-out battle on the budget and taxes? The burden always seems to fall on those fighting fiscal abuses. Don't we need to stop fighting for 2 yards and a cloud of dust and put the ball in the air instead? And isn't it time to institutionalize our economic reforms? We have to make sure the great American spirit is never again shackled by big government, that the future of other generations of Americans is never again mortgaged on the national debt.

With our new Economic Bill of Rights we can do just that. We can get a balanced budget amendment, a line-item veto, a super majority on tax increases. We can pass truth-in-spending legislation that will force the Federal Government to be candid with the American people, to say how much new programs are going to cost and spell out the intent to finance them. And by packaging these changes into a bill of economic rights, we're only making our message easier to understand. And we're making that larger point I talked about earlier. There is no end to what the human spirit can achieve if it is left alone to strive and succeed. We know freedom works politically; our first Bill of Rights was testament to that fact. And now we need to drive home the lesson of the last few years, the lesson of the new economics: that economic freedom works too.

"Progress is a nice word," Robert Kennedy used to say, "but change is its motivator and change has enemies." But there's a way to overcome those enemies, and once again, that's by getting the American people to come through. And that's why I want to ask for your help today. I'm confident that slowly but surely we can win this fight. For one thing, an election year is coming up, and I've always noticed—and perhaps you've noticed, too—that it's a time when folks up in the Congress seem more inclined to show the voters how much they support fiscal responsibility and lower taxes.

So, let's get together, you and I, and provide them with that opportunity. Let's work to get the provisions embodied in our Economic Bill of Rights on the floor of the House and Senate. Let's give our public servants a chance to show their stuff: to vote for less spending, lower taxes, and revolutionary new safeguards against government encroachment of our economic freedom.

I want to thank all of you for coming by today. And I know that you're all thinking now, "Will he loan me the helicopter so I can get out to Rehoboth?" [Laughter] Well, believe me, I understand that thought; I'd like to go to the beach myself. But, you know, tonight's a full moon—[laughter]—and with all that budget-busting legislation under consideration, well, I just think I better stay in town. [Laughter]

I want to just say one thing to you, again, about those figures to make a point definite with you. Those figures about the people in the upper brackets paying more, a greater share of the tax burden than they were before the tax cuts. Now, what we did was completely different than those who have said, "Well," you know, "tax those people up there, the fat cats." We're hearing more of that today. Why are they paying a higher percentage at lower tax rates? Because when you make it worthwhile, the tax shelters don't look as attractive, and there's a reason to have a little ambition and make a dollar if you can keep more of it.

Remember back when it was a 90-percent bracket? I was in Hollywood at the time. You'd be surprised how many actors started turning down parts after they got in that bracket. Who wants to work for 10 cents on the dollar? So, that's exactly what has happened in this instance. We have put incentive where it should be, and so everybody is paying their fair share of taxes. And we're going to keep it that way.

So, thanks to all of you and the help that you're going to give us. God bless you. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 10:53 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Appointment of Mike Curb as a Member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations

July 10, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Mike Curb to be a member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations for a term of 2 years. He would succeed Virginia S. Weinman.

Since 1983 Mr. Curb has been chairman of Curb Records in Burbank, CA. Prior to

this he was Lieutenant Governor of California, 1979–1983.

Mr. Curb attended San Fernando Valley State College. He was born December 24, 1944, in Savannah, GA. Mr. Curb is married, has two children, and resides in Beverly Hills, CA.

Nomination of William F. Sullivan To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships

July 10, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate William F. Sullivan to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships for the term expiring October 27, 1989. He would succeed Edward Sulzberger.

Mr. Sullivan is currently the president of Real Equity Partners in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was Commissioner of the

Public Buildings Service, at the General Services Administration, 1985–1987, and Associate Deputy Administrator for Logistics at the Veterans Administration, 1981–1985.

Mr. Sullivan graduated from the University of Michigan (B.A., 1972) and George Washington University (J.D., 1976). He was born August 4, 1950, in Pawtucket, RI. Mr. Sullivan resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of Roger F. Martin To Be a Member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board

July 10, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Roger F. Martin to be a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for the remainder of the term expiring June 30, 1989. He would succeed Lee H. Henkel, Jr.

Since 1977 Mr. Martin has been senior vice president for operations at Mortgage Guaranty Insurance Corp. in Milwaukee,

WI. Prior to this he was vice president for administration at Mortgage Guaranty Insurance Corp., 1974–1977.

Mr. Martin graduated from Xavier University (B.S., 1952). He served in the United States Naval Reserve, 1950–1954. Mr. Martin was born December 16, 1927, in Cincinnati, OH. He is married, has four children, and resides in Mequon, WI.

Nomination of Leonard Rochwarger To Be United States Ambassador to Fiji, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Kiribati

July 10, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Leonard Rochwarger, of New York, as Ambassador to Fiji, to the Kingdom of Tonga, to Tuvalu, and to the Republic of Kiribati. He would succeed Carl Edward Dillery.

Mr. Rochwarger began his career as an accountant with Sportsservice Corp. in Buffalo, NY, June-September 1949. He then became senior auditor for State Insurance Fund, State of New York, Buffalo, 1949-1961. He was named senior partner with

the accounting firm of S.L. Horowitz & Co. in Buffalo, 1961-1965, and since 1965 has been chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Firstmark Corp. in Buffalo.

Mr. Rochwarger graduated from the University of Buffalo (B.S., 1949) and served in the U.S. Army, 1943-1946. Mr. Rochwarger is articulate in French and German. He was born August 3, 1925, in Buffalo, NY. Mr. Rochwarger is married, has two children, and resides in Buffalo, NY.

Nomination of James B. Moran To Be United States Ambassador to Seychelles

July 10, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate James B. Moran, of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, as Ambassador to the Republic of Seychelles. He would succeed Irvin Hicks.

Before joining the Foreign Service staff corps in 1952, Mr. Moran was an accounts clerk (part-time) with Olympic Stain Products in Seattle, WA, 1947-1950. From 1950 to 1952, he was an executive trainee with Union Oil Company of California, Seattle, WA. His first assignment in the Foreign Service was as a clerk at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, Iran, 1952-1954. He returned to the Department of State as a procurement officer, 1955-1956, to be followed as a post management officer in the East Asia Bureau, 1957-1959. His first assignment after becoming a Foreign Service Officer in 1959 was general services officer at the U.S. Embassy in Rangoon, Burma. He served there until 1961, when he went to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow, U.S.S.R., as general services officer. From 1964 to 1966, he

served as supervisory post management officer in the Bureau of East Asian Affairs, followed by personnel officer in the Personnel Division of the Department of State, 1967-1969. Mr. Moran attended the National Defense College, 1969-1970, following which he became administrative officer at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, Vietnam, 1970-1972, and counselor for administration, 1972-1973. From 1973 to 1974, he was a Foreign Service inspector, and then Executive Director of the Executive Secretariat, 1974-1977. From 1977 to 1980, Mr. Moran was Executive Director of the East Asian Bureau before his assignment to the U.S. Embassy in Beijing, People's Republic of China, 1980-1983, as counselor for administration. Since 1983 he has been Executive Director of the African Bureau.

Mr. Moran graduated from Everett Junior College (A.A.B., 1947) and the University of Washington (B.A., 1950). He served in the United States Army Air Corps, 1943-1946. Mr. Moran was born April 30, 1924, in Port Angeles, WA. He is married, has four children, and resides in Springfield, VA.

Message to the Congress Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Libya July 10, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

1. I hereby report to the Congress on developments since my last report of January 21, 1987, concerning the national emergency with respect to Libya that was declared in Executive Order No. 12543 of January 7, 1986. This report is submitted pursuant to section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1641(c); section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c); and section 505(c) of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985, 22 U.S.C. 2349aa-9(c).

2. As set forth in detail in my July 30, 1986, report, in Executive Order No. 12543, I prohibited, with effect from February 1, 1986: (1) the import into the United States from Libya, and (2) the export to Libya, of any goods or services; (3) transactions relating to transportation to or from Libya; (4) the purchase by U.S. persons of goods for export from Libya to any country; and (5) the performance by U.S. persons of any contract in support of an industrial or other commercial or governmental project in Libya. I further prohibited, with immediate effect: (6) the grant or extension of credits or loans by U.S. citizens or permanent resident aliens to Libya, or activities within Libya, other than for the purpose of: (a) effecting such persons' departure from Libya, (b) performing acts listed in items (1) through (5) above, prior to February 1, 1986, or (c) travel for journalistic activity by professional journalists. On January 8, 1986, in Executive Order No. 12544, I augmented the transactional prohibitions contained in Executive Order No. 12543 by ordering the immediate blocking of all property and interests in property of the Government of Libya (including the Central Bank of Libya and other government-controlled entities) then or thereafter located in the United States, or then or thereafter coming within the possession or control of U.S. persons, including their overseas branches.

3. Since my January 21, 1987, report,

there have been no amendments to the Libyan Sanctions Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 550, administered by the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury. Additionally, since January 21, 1987, there have been no amendments or changes to orders of the Department of Commerce or the Department of Transportation implementing aspects of Executive Order No. 12543 relating to exports from the United States and air transportation, respectively.

4. During the current 6-month period two licenses were issued to U.S. service contractors that were operating in Libya at the time the national emergency with respect to Libya was declared. Consistent with Administration policy, these licenses authorize the companies to sell assets in Libya only to Libyan-controlled entities. The extension of credit to Libyan purchasers was authorized in connection with the sales.

5. Also during the current 6-month period, several enforcement actions have been initiated for violations of the Libyan Sanctions Regulations. (a) On March 24, 1987, a Federal grand jury in Atlanta, Georgia, returned a five-count indictment charging a U.S. citizen with violations of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and the Libyan Sanctions Regulations. The violations charged included engaging in unlicensed transactions with respect to travel to and from Libya and activities within Libya, as well as entering into an employment contract with a Libyan oil company to provide services as a pilot in Libya. (b) Another case involving travel to and from Libya and employment within Libya as a pipeline and tank system inspector was concluded by the United States Attorney's allowing the person involved to apply for a pre-trial diversion. The person was then ordered to perform community service in lieu of facing trial. (c) Three arrests have been made in a third case where petroleum equipment was allegedly transhipped from the United States to Libya

through a European conduit.

6. The General Accounting Office, at the request of the Congress, recently completed a report assessing the effectiveness of the sanctions against Libya. In gathering information for the report, the GAO spoke to relevant officials at the Departments of the Treasury, Commerce, and State. The report, based on 1986 data, concludes that the Libyan sanctions have been successful in distancing the United States from contributing directly to the Libyan economy and virtually eliminating U.S. trade with Libya. In addition, foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms, which are not required to comply with the restrictions, have decreased their Libyan business significantly. However, the report indicates that the impact of the U.S. trade sanctions on Libya has been lessened by the extensive foreign availability of oil field equipment, services, and supplies, as well as the reluctance of third countries to adopt sanctions similar to those of the United States.

7. Litigation is pending in an English court, involving a claim by Libya against the London branch of Bankers Trust Company for failure to release to Libya blocked assets in New York and London. The United States Government is not a party to the litigation but is closely monitoring it. A trial on the merits of this case began on June 8, 1987, and is expected to continue

until mid-July 1987.

8. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the 6-month period from January 21, 1987, through the present time that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of the Libyan national emergency are estimated at \$646,812. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the Customs Service, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Enforcement, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for International Affairs, and the Office of the General Counsel), the Department of State, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Justice, the Federal Reserve Board, and the National Security Council.

9. The policies and actions of the Government of Libya continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against Libya as long as these measures are appropriate, and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on significant developments, pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1703(c).

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
July 10, 1987.

Radio Address to the Nation on Economic Growth and Free and Fair Trade

July 11, 1987

My fellow Americans:

We are now in our 56th month of economic growth, close to the longest peacetime expansion in our entire history. We've enjoyed low inflation and job creation that has captured the imagination of the world. Over 13 million jobs have come into existence. And contrary to what some critics of our administration have been suggesting, most of the jobs—over 60 percent of them—are in the higher paying occupa-

tions. Our country's in the middle of a great jump forward.

In these last few years, many American companies have restructured, cut overhead, brought down costs, and significantly improved quality. They've computerized their operations and invested in the most up-to-date technology. Last year, this innovation pushed manufacturing productivity in the United States ahead by 3.5 percent, a greater increase than in any other major indus-

trialized nation. Unlike the late 1970's, when our major corporations seemed to be lagging behind, today they are again pulling out in front.

In the last decade, our most productive citizens—the ones we depend on to carry our flag in a highly competitive world market—had their investment capital taxed away and were hamstrung by well-meaning, yet often intrusive, regulation. High taxes and overregulation were dragging us down. We've done our best in these 6½ years to turn that situation around, and it's beginning to pay off. Federal tax rates are no longer increasing, draining even more resources out of the private sector into the bureaucracy. We've also kept under control the bureaucratic impulse to issue more and more regulations, mandates, and edicts telling us how to run our lives and businesses. We've done our best to free our economy and get government out of the way.

In recent months, I've visited several companies, like Harley-Davidson in Pennsylvania and Dictaphone Corporation in Florida. The confidence of the men and women who work for these American corporations was inspiring; it reflects a mood in companies across this land. If you could meet them as I did, you'd be confident that American workers, if provided the tools and permitted to compete on a level playing field, can outproduce any rival and keep the "Made in the U.S.A." label something to be proud of.

Lean, fast-moving, and efficient: American corporations are moving into the world market, and the latest figures suggest they are more than holding their own. In the last few months, we've seen an overall surge of American exports. In fact, from the third quarter of 1986 to the first quarter of 1987, exports were increasing at an annual rate of 14 percent and imports were declining at an annual rate of almost 5 percent. In short, our country turned the corner on our trade deficit last fall, and the situation continues to improve.

The increased competitiveness of American business, the positive adjustment that has occurred in the international exchange rates, the improvement of the economies of our trading partners, and our ongoing efforts to pry open any foreign markets closed to American goods—all of this has helped us meet the trade deficit challenge.

Ironically, just at a time when we're making great progress, Congress is seriously considering legislation that could set us back. The last thing our economy needs now is congressional action that is behind the curve. In the proposed bill, Congress takes aim at a problem that is correcting itself. It's a little like closing the barn door when the horse is trying to get back in. If the Congress really wants to help solve the trade deficit, the single best thing it could do is cut the Federal budget deficit. Now's the time to be talking about opening markets, not closing them; about expanding trade, not putting up roadblocks. What is called for now is hard work at the negotiating tables with our trading partners and innovative thinking.

Well, that's just what we've been doing, especially concerning the international market in agriculture. This week, following through on an initiative we set in motion at the Tokyo economic summit last year, we proposed dramatic reform of the free world's agricultural trading system. Our idea is to open world markets and, over a 10-year period, to end the costly subsidies and price controls that are a heavy weight tied around the necks of the Western economies. Free from this burden, everyone, including the farmers, will be better off. Trade, commerce, and competition are positive forces carrying mankind to new levels of prosperity. And, as usual, Americans are leading the way.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Statement on Signing the Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987 July 11, 1987

I have signed into law H.R. 1827, which provides supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1987. It includes essential funding for assistance to the Central American democracies, for high-priority defense requirements, and for military assistance to the Philippines. It also provides needed funding for the Commodity Credit Corporation, the Internal Revenue Service, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, veterans benefits, and a number of other domestic programs.

Before presenting this bill for my signature, the Congress deleted restrictive language that would have limited my authority to test and deploy nuclear weapons, and would have required mandatory compliance with the unratified SALT II agreement. These provisions would have undercut our national security and our negotiating leverage with the Soviets. Had they remained, the bill would have been vetoed.

While I am pleased that this bill includes funding for essential programs and that certain objectionable provisions affecting our national security were deleted, several other aspects of H.R. 1827 require comment.

Section 505 of this bill contains a restriction on the use of funds that is designed to prevent the Secretary of Transportation and the Maritime Administration from adopting rules on the subject of Construction Differential Subsidy (CDS) repayment. I have signed this bill into law based on the understanding that because this restriction on their authority is not retroactive, it will have no effect on vessel owners who previously repaid their subsidies pursuant to a CDS repayment rule published in the *Federal Register* on June 22, 1987. Instead, this provision of section 505 will affect only further repayments by vessel owners. Were it otherwise, a restriction on rulemaking in this area could cost the taxpayers more than \$100 million in payments to vessel owners who have previously repaid their subsidies.

Another restriction on the use of funds in section 505 raises serious constitutional

questions. It is designed to prevent the Secretary of Transportation and the Maritime Administrator from participating "in any judicial action with respect to the repayment of construction differential subsidy for the permanent release of vessels from the restriction in section 506 of the Merchant Marine Act, 1936, as amended." The prohibition is subject to the proviso that "funds may be used to the extent such expenditure relates to a rule which conforms to statutory standards hereafter enacted by Congress."

As is clear from the proviso lifting the restriction, if and when the Congress alters the existing statutory scheme, this portion of section 505 represents an attempt by the Congress to use a spending limitation as an indirect means of regulating the Executive's interpretation and enforcement of the law, while leaving the law itself substantively unchanged.

Article II of the Constitution assigns responsibility for executing the law to the President. While the Congress is empowered to enact new or different laws, it may not indirectly interpret and implement existing laws, which is an essential function allocated by the Constitution to the executive branch. If the Congress disagrees with a statutory interpretation advanced by the executive branch—or with the efforts of the executive branch to defend or prosecute judicial action based on that interpretation—the Congress may, of course, amend the underlying statute. The use of an appropriations bill for this purpose, however, is inconsistent with the constitutional scheme of separation of powers.

Accordingly, I believe it is my constitutional responsibility to interpret this spending restriction in section 505 consistently with the President's power and duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed—a power and duty that of necessity include responding to any judicial challenge to past or future actions of the Department of Transportation.

This bill also includes a provision that

could permit Rural Electrification Administration borrowers to prepay outstanding Federal Financing Bank loans without paying the premium due under their loan agreement. This could result in a loss of about \$2 billion in forgiven premiums. This new subsidy must be considered in light of the more than \$50 billion in life-of-loan subsidies that Rural Electrification Administration borrowers will receive on loan advances made since 1973. This provision could have serious adverse effects on the operation of the Federal Financing Bank. As a result, this provision must be interpreted consistently with other provisions of law requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to protect the integrity of the Federal Financing Bank.

H.R. 1827 is a prime example of how not to legislate on budgetary matters. As has been the case with other omnibus appropriations bills that have been presented for my signature, H.R. 1827 presented a choice between many expensive, undesirable, and

unnecessary provisions on the one hand, or a shutdown of important government programs on the other. For example, without this bill, funding for loans to farmers would be cut off just as it is needed for summer crops. Yet, to avoid a critical disruption in this program, I must sign away \$1.7 billion in unrequested funding for other entirely unrelated programs.

In accordance with my commitment to reduce spending to meet Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction targets, I submitted to the Congress a request for supplemental appropriations that were more than offset by proposed spending reductions. The Congress, however, rejected virtually all of these proposed spending reductions, and as a result H.R. 1827 provides \$6.67 billion more budget authority than I requested. It misses the goal of deficit-neutrality by more than \$6.4 billion.

Note: H.R. 1827, approved July 11, was assigned Public Law No. 100-71.

Remarks to Community Leaders in Danville, Indiana July 13, 1987

Well, thank you all very much, Governor Orr. And I know that some place here is Secretary Bowen. I figured it was right to have a doctor—there he is—proper to have a doctor as the Secretary of Health and Human Services. I brought him along not because I'm sick or anything but—[laughter]—because we were coming to Indiana. But I thank you all—all of the public officials who are here and your Congressman John Myers. And I thank you for taking time from your busy schedules to spend a few moments with a fellow midwesterner.

Driving into Danville today felt like coming home, so much does Hendricks County feel—or remind me of growing up in Illinois. There are the beautiful homes so well cared for, the American flag on display everywhere, and of course this wonderful county courthouse.

I was especially struck when, on the way in, someone mentioned that Hendricks

County was also the home of the famous Van Buren Elm, a magnificent tree named for President Van Buren when he visited nearby Plainfield. I thought that naming a tree in honor of a President was a fine thing to do, and I even daydreamed for a moment about having a tree named after myself. [Laughter] And then I found out a little more about the Van Buren Elm. [Laughter] It turns out that Van Buren was riding in a carriage when the driver took a sharp turn around the elm, throwing Van Buren out of the carriage and into the mud. [Laughter] And in case you're wondering, the answer is, yes, I've warned the Secret Service to be on the lookout for elms. [Laughter] And I'm wondering how I ever got through my own college, Eureka College. The alma mater is "Neath the Elms upon the Campus." [Laughter]

But some of you may remember the last time I spoke here. It was back in 1985, and

I was campaigning throughout the country for an historic tax reform that would make the tax code fairer and simpler, and that would reduce tax rates for most individuals. The pundits thought it could never be done, but today tax reform is the law of the land and will go into effect in the coming year. Indeed, the Washington Post ran a headline about tax reform that says: "The Impossible Became the Inevitable."

Now, I'm campaigning throughout the country again—last month to community leaders and business people in Florida, then to the people of a Connecticut city that has come back to economic life during this expansion, and still elsewhere later this July. And this time I'm stumping for something I believe even more important, even more historic than tax reform. It's an Economic Bill of Rights. I first announced this campaign on the steps of the Jefferson Memorial during the Fourth of July weekend, outlining four essential guarantees for all Americans: The freedom to work—and that means eliminating government barriers to opportunity; the freedom to enjoy the fruits of your own labor—and that means bringing to an end, once and for all, excessive government borrowing, spending, and taxation; and the freedom to own and control your own property, including intellectual property like technological innovations; the freedom to participate in a free market—and that means government must work to foster, not hinder, economic growth.

Now, I'll be speaking about all of this in more detail downtown later this morning. In particular, I'll present our specific proposals for ensuring these four basic economic freedoms. But I asked to have you come here today because I wanted to be able to talk with local people like yourselves.

You see, 200 and more years ago, when our Constitution and Bill of Rights were being debated, the debates took place in towns like Danville, in farming communities like the towns in rural Indiana, in virtually every community in America. The people themselves—the farmers, the craftsmen, and local officials—were directly involved. It's this kind of involvement on the part of the people themselves that I'd like to see take place again. And so, I'm asking you to help me start a national discussion by

taking up the issue of economic rights in your own communities.

I just have to believe that if we get away from the lawyers and the lobbyists of Washington and away from the special interests that seem to dominate things so back there on the banks of the Potomac, if we get away from all of that and ask the people whether it isn't time at last to do things like pass a balanced budget amendment, the people will say yes. There's such a thing as common sense in America, and if you can't always find it in the Capitol building in Washington, isn't it good to know that you can still find it in places like the Hendricks County Courthouse?

Looking around this magnificent building, one final thought. The aim of our Economic Bill of Rights is the same as that of the political Bill of Rights in the Constitution: freedom. And seeing those names on the wall, these names of everyday Americans who served in our Armed Forces for that great cause, well, it just reminds you how deep the love of freedom goes out here in the heartland.

I suppose that, as they did with tax reform, the pundits are going to say of our Economic Bill of Rights: It can never be done. Well, I just happen to have an answer for those critics. Let them do what I've done. Just let them for awhile travel here. In short, my friends, if anybody back in Washington wants to know what can and can't be done, let them spend one day among the good people of Indiana. If I could enlarge, this isn't about Indiana, but just let me tell you a little incident in my life—has to do with a Midwestern State. We're all here in the heartland of the country—Indiana, Illinois, Iowa. This has to do with Iowa.

I was in England—the first time I'd ever been there—and I wanted to see some of those English things like pubs that were 700 years old and so forth. Well, a driver took me and a couple of people with me—we were over there—that was back long before Governor days. That was back when I was making a picture. And we were in there, and it was a mom and pop place. This quite elderly lady was waiting on us, and finally, hearing us talk to each other,

she said, "You're Americans, aren't you?" And we said, "Yes." "Oh," she says, "there were quite a lot of your young chaps down the road during the war, based down there." And she said, "They used to come in here of an evening, and they'd have songfests." And she said, "And they called me Mom, and they called the old man Pop." And she said, "It was Christmas Eve, and we were all alone." And she said, "In they came, burst through the door, and they had presents for me and Pop." And then by this time she wasn't looking at us. She was kind of looking off into the distance, and there was a tear beginning to form in her eye. And she said, "Big strap-

ping lads they was, from a place called Ioway." [Laughter] Well, by that time I had a tear—[laughter]—forming right there also.

Well, I know I've got to get downtown and talk in a little more detail on these, so I'll spare you any more. But thank you all. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:52 a.m. at the Hendricks County Courthouse. In his opening remarks, he referred to Gov. Robert Orr and Secretary of Health and Human Services Otis R. Bowen. Prior to his remarks, the President met with Indiana State, county, and city officials at the courthouse.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Counties in Indianapolis, Indiana July 13, 1987

Lieutenant Governor Mutz, Mayor Hudnut, Congressman Myers, thank you, and thank all of you. And a special thanks to your outgoing president, John Horsley, for inviting me here. And I want all of you to know that it's good to be back in Indiana, and it's good to once again speak to the National Association of Counties.

To tell you the truth, though, I figure that in addressing some 4,000 fellow public officials I've got to be on my toes. And come to think of it, giving a speech to so many speechgivers reminds me of a story. And it has to do with a fellow that was the only living survivor—or left alive years later—of the Johnstown flood. And he made quite a thing out of public speaking. He was in great demand at luncheon clubs and so forth to tell of the experiences of having gone through that terrible thing, the Johnstown flood. Well, his time came, and there he was facing St. Peter. And as he entered heaven, St. Peter said, "You know, if you've got anything special that you'd like to talk about from down on Earth, people up here like to hear things from back there." "Oh," he said, "yes." He said, "I do have. I've been speaking for a long time." And, well, St. Peter said, "That will be just fine." And

he told him what he'd been doing. So, he led him into an auditorium, and here it was packed and jammed. And St. Peter told them a newcomer from Earth was there and had an interesting story to tell them. And then as he introduced him and turned away and whispered when he went past him and said, "That fellow with the beard on the aisle—in the front row—his name is Noah." [Laughter]

But I come to you today with immense respect and respect for the hundreds and hundreds of, well, people that are here and—I was told how many were here, 4,000, so I'd better say that instead of the hundreds. But I come before you today with immense respect and respect for the offices you hold—so close to the people themselves—respect for your service to our nation at the most basic levels of our democracy. You know many of your constituents by face and by name. And you preside at commission and board meetings, where they voice their concerns. You know what it is to be stopped on the street to explain a decision. In recent years, you've worked imaginatively to increase private economic development in your communities—the best way to ensure economic growth. And

day in and day out, you know what it is to be held responsible for government actions. You know what it is, in short, to do the will of the people.

This is why I want to enlist you in the campaign that I began on the 3d of July on the steps of the Jefferson Memorial. There I called on all Americans to complete the work of the authors of the Declaration of Independence with an Economic Bill of Rights, a bill that will restore to us the freedoms that our Founding Fathers believed we should always have, a bill of rights that will protect us and future generations from the needless and wrongful encroachment of government upon our lives.

For make no mistake, the danger is grave. And many in Congress are intent upon returning to the days of unrestrained and irresponsible government—present company, I might add, is excepted. I know which side Governor Myers—or Congressman Myers is on. Consider, for example, the so-called budget process. Delay after delay, missed deadline after missed deadline—the entire budget process looks like intentionally staged chaos, chaos to provide a cover for those in Congress whose aim is to shift resources from the people's interest to the special interests.

Indeed, a recent article in the Washington Post described how one member of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee circulated a bill asking—well, it was to fill in the blanks, and the form was asking other members to sign up for their favorite pork-barrel project. And according to the Post, few could resist grabbing—quote—“a piece of the action.” Now, I've spoken before about this congressional urge to grab a piece of the action, but this is so important for you and all the American people to understand that I'd like to give you examples. To begin with, there's the highway bill with its massive demonstration projects that give more of the funds to a few, hand-picked areas. This approach deprives you of the necessary resources to return Federal dollars to places where they're really needed. I vetoed that bill earlier this year. By one vote, Congress managed to override my veto. Why? Well, in part, so that Congress could allow a certain major city to add an extension to its mass

transit system. The system will be so expensive, and for so few people, that it would be cheaper to buy each rider a new car every 5 years for the next half a century.

Also part of the highway bill, Congress chose to spend \$870 million for the continued construction of a subway system in a major city on the west coast. The city is in sound economic condition, could have financed the construction independently, but perhaps the really remarkable part of it all is that the route of the subway is still undetermined. Eight hundred and seventy million in a hole in the ground, and where it comes out, nobody knows. *[Laughter]*

I could go on and on. There's the Federal program that will spend millions to build luxury hotels, restaurants, and condominiums—that's right, fancy condominiums. I barely had time to figure out what “yuppies” were before Congress started to subsidize them. *[Laughter]* There are the farm programs that provide little or nothing for the many family farms, but that gave one wealthy farmer more than \$13 million and that gave hundreds of thousands of dollars to a Texas landowner who is neither American nor in need of public assistance. He's the Crown Prince of Liechtenstein.

But there's one program Congress recently voted on that pretty much says it all. This year the Congress of the United States, in its deep and unfathomable wisdom, voted 8 million of your tax dollars to establish—get ready—a center for the study of weeds. Now, I don't know whether I want to know any more about weeds. *[Laughter]* But you know, there are some days sitting in that Oval Office, with these bills coming across my desk, when I don't know whether to laugh or cry.

Now, I have been accused in recent days of campaigning for our Economic Bill of Rights in order to distract attention from other events in Washington. Well, it so happens that I've been campaigning for economic rights for more than three decades, and I intend to go on doing so for years to come. But more important, the truth is just the other way around. There are those who would like to distract attention from the real business of government: putting an end to unrestrained spending. And I'm con-

vinced that the great majority of Americans believe simply this: Stop the spending, and no more taxes.

And while I am getting a few things off my chest, something else has been bothering me lately. Critics have claimed that in opposing our administration on the issues, they're at some kind of an unfair disadvantage, that this Presidency is somehow based more on personality than on policy. Well, the truth is, no President can remain popular unless he retains the fundamental support of the American people on the issues. So, I invite my critics—I welcome my critics—to go after me on the issues just as hard as they please. We'll let the people decide who's right and who's wrong.

It all reminds me about Senator Gore of Oklahoma—a story told back in the early 1900's. Gore was both blind and a fiery orator. And one day an opponent of his in the Senate, stung by Gore's criticism, took to his feet and shouted, "If you weren't blind, I'd beat you to within an inch of your life." And Senator Gore simply responded, "Blindfold the so-and-so, and point him in my direction."

Tax hikes, budget-busting spending bills, job-destroying protectionism, a new round of soaring inflation—the momentum in Washington is building. As I've said since the beginning of this campaign, today virtually all that stands between us and a return to the malaise economy of the 1970's is the Presidential veto. And to make this point so clear that Congress can't possibly understand [misunderstand] me, permit me once again to repeat my commitment. As far as I'm concerned, our tax reform for the American people is, to borrow the title of the current hit movie, untouchable. And if any tax hike ever comes across my desk, my handling of the veto pen will make the way Elliott Ness went after Al Capone look like child's play.

But important as the Presidential veto power may be, we dare not rely upon it alone. No, we need more to protect the hard-won achievements of these past 6 years. And it is for this reason—to protect our prosperity and our jobs, to promote more growth and opportunity—that I have proposed our Economic Bill of Rights. Listen for a moment to the specific provi-

sions—and Congress, take notice.

The people are entitled to the fruits of their labor and shall not be burdened by excessive taxation. What does this mean? It means that more than a mere majority of the Congress should be required to raise taxes—not just 50 percent plus one, maybe 60 percent, maybe two-thirds. I know when I was Governor of California it took two-thirds of the legislature to pass the budget, and it took 60 percent of the voters to pass a bond issue. They've cried out in fright in Washington as if I've suggested something unconstitutional with regard to raising taxes.

The future of succeeding generations shall not be mortgaged to the national debt through deficit spending. The Congress shall be required to balance the budget each and every year.

Special interest legislation shall not be hidden from the people. The President shall have the right to veto individual appropriations. The President shall have the line-item veto. I used it 943 times when I was a Governor, and I miss it in Washington.

The people are entitled to pursue their own livelihood, free from excessive regulation and tax-subsidized competition. I will appoint a Presidential commission to spearhead efforts to privatize public-owned enterprises.

Educational development, creativity, and initiative will be fostered by diversity in our educational system.

Welfare programs must not harm the structure of family and community. Through the use of incentives, the Congress will seek to lift the least fortunate to independence and full participation in American life and economy.

Free and fair trade will be encouraged. The Congress shall pass no measure that slows growth, shrinks markets, or destroys jobs by erecting high tariffs or other trade barriers.

The Government shall take seriously the 5th and 14th amendment guarantees to "life, liberty, and property." Whenever government expropriates the use or value of private property, whether outright or through government regulations, owners will be justly compensated.

The burden of government shall not be hidden from view. The Congress shall require that a financial impact statement accompany each bill, specifying the economic growth, employment—or the effect on economic growth and employment, and competition overseas. There will be truth in Federal spending. At last, Congress will specify how every single new program is to be paid for.

These last two points, truth in Federal spending and the requirement for a financial impact statement, bear directly upon your work as county officials. For in recent years, Congress hasn't been satisfied with just spending hundreds of billions of Federal funds. Congress has wanted to spend still more money, including the funds of State and local governments.

You all know how it works. The Federal Government appropriates millions for this or that program, then mandates that you participate in the program by spending millions of your own dollars or by complying with certain national standards to avoid the loss of Federal funds. In all this, "mandates" is just a fancy word for big government in Washington pushing around the levels of government that are closest to the people.

Under our proposals, whenever Congress considered legislation that would impose costs on State and local governments, a statement of those costs would appear in the legislation itself, not buried in some obscure committee report. Still more significant, Congress would be required to state what they expect the impact to be on State and local governments and where the funds would come from, not leave it to local officials like you to explain to your constituents why you're forced to raise taxes because of something that happened in Washington. These simple measures would force the Federal Government to do what it should have been doing all along: take federalism seriously and treat State and local governments with respect.

Now, all that sounds good to me, but you're the one whose opinions count. So, let me ask you: Isn't it high time Washington put its own house in order and stopped pushing you around? [*Applause*]

Respecting economic rights may prove painful for some, but doing so is of funda-

mental importance to the future of our nation. For to limit economic freedom is to impair economic growth. Look at the history of our own times. Socialist countries seem to experience some economic malaise precisely to the extent that they're Socialist. And in the Communist world, we see economic stagnation, material backwardness of every kind. Yes, in concentrating on it all but exclusively, the Soviet Union has been able to build its military into a formidable force. But ask yourself this: When was the last time you bought a car—or there are some other things there—even a good cheese or a videocassette recorder and the label read, "Made in the U.S.S.R."?

In our own nation, too, we have recent examples that prove how important it is for government to respect economic rights. Consider the Federal income tax. No property is more private, no property is more personal, even intimate, than an individual's income. It directly represents the labor, day-in and day-out, of one's mind and hands. It's used for the necessities of life itself, to provide for one's family, to make possible the adventure of building a better life. Yet during the 1970's, the Federal Government showed a high-handed disregard for this most fundamental form of property, taxing it at higher and higher levels, permitting inflation to raise effective tax rates again and again.

Well, our administration changed all that. We cut tax rates, indexed tax brackets, then simplified the entire tax system with our historic tax reform. And the result? The connection between effort and reward was reestablished, giving virtually every participant in our economy new incentives for achievement. Today unemployment stands at the lowest rate in almost 8 years. Government revenues at the Federal level and for most State and local governments have actually gone up. The stock and bond markets have risen to record highs. And come this Thanksgiving, this tax cut-led expansion—if it's still going on—on Thanksgiving Day will go into the books as the longest peacetime expansion ever to take place in this nation. And perhaps most important, we've seen the creation of more than 13 million new jobs.

Yet all that we've achieved—our hard-won victory over inflation, the millions of new jobs—all these are in danger. It is our duty to protect them, to secure for ourselves and our children the economic rights that will enable our nation, now and into the 21st century, to become a still greater land, a land of ever-increasing prosperity and ever-widening opportunity. In this bicentennial year of our Constitution, I submit to you that we see in the vision of the Founding Fathers and in the Constitution itself the promise of a government that is good, because it respects its citizens' rights, both political and economic, and that has chosen once and for all to live within its own means. And now I ask you to join me; join me, my friends, in making that promise come true.

I can't conclude without telling another little story here. I've got a new hobby. I am collecting stories that I can find are told by the people of the Soviet Union, among themselves, which shows a great sense of humor, but also a certain cynicism about their way of life. And when I mentioned socialism a few moments ago, I thought to myself I wanted to tell you this story about their system and their economy. The story has to do with a fellow buying a car over there. You have to wait 10 years, if you're a Soviet citizen, for an automobile. You have

to put the money down and then sign all the papers and go through all the departments, and then you wait for 10 years to get your car. Well, they tell the story about a fellow who was doing this and finally got to the last place, stamped the paper, signed up, put down his money, and the man in charge said, "Well now, come back in 10 years and get your automobile." And he said, "Morning or afternoon?" [Laughter] And the man said, "Well, what difference does it make 10 years from now?" "Well," he said, "the plumber's coming in the morning." [Laughter]

Well, by the way, those who tell you that we have deficits because we cut the income taxes—you might be interested to know that at the lower rates of our income tax, by 1985—our tax program didn't really go into effect until 1983—by 1985, our income tax revenues were \$44 billion bigger than they had been in 1941 at the higher rates. So, with that, join us, and let's get an Economic Bill of Rights.

And thank you all, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. in Hall C at the Indianapolis Convention Center. In his opening remarks, he referred to Lt. Gov. John M. Mutz, Mayor William H. Hudnut III, and Representative John T. Myers. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Statement on the Death of Nathan Perlmutter July 14, 1987

With the death of Nathan Perlmutter, we have all suffered a tremendous loss. His passing leaves a void which cannot be filled. But he also leaves a legacy which will long be remembered and cherished. We will not forget his devotion to his family, the Jewish people, and his country; nor his devotion to the very highest principles: truth, respect for the inalienable rights of individuals, and human freedom.

I personally take some consolation in the fact that only 3 weeks ago I was able to

award him a richly deserved Presidential Medal of Freedom, our nation's highest civilian honor. Although he was then already too ill to attend the ceremony, I had the pleasure of talking with Nate by phone before the event. I also had the pleasure of giving the award to Ruth Ann Perlmutter, his wife and collaborator in all his many achievements. To her and the rest of Nathan Perlmutter's family, Nancy and I send our heartfelt condolences.

White House Statement on the President's Meeting With the Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

July 14, 1987

The President met today with members of his Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board to receive a briefing on the Board's findings and recommendations regarding the procedures and practices to protect classified information and activities at our foreign missions worldwide. The Board's report is classified.

The Advisory Board as well as the panels chaired by former Defense Secretary Laird and former Defense Secretary Schlesinger have together conducted comprehensive, hard-hitting, thorough studies of the serious counterintelligence and security issues that confront our Embassy in Moscow and throughout the world. The studies have underscored the gravity of the challenges we face as a result of Soviet actions against our mission in the U.S.S.R. and the implications for the security of our overseas missions revealed by the discoveries we have made around the world, in Moscow, and in recent espionage investigations. The studies have made clear the need for determined, bold action to continue to meet this problem head on and now.

The recommendations contained in the reports are comprehensive. They address options for providing our mission in the U.S.S.R. with the secure environment our

personnel need to conduct our relations with the Soviet Union. They address systemic changes in the way we construct our facilities overseas to assure that we never again face the situation we now confront in Moscow. They also make recommendations regarding the structure and conduct of our security and counterintelligence programs worldwide to attempt to prevent any repetition of the serious breakdown in our defenses to the activities of hostile intelligence services we have recently discovered in our Moscow Embassy.

This administration has given high priority to improving our ability to detect and counter espionage as well as other threats and activities directed by foreign intelligence services against United States Government establishments or persons. Our decisions, which will affect the security of our overseas presence for decades to come, will require the best minds and talent we can muster as a nation. Solutions will also require resources. In the next 2 weeks the President, together with Secretary Shultz and his senior advisers, will review the recommendations these panels have made to determine what measures are required. In this review, the administration will be consulting with Congress, which has a major role to play in meeting this challenge.

Proclamation 5677—National Podiatric Medicine Week, 1987

July 14, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

This year, as the American Podiatric Medical Association celebrates its 75th anniversary, we can be truly grateful for the foot care provided by doctors of podiatric medicine and for the continuing benefits of research into medical problems of the foot.

According to medical estimates, the average person walks 115,000 miles in a lifetime. We do this on feet that contain an intricate network of muscles, other tissues, and one fourth of all our bones. Each year, millions of Americans need professional foot care because of injury, neglect or abuse of their feet, the effects of aging or heredity, and diseases such as arthritis and diabetes.

Basic medical research offers significant

promise for the prevention and relief of many foot health complaints. New approaches to diagnosis and treatment, however, are also needed to eliminate foot problems. Private, voluntary organizations and the Federal government have developed a strong and enduring partnership committed to research on foot problems and other disorders of the musculoskeletal system. We can have every confidence that concerted efforts will ultimately uncover even more effective treatments for such problems.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 75, has designated the week of August 2 through August 8, 1987, as "National Podiatric Medicine Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this occasion.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do

hereby proclaim the week of August 2 through August 8, 1987, as National Podiatric Medicine Week. I urge the people of the United States and educational, philanthropic, scientific, medical, and health care organizations and professionals to observe this week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:32 p.m., July 15, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 15.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Minority Business Owners July 15, 1987

Thank you very much. In the business I used to be in, with a hand like that, I'd have quit now. [Laughter] Can't improve on that. Well, I thank you all very much, and welcome to the Old Executive Office Building.

You know, I can confess to this group that I've been accused of being probusiness. Well, I just have to say: Guilty as charged. [Laughter] That doesn't mean, however, that I think business is always perfect and that things can't go wrong. Like the story of the businessman who called his partner up late at night, sounded very panicky, and he said, "There's \$20,000 missing from the safe. What should I do?" His partner said, "Put it back." [Laughter]

But it's you and entrepreneurs and businessmen and women like you around the country who are carrying this economic expansion into its 55th month, an expansion that's created over 13 million new jobs—that translates into an average of 236,000 new jobs each and every month. As I said, this peacetime expansion has been going on

for 55 months. The longest one in our national history, so far, was 58 months, so that gives us a little less than 4 months to go till we break the record. What do you say? Let's go for the gold. [Applause]

We know what's made this growth and progress possible. We got government out of your pockets and out of the way. I was once asked what the difference is between a small business and a big business, and I answered, "Well, a big business is what a small business would be if the government would get out of its way and leave it alone." It's economic freedom that brings economic opportunity. And the many of you who have built your businesses up from scratch know that this thing we call economic freedom isn't some fuzzy, philosophical concept; it's a day-to-day reality for you. It's often a question of survival, the difference between making it and not, between regulations and taxes that are just too steep to hurdle over and opportunity that gives you running room and a chance to compete.

That's why on July 3d I stood at the steps

of the Jefferson Memorial and spoke of my commitment, for the rest of my political career, to campaign for an Economic Bill of Rights. We saw in the late sixties and seventies how so much of the promise of the civil rights movement seemed to be stolen as our economy faltered, as opportunity was ground down under the heavy hand of big government and the oppressive effects of taxes, inflation, and regulation. Minorities fought a courageous battle to win their rights, to purchase a ticket on the train of economic progress. They won that right, but no sooner had they climbed aboard than they saw that train slow down and grind to a halt. It was bitter irony that meant more decades of frustration and anger—too often, hopelessness and despair.

What went wrong? The civil rights movement was one of the proudest moments in our history, when our nation righted ancient wrongs, when we extended to all Americans God-given rights promised in our Constitution, and we made ourselves live up to our ideals. Those were great achievements in those days, but they just didn't go far enough.

It should not be forgotten that the civil rights movement was in great part a struggle against discriminatory government regulations. That's what Jim Crow laws were. That wasn't anything just dreamed up in a neighborhood; this was under the law. But at the same time that some freedoms were being fought for and won, the laws that violated those freedoms were struck down and removed from the books, the Government was steadily and massively encroaching on other individual freedoms, and the regulatory apparatus reached out to touch and control almost every aspect of our economic life. Civil rights are empty rights if not accompanied by economic opportunity. Our country fought for the right of all to sit at a lunch counter. At the same time, the Government was making it harder and harder to own one. We fought for the right of all Americans to hold whatever job they were qualified for but made it even harder to find any job at all.

When the 14th amendment guaranteed "life, liberty, and property," it was echoing a basic theme of our Founding Fathers, a secular trinity, each of which is an essential

component and guarantee of the others. Life, liberty, and property—they are like three pegs holding up a table. Remove one, and the whole thing comes crashing down. It seems almost old-fashioned to talk about property rights these days, but to our Founding Fathers, property rights were part of the natural law, the self-evident rights granted by God. Governments were instituted among men to guarantee them, not to take them away. A man's home is his castle—that is the foundation of civilized order, an ancient statement of individual rights that comes down to us through English common law. But in the last several decades, it seemed that the Government saw a man's home as simply another source of tax revenue. Marginal income tax rates soared as high as 75 and on up—90 percent. They were, to use another old-fashioned term, "confiscatory."

Well, like our forefathers, we rebelled—peacefully, this time. From Proposition 13 in California to Proposition 2½ in Massachusetts, the tax revolt spread across America. In 1981 we slashed tax rates nearly 25 percent across the board. And last year we won an historic victory for economic freedom with a reform of our tax code that slashed tax rates once again, and those will all be in effect in the coming year. As part of our economic program, we also undid many burdensome and useful—or useless government regulations and squashed inflation. Forgive me for this, but I knew our economic program was working when they didn't call it Reaganomics anymore. [Laughter]

Yes, it created opportunity for those who had before been economically disenfranchised: the poor and minorities. After the largest increase in history, we first stopped and then reversed the upward spiral in poverty not through growth in government but through growth in the economy, not by creating more welfare but by creating more jobs. In our economic expansion, what the Europeans call the economic miracle, growth in minority employment has substantially outpaced that of the overall population. Still, while opportunities are improving, we won't be satisfied until everyone who wants a job has a job.

Yes, we've made historic progress these last few years, in great part because we've begun to return to the principles of our Founding Fathers. But we'd be fooling ourselves if we didn't acknowledge that all that progress is under attack—under attack by a profligate Congress that seems to have learned nothing in the last 6 years, a Congress that wants to turn the last few years of the 1980's into a depressing relay—or replay of the 1970's. In speech after speech, I've been detailing the pork-barrel politics, the billions of dollars of waste. Congress is spending at a fever-pace, and they expect the American taxpayer to foot the bill. One Congressman has called for so many tax hikes his colleagues contemptuously refer to his "Tax-of-the-Month Club."

Well, I must have promised a hundred times to veto any tax hike that ever comes across my desk, and that promise still stands, but they keep coming back, calling for more taxes. And I thought I was the one who needed a hearing aid. [Laughter] No, there will be no tax increase while I'm in office. It's time now to institutionalize our gains, to write into law guarantees of our economic rights and ensure our prosperity not only in this generation but in the next. Let's stop overspending with a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. Let's cut out the pork and waste with a line-item veto. And let's protect our paychecks by requiring more than a mere majority in Congress to raise taxes.

One of the things I've been talking about as part of the Economic Bill of Rights is the need for a sort of financial impact statement, very much like an environmental impact statement. It would require Congress to notify the American people as to the economic consequences of their programs. There's a perfect example of that coming up for a vote in this Congress, something that hits hardest at minorities, young people, and the poor. It's the effort by some in Congress, under pressure from special interests, to raise the minimum wage.

It's said that if you put 10 economists in a room and ask a question, you'll get 10 different answers. I can make jokes like that, because my degree was in economics. [Laughter] I thought it was honorary when

they gave it to me, but—[laughter]—but you know, that story is not the case with the minimum wage; most economists agree that raising the minimum wage reduces employment. Economists call it disemployment, but it amounts to the same thing: fewer jobs than there would have been.

In fact, there are numerous economic studies that make just that point. We've had a lot of years of raises in the minimum wage. Our Labor Department has estimated that every 10-percent increase in the minimum wage will mean 100,000 to 200,000 fewer jobs. Some in Congress want to raise the minimum wage more than 38 percent over the next 3 years. That could mean 800,000 jobs down the drain, jobs that already exist or jobs, hope, and opportunity that will never be created.

This administration wants no part of a bill that will cost hundreds of thousands of teenagers and young adults the opportunity to get a job and to get the invaluable experience that goes with it. We won't be party to jinxing another generation. That's the real cost of the minimum wage legislation before Congress. And if eliminating 800,000 jobs is what some in Congress really want to do, then they should be made to stand up and admit as much to the American people.

Some 20 years ago, I remember quoting one of the leading commentators of the period. "The profit motive is outmoded," he said. "It must be replaced by the incentives of the welfare state. The distribution of goods must be affected by a planned economy." It seems incredible to us now, but he was only parroting the accepted wisdom of the period. I called my speech "A Time For Choosing." Well, the choice is still before us, whether we're going to be dragged back into big government or if we're going to push forward, if we're going to write protections of our economic freedoms into law so that politicians can never again threaten our economy with bankruptcy and stagnation. Yes, we've learned a lot since those days, in great part through the example of men and women such as you, living examples of the American dream. And your kind of businesses have played a major part in creating those 13 million new jobs in these last few years.

So many of you have stories to tell, inspiring stories of courage and perseverance, of triumph against all odds. But there's one story I just have to tell. It's about a young Cuban girl. She suffered from a disease of her scalp when she was a child, and that motivated her, at the early age of 11, to start her own job—business, I should say, as a beautician. She was doing pretty well—well enough that when Castro took over he took away her business, confiscated her bank account, and threw her in jail. Castro doesn't believe in the profit motive either, but then, when was the last thing in Castro's Cuba that ran at a profit? Fortunately, she was able to escape Cuba with her husband and two children. She came here with little more than faith in God and belief in the free enterprise and that system. But now she has a \$5 million company selling beauty products. She gives thousands of dollars a year to charity, and she has 16 weekly TV programs in which she talks about drug abuse, the importance of family life, and, yes, the importance of economic freedom. Mirta, will you stand up and take a bow? [Applause]

That's the American dream, a dream that all of you every day are making a reality. In this time for choosing, let's make sure that it stays that way, that the story of America continues to be the story of people like Mirta de Perales, a story of hope, faith, and freedom. Let's complete the civil rights movement by writing a guarantee of the American dream into the Constitution, a guarantee that America will always be, for our children and our children's children, the land of opportunity.

Well, I thank you very much for coming here today and for all that you're doing, and God bless you all.

[At this point, Hector Barreto, president of the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, gave the President a painting depicting minority business professionals.]

Thank you all. I have a feeling this will be hanging very shortly in a Presidential library. [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Proclamation 5678—United States Olympic Festival—1987 Celebration

United States Olympic Festival—1987 Day

July 15, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

In this, the year prior to the 1988 Olympics, it is fitting that we celebrate the coming event throughout the United States with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

One such way to recognize this major athletic event is to join together in support of American athletes now in training to represent this great country in Canada and Korea. Thousands of American athletes participate annually in the Olympic movement all over the world. The International Olympic Games are held every 4 years and are the culmination of the skill and prowess re-

sulting from countless hours of work and preparation.

The United States Olympic Festival is an amateur athletic competition that enables potential Olympians to participate in events identical to those performed in the International Games. During this Festival, skills are refined and a camaraderie is fostered among our athletes that signifies American unity and exemplifies the spirit of the Olympic movement. Some 4,000 athletes, trainers, and coaches, in addition to 7,000 volunteers and more than 300,000 spectators, will participate in the 1987 United States Olympic Festival in Raleigh, Durham, Chapel Hill, Cary, and Greens-

boro, North Carolina.

In recognition of the role the United States Olympic Festival plays in strengthening America's place in international competition, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 138, has designated the period beginning on July 13, 1987, and ending on July 26, 1987, as United States Olympic Festival—1987 Celebration and July 17, 1987, as United States Olympic Festival—1987 Day and authorized the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do

hereby proclaim July 13–July 26, 1987, as United States Olympic Festival—1987 Celebration and July 17, 1987, as United States Olympic Festival—1987 Day.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fifteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:59 p.m., July 16, 1987]

Executive Order 12602—President's Commission on Executive Exchange

July 15, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, it is hereby ordered that Section 2(b) of Executive Order No. 12493 of December 5, 1984, as amended, is further amended by deleting the phrase "90 days" and inserting in lieu

thereof the phrase "365 days."

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
July 15, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 1 p.m., July 16, 1987]

Appointment of Cresencio Arcos, Jr., as Principal Coordinator for Public Diplomacy on Central America

July 15, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Cresencio Arcos, Jr., as Principal Coordinator for Public Diplomacy on Central America in the White House Office of Communications. This is a new position. Mr. Arcos will direct interagency public diplomacy efforts in support of administration initiatives in Central America. He will coordinate activities involving the White House, the National Security Council, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, USIA, and other agencies. He will serve in this capacity for at least the next 90

days.

Mr. Arcos currently serves as Deputy Director in the Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America at the Department of State. Prior to that he was Deputy Director of the Nicaraguan Humanitarian Assistance Office at the Department of State. A member of the U.S. Information Agency, Senior Foreign Service, Mr. Arcos has served as counselor for public affairs in Honduras; consul for press and culture in Leningrad; consul for cultural affairs, São Paulo, Brazil; and Information Center Director, U.S. Embassy,

Lisbon, Portugal.

A graduate of the University of Texas, he earned a masters in international studies at

Johns Hopkins. Mr. Arcos was born November 10, 1943.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the All-America Cities Awards

July 16, 1987

Thank you, and welcome to the White House. And you know, I was getting set as to what I was going to say to you a few days ago, and then the weather doublecrossed me. And I'm going to go ahead, because what I was going to say was: And a special thanks for putting up with Washington in this heat. And it was that hot a couple of days ago. And then I was going to tell you that it reminded me of a Sunday morning in church back when I was growing up in Illinois. And talking about the wages of sin, the preacher said, looking out over the congregation—and then he said, "If you think it's hot now, just wait." [*Laughter*] Well, see, I got that in anyway, even if the weather did change. [*Laughter*]

Well, today we've gathered to talk about virtue—the virtue of working together to solve local problems. It was more than 100 years ago that the French philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville traveled through our country, and he was struck by the way that Americans cooperate to solve problems. In his words, quote: "I have often seen Americans make really great sacrifices for the common good, and I have noticed a hundred cases in which, when help was needed, they hardly ever failed to give each other trusty support."

Well, for 93 years now, the National Civic League has worked to promote just that spirit, that distinctively American spirit of cooperation. And for 38 of these years, the League's All-America Cities Awards program has recognized outstanding citizen action in attacking local problems. Just think of the numbers involved: More than 3,500 communities representing some 100 million of our citizens have participated in the competition, and more than 350 communities have been given the coveted

award. As we celebrate the bicentennial year of our Constitution, we're all especially aware of the need for good citizenship like that promoted by these awards. And so it is that I take great pleasure in making the following presentations.

Columbus, Ohio:

Through the Short North Business Association, Columbus undertook a neighborhood revitalization program that has overseen, in conjunction with the Columbus Neighborhood Design Assistance Center, \$1.4 million in capital improvements in a formerly blighted inner city area.

Hickory, North Carolina:

With the help of 300 volunteers, civic leaders of Hickory transformed a decaying local historic landmark into the Arts Center, which has become one of the outstanding cultural facilities in the Southeast. In addition, local citizens are working to develop strategies and recommendations to make their area an even better place in which to live and work in the 1990's and beyond.

Olympia, Washington:

The League of Women Voters in Olympia led a coalition of 11 community organizations to reorganize the city government and was able to generate \$44 million in public and private reinvestment funds that resulted in 90 new businesses relocating to downtown Olympia, creating 290 new jobs. An expanded job creation program pursued in cooperation with surrounding communities resulted in 390 volunteers recruiting 40 new companies that have hired 1,850 employees, reduced unemployment from 12.2 percent to 7.7 percent, contributed \$400,000 to local tax collection, and added \$10 million in retail sales.

Pensacola, Florida:

Pensacola citizens established a nonprofit community development corporation that began a revolving loan fund that has provided \$840,000 over 2 years for the establishment or expansion of 17 small businesses, creating 103 new jobs. Several local banks work in a partnership with the corporation that has been so successful, and

the State of Florida is now using it as a model.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania:

The Pittsburgh city government became a working partner with community groups and private investors through the creation of the city's first housing department. Since it was created, more than 15,000 loans have been made to help low and middle income owners renovate their homes, and almost 2,000 below-market-rate mortgages have been approved for first-time home buyers.

Prince George's County, Maryland:

A citizen coalition in Prince George's County championed a fiscal turnaround, a business-financed public relations and marketing campaign, and a privately led revitalization of county economic growth and development. Of particular note is the Advisory Council for Business and Industry, which undertook an aggressive advertising and recruitment campaign to highlight the achievements of the county school system and attract talented new teachers and received nearly 7,000 applications for teaching positions.

Richmond, Indiana:

In late 1984 Richmond community leaders began a project to help workers dislocated by recent plant closings. Within 6 months, 90 percent of the workers targeted were employed and a permanent career opportunities center was opened. At the same time, Richmond community

schools initiated an incentive program giving \$100 awards to students who achieved 100-percent attendance records. Perfect attendance jumped from 37 to 222 students, and expulsions dropped by more than 30 percent. The next year perfect attendance remained high, even without the rewards.

Vancouver, Washington:

Vancouver undertook a major citywide initiative to play host to an exhibition of world-class contemporary Japanese works in order to bridge a growing cultural gap in the Vancouver-Portland area. This project was a great success and helped create an awareness within the community of how much more there is to learn about the history, culture, and national character of their Pacific neighbor.

Well, congratulations to each of you once again. From our neighbors in Prince George's County, Maryland, to the other side of the continent and the towns of Olympia and Vancouver, Washington—you're all demonstrating the spirit of initiative and cooperation that made our nation great and will keep her great. And on behalf of all Americans, I thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:35 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on Environmental Quality

July 16, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress the Sixteenth Annual Report of the Council on Environmental Quality.

Clean air and water, productive and beautiful lands, abundant wildlife, and plentiful energy and natural resources are part of America's heritage. Throughout history Americans have sustained a deep, abiding relationship with their land and a reverence for this natural resource heritage. Prior to colonial settlement, native Americans strongly maintained these attitudes and the vast majority of Americans today hold similar values. My commitment to the conservation and stewardship of this treasured na-

tional heritage by the American people is guided by these beliefs.

The United States has by far the most comprehensive legislation of any nation on earth aimed towards environmental protection and natural resource conservation. This legislative umbrella continues to undergo modification in order to refine and redirect the Nation's programs to best serve the American people. These efforts are having an effect. By all accounts our Nation's air and water are getting cleaner. Likewise, our natural resource heritage is generally being preserved adequately and managed well. As this report observes, "Most renewable resources and their outputs appear to

be sufficiently abundant to satisfactorily meet the needs of the nation Generally, the quality of these resources and their outputs is improving.” Further, it concludes that “Time has tested our policies and programs and our resource managers, both public and private. They appear to have served Americans well.”

However, this report also makes clear that despite these positive trends, programs and policies governing environmental protection and natural resource preservation are in need of change. The potential to devote virtually infinite resources to any of a number of environmental problems with diminishing benefits requires approaches that strike balances. This report suggests mechanisms for better striking those balances.

Also, we are becoming increasingly aware that many environmental problems do not stop at national boundaries and that international and global environmental problems will increasingly require coordinated atten-

tion. This report, consequently, provides the first government in-depth review of the international environment as it pertains to the United States since 1981. The conclusion of the first *Environmental Quality Report* in 1970 that “National environmental goals must be developed and pursued in the realization that the human environment is global in nature, and that international cooperation must be a principal ingredient to effective environmental management” is even more pertinent today.

We can be proud of our environmental achievements. Also, we can look forward to a future of an enhanced national environmental heritage combined with economic prosperity if, as a nation, we move forthrightly to deal with complex environmental issues in a thoughtful, analytical manner, striking appropriate balances between competing social values.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
July 16, 1987.

Executive Order 12603—Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic

July 16, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. I), and in order to increase the number of members of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic, it is hereby ordered that Section 1(a) of Executive Order No. 12601 of June 24, 1987, is

amended by changing the number of members of the Commission from 11 to 13.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
July 16, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:26 a.m., July 17, 1987]

Proclamation 5679—Specialty Steel Import Relief July 16, 1987

Extension of Temporary Duty Increases and Quantitative Limitations on the Importation Into the United States of Certain Stainless Steel and Alloy Tool Steel

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

1. On July 5, 1983, pursuant to section 202(b)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974 (the Act) (19 U.S.C. 2252(b)(1)) and after taking into account the considerations specified in section 202(c) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2252(c)) and the report and recommendations of the United States International Trade Commission (the Commission), I determined to impose additional tariffs and quantitative restrictions on imports of certain bars; wire rods; and plates, sheets and strips, not cut, not pressed, and not stamped to nonrectangular shape; all the foregoing of stainless steel or certain alloy tool steel; and round wire of high-speed tool steel, provided for in specified items of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) (19 U.S.C. 1202). By Proclamation 5074 of July 19, 1983, pursuant to sections 203(a)(1), 203(a)(3), and 203(e)(1) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(a)(1), 2253(a)(3), and 2253(e)(1)), I provided import relief through the temporary imposition of increased tariffs and quantitative restrictions on certain stainless steel and alloy tool steel as set forth in the Annex to that Proclamation.

2. Further, in Proclamation 5074 I directed the United States Trade Representative (USTR) to take such actions and perform such functions for the United States as may be necessary to administer and implement such relief, to negotiate orderly marketing agreements pursuant to section 203 of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2253), to modify such relief pursuant to section 203, and to make any changes in the headnote or TSUS items created in the Annex to that Proclamation that may be necessary to implement the foregoing authority. I also directed the USTR to conduct an annual review of the necessity for and effectiveness of such relief and to

recommend any appropriate action under section 203(h)(4) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(h)(4)).

3. On September 18, 1984, I established a national policy for the steel industry and directed the USTR to coordinate and direct the implementation of that policy, including the negotiation of new arrangements with exporting countries and the reaffirmation of existing measures limiting steel exports into the United States. Supplemental authority to enforce the national policy for the steel industry was provided in Title VIII of the Trade and Tariff Act of 1984 (19 U.S.C. 2253 note).

4. Pursuant to the above authority, the USTR concluded agreements with the European Community and 18 other exporting nations and made such modifications to the import relief proclaimed in Proclamation 5074 as were necessary to implement these agreements.

5. I have now determined that the relief provided in Proclamation 5074, as subsequently modified, should be extended through September 30, 1989, as set forth in the Annex to this Proclamation. Finally, I have determined to continue the authority of the USTR under the national policy for the steel industry to take such actions as he determines necessary and appropriate to carry out that policy, including further actions with respect to articles subject to the relief set forth in the Annex to this Proclamation.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, including but not limited to sections 203 and 604 of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2253 and 2483), and in accordance with Article XIX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (16 Stat. [pt. 5] A58; 8 UST [pt. 2] 1786), do proclaim that—

(1) Part I of Schedule XX of the GATT is modified to conform to the action taken in the Annex to this Proclamation.

(2) Subpart A, part 2 of the Appendix to

the TSUS is modified as set forth in the Annex to this Proclamation.

(3) The authority delegated to the USTR by Proclamation 5074 is hereby continued throughout the duration of the relief set forth in the Annex to this Proclamation.

(4) The President's authority to prescribe regulations concerning any restriction proclaimed in Proclamation 5074 and continued by this Proclamation, or governing the entry or withdrawal from warehouse of articles covered by orderly marketing agreements negotiated thereunder or of like articles that are the product of countries not parties to any such agreement, previously delegated by Proclamation 5074 to the Secretary of the Treasury, shall continue to be exercised under the terms provided in such Proclamation for the duration of the relief provided herein.

(5) The Secretary of the Treasury shall take such actions as the USTR shall determine are necessary to implement any import relief under this Proclamation, or modifications thereof.

(6) Nothing in this Proclamation shall

limit the authority delegated to the USTR pursuant to the national policy for the steel industry, including the authority to take such further action as he may determine to be necessary and appropriate to carry out that policy.

(7) This Proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after July 20, 1987, and before the close of September 30, 1989, unless the period of its effectiveness is earlier expressly modified or terminated.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 16th day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:25 a.m., July 17, 1987]

Note: The annex to the proclamation was printed in the "Federal Register" of July 20.

Memorandum on Specialty Steel Import Relief

July 16, 1987

Memorandum for the United States Trade Representative

Subject: Specialty Steel Import Relief Determination

Pursuant to section 203(h)(3) of the Trade Act of 1974 (P.L. 93-618), I have determined the action I will take with respect to the report of the U.S. International Trade Commission, transmitted to me on May 15, 1987, concerning the results of its investigation on the question of extending import relief granted to the specialty steel industry in 1983. This investigation was initiated as a result of a petition filed by the Specialty Steel Industry of the United States and the United Steelworkers of America.

I have determined that the extension of relief as provided under Proclamation 5074, as subsequently modified under my national

policy for the steel industry, is consistent with our national economic interest.

I will, therefore, proclaim the extension of import relief in the form currently in effect. I will impose this relief for a period to extend from July 20, 1987, through September 30, 1989, in order to provide time for this industry to complete important investment projects, improve productivity, and regain profitability. I have decided to provide relief in a form consistent with my belief in minimal government interference in the marketplace, in a manner that facilitates the orderly adjustment of the industry while recognizing the substantial differences in the competitive conditions of the various segments of this industry.

For the "flat-rolled" products (stainless steel sheet and strip and stainless steel plate), I will proclaim the continuation of a

degressive tariff, as modified by headnote 10(g)(i) of Subpart A, part 2 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States. The tariff will be decreased from 3 percent ad valorem in the first year, to 2 percent ad valorem in the second year, and to 1 percent in the final period (July 20, 1989, to September 30, 1989).

In recognition of the weaker competitive position of the stainless steel bar, rod, and alloy tool steel sectors, I will proclaim the extension of global quotas for these products in the form currently in effect, as modified by headnote 10(g)(ii) of Subpart A, part 2 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States.

In order to facilitate the orderly transition between my original import relief measure and the extension that I will proclaim, as well as to provide adequate time for the negotiation or renegotiation of orderly marketing agreements, I will extend the country allocations for stainless steel bar and wire rod and alloy tool steel for a period of 92 days, to end on October 19, 1987, at the levels cited in the Annex to my proclamation.

For stainless steel bar, imports will be limited during the remainder of the first year to 17,717 net tons; imports in the

second year will be limited to 24,159 net tons; and imports in the final period will be limited to 4,977 net tons.

For stainless steel wire rod, imports will be limited during the remainder of the first year of extended import relief to 10,213 net tons; imports in the second year will be limited to 13,926 net tons; and imports in the final period will be limited to 2,869 net tons.

For alloy tool steel, imports will be limited to 13,182 net tons during the remainder of the first year of extended import relief; imports in the second year will be limited to 17,977 net tons; and imports in the final period will be limited to 3,703 net tons.

These limitations may be unilaterally allocated on a country-by-country basis, or bilateral agreements may be negotiated or renegotiated with countries that request such negotiations.

This determination shall be published in the *Federal Register*.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:27 a.m., July 17, 1987]

Note: The memorandum was printed in the "Federal Register" of July 20.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on Specialty Steel Import Relief July 16, 1987

The President has decided to extend existing import relief for the specialty steel industry until September 30, 1989, when the remainder of his national steel program expires. This import relief will be in the form of declining tariffs for stainless steel sheet, strip, and plate, and quotas for stainless steel rod, bar, and alloy tool steel.

The widespread trade problems in the specialty steel industry stem from a variety of sources. Part of the difficulties arise from persistent global overproduction, some of it subsidized, as well as trade barriers and distortive practices used by our trading partners to protect their domestic industries

and to stimulate exports. The President took these factors into consideration on July 5, 1983, when he made his original decision to grant import relief under section 201 of the Trade Act of 1974. These factors were a major consideration in today's decision, as well.

The President's decision to extend import relief to the specialty steel industry is part of his comprehensive approach to trade problems in steel. The objective of that program is to bring an end to constant trade disputes over steel by reversing global trends toward excess capacity, greater subsidization, and increasingly protected foreign

markets. The relief announced today is in the form most consistent with the President's belief that government should interfere with the marketplace as little as possible and that when government action is necessary it should facilitate orderly adjustment in the industry.

The U.S. International Trade Commission (USITC) has found that the economic condition of companies producing stainless steel sheet, strip, and plate is stronger than other segments of the industry. Further, many of these imports are already covered by bilateral arrangements negotiated under the President's national steel program. Therefore, a modest tariff starting at 3 percent and declining to 1 percent of the value, will be imposed on importation of these products.

In recognition of the weaker competitive

position of the stainless steel bar and wire rod and alloy tool steel sectors, the President has decided to maintain the existing quota program with continued increases in the quotas established in 1983. In addition, the President has again authorized the U.S. Trade Representative to allocate unilaterally these quantitative restrictions on a country-by-country basis or to negotiate or renegotiate bilateral arrangements with our trading partners in order to provide for such country allocations.

In order to facilitate the orderly transition between the original import relief and this extension, as well as to provide time for the expected negotiations, the President has decided to extend for 90 days, through October 19, 1987, the allocations provided during the final year of the existing import relief for stainless steel bar and wire rod and alloy tool steel.

Appointment of W.R. Eckelmann as a Member of the Acid Precipitation Task Force

July 17, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint W.R. Eckelmann to be a member of the Acid Precipitation Task Force. He would succeed John J. McKetta, Jr.

Since 1986 Mr. Eckelmann has been president of RCB Co. in Roanoke, TX. Prior to this he was senior vice president for

technology at SOHIO Petroleum Co. in Dallas, TX, 1983-1985.

Mr. Eckelmann graduated from Wheaton College (B.S., 1951) and Columbia University (M.S., 1954; Ph.D., 1956). He was born May 25, 1929, in Englewood, NJ. Mr. Eckelmann is married, has three children, and resides in Roanoke, TX.

Appointment of Marina von Neumann Whitman as a Member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations

July 17, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Marina von Neumann Whitman to be a member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations for a term of 2 years. She would succeed Robert B. Delano.

Since 1985 Mrs. Whitman has been vice

president and group executive at General Motors Corp. in Detroit, MI. She has been with General Motors since 1979. Prior to this Mrs. Whitman was a professor of economics at the University of Pittsburgh, 1973-1979.

Mrs. Whitman graduated from Radcliffe

College (B.S., 1956) and Columbia University (M.A., 1959; Ph.D., 1967). She was born March 6, 1935, in New York, NY. Mrs.

Whitman is married, has two children, and resides in Ann Arbor, MI.

Appointment of Margaret Archambault as a Member of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts *July 17, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint Margaret Archambault to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Smithsonian Institution, for a term expiring September 1, 1996. She would succeed Orval Hansen.

Mrs. Archambault has been chairman of the Women's Board of the United Service

Organization in Chicago since 1986 and was president of the Women's Board in 1985. She has been the Illinois representative on the Advisory Committee on the Arts for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Mrs. Archambault was born June 22, 1918, in Butte, MT. She is married, has three children, and resides in Chicago, IL.

Nomination of Jerald C. Newman To Be a Member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science, and Designation as Chairman *July 17, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jerald C. Newman to be a member of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for a term expiring July 19, 1992. Upon confirmation, he will be redesignated Chairman. This is a reappointment.

Since 1985 Mr. Newman has been an investment banking and management consultant in New York to manufacturing and investment companies and academic insti-

tutions. Prior to this he was president of Bowery Savings Bank in New York, NY, 1982-1985.

Mr. Newman graduated from New York University (B.S., 1953; M.B.A., 1954). He served in the New York State Guard, 1956-1958. Mr. Newman was born January 10, 1932, in New York, NY. He is married, has three children, and resides in North Woodmere, NY.

Nomination of Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr., To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation *July 17, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr. to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corpora-

tion, United States International Development Cooperation Agency, for a term expiring December 17, 1989. He would succeed Paul J. Manafort, Jr.

Mr. Daniels is currently president and chief executive officer of the Hudson Institute in Indianapolis, IN. Prior to this he was Assistant to the President for Political and Intergovernmental Affairs at the White House, 1985–1987.

Mr. Daniels graduated from Princeton University (A.B., 1971) and Georgetown University (J.D., 1979). He was born April 7, 1949, in Monongahela, PA. Mr. Daniels is married, has four children, and resides in Indianapolis, IN.

Appointment of Three Members of the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad

July 17, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad. These are new positions.

For terms of 2 years:

Rabbi Chaskel Besser, of New York. Since 1965 Rabbi Besser has been affiliated with the Congregation Bnai Israel in New York, NY. He is a lecturer on Jewish law, history, and lore. Rabbi Besser was born February 14, 1923, in Katowice, Poland. He is married, has four children, and resides in New York, NY.

Laurence J. Majewski, of New York. Since 1960 Mr. Majewski has been professor of conservation-emeritus at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. He graduated from Yale Uni-

versity (B.A., 1951; M.A., 1954). Mr. Majewski served in the United States Navy, 1942–1945. He was born February 10, 1919, in Mason City, IA. Mr. Majewski resides in Wappingers Falls, NY.

For a term of 3 years:

Israel Rubin, of Maryland. Since 1979 Mr. Rubin has been a marketing, economic, and insurance consultant in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was involved with the Interagency Council for Minority Business Enterprise at the U.S. Department of Commerce, 1977–1979. Mr. Rubin graduated from the College of the City of New York (B.S.S.S., 1949) and Columbia University (M.A., 1950). He served in the United States Navy, 1945–1946. Mr. Rubin was born April 17, 1927, in New York, NY. He is married, has three children, and resides in Potomac, MD.

Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom

July 17, 1987

The President. It has been my pleasure to welcome Prime Minister Thatcher back to Washington after her remarkable reelection triumph. She is beginning an historic third consecutive term in office, and her visit today reflects the close cooperation and friendship between our peoples and governments. It's no secret that I personally admire the Prime Minister and that we share a common faith in freedom and enterprise. She's a strong and principled leader in the international area.

Today we had a comprehensive and thorough discussion of the issues confronting

our countries and the Western alliance. We looked at a number of challenges in a variety of areas, from arms reduction to the Middle East to terrorism. Consistent with the working relationship we've developed these last 6 years, we enjoy a high degree of agreement on the major issues of the day.

One issue we discussed in detail was the status of negotiations with the Soviets on conventional and nuclear arms reductions. These negotiations have been a constant topic of consultation with the alliance. Today the Prime Minister and I reaffirmed

the priorities we set out last November at Camp David, priorities the NATO foreign ministers endorsed last month in Reykjavik.

The Prime Minister and I also discussed in some detail the actions that our two countries are taking with respect to the war between Iran and Iraq, particularly our strategic interests in the region, our activities to protect shipping, and our diplomatic activities in the United Nations. Prime Minister Thatcher noted in this connection that the Royal Navy has been providing protection for British ships in the Gulf for some time. Similarly, the United Nations delegations of our two countries are pushing for strong Security Council action. It is time for an immediate end to the Iran-Iraq war, and we believe the United Nations Secretary-General should personally undertake a mission to achieve that end. If either or both of the warring parties refuse the United Nations call for a cessation of the fighting, an arms embargo should be brought to bear on those who reject this chance to end this bloody and senseless conflict.

Today Prime Minister Thatcher and I also reviewed the general prospects for peace in the Middle East, including the proposals for an international conference and the conditions necessary for peace negotiations to be successful.

Our own talks today were highly successful. As I said, it was a pleasure to have the Prime Minister here. I wish her Godspeed as she now continues her journey on to Jamaica this evening, and I look forward to seeing her again soon.

The Prime Minister. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen—Mr. President, I'm most grateful for your kind words and for your invitation to visit Washington. I very much wanted to come to the United States right at the beginning of my third term to underline once again the absolutely essential importance to us of the United Kingdom-United States relationship. And I'm glad to report that it is as strong and as special today as it has ever been.

Great changes are taking place in the world, including historic changes in the Soviet Union. It's a time of unprecedented opportunity if we are wise and skillful enough to grasp it. Now, more than ever, we need American leadership, and your

President is uniquely able to give it and will give it. We must not let slip the tremendous gains of the last few years. America and Europe together can secure that more stable and peaceful world, which has been our hope and our dream, if we face up to the challenges ahead.

Mr. President, our talks today have covered those challenges: our wish to reduce the number of nuclear weapons, always keeping in mind the great preponderance that the Soviet Union enjoys in chemical weapons and conventional forces. We must ensure that the strong defense of the West is preserved at every step. We must watch the strategy, watch the tactics, and watch the presentation.

The Middle East—where the President and I both see an opportunity to take a major step forward in the peace process and have committed ourselves to work for it. The countries of the region should not have to go on spending such enormous sums on defense rather than on their development. And we must help them take the difficult steps necessary for peace.

And we must continue policies which lead to the economic growth and prosperity which we need in order to meet our own people's ambition for a better life and, at the same time, to provide the resources to help others to raise their standard of living.

The President and I are at one in wanting to see an agreement eliminating intermediate nuclear missiles on a global basis. The main elements are on the table. Effective verification is vital; trust is not enough. Performance has to be checked at every stage. The Soviet Union has massive stockpiles of modern chemical weapons, and we do not. This puts our Armed Forces at a wholly unacceptable disadvantage. The United States and United Kingdom have put forward proposals to eliminate or otherwise deal with this imbalance. The President and I also confirmed the priorities for future arms control negotiations on which we arrived at Camp David last November. We reaffirmed the vital importance of nuclear deterrence in preserving peace.

And second, we discussed the prospect for peace in the Middle East. We agreed—and here, Mr. President, I use words which

we both formally endorsed—we agreed that direct negotiations between the parties are the only practical way to proceed. We explored how an international conference might contribute to bringing about such negotiations. Clearly, it would not have the right to impose solutions or to veto agreements reached by the parties. And we must continue to make progress in the peace process and commit ourselves to work for that.

And third, we devoted particular attention to the Iran-Iraq war and the Gulf, where we strongly support the proposed Security Council resolution calling for a cease-fire and withdrawal. We hope that it will lead initially to an end to attacks on shipping in the Gulf and, ultimately, to a negotiated end to the conflict. In the meantime, as you said, Mr. President, we are each pro-

tecting our own merchant ships and tankers.

And fourth, we agreed on the importance of resisting protectionist measures, in whatever guise, and on the need to reduce agricultural support and protection. No one is blameless, and we will not make progress by casting stones at others. It must be a cooperative effort.

Mr. President, may I thank you once again for your hospitality, for America's friendship and staunch leadership of the West, and for these constructive talks to chart the way ahead. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you. Mr. President, thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:28 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. Earlier, the President and the Prime Minister met in the Oval Office and then attended a luncheon in the Residence.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Reporting on the Cyprus Conflict

July 17, 1987

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95-384, I am submitting to you a bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question.

In his May 29 report to the Security Council, which I have attached as required by law, the U.N. Secretary General reviewed recent developments in the search for a peaceful Cyprus settlement. He noted his increasing concern over the situation in Cyprus, citing specifically the existing deadlock in efforts to resume negotiations between the parties; distrust between the leaders of the two communities; tensions over Varosha; military build-ups on the island; and the problems facing the U.N. Forces in Cyprus (UNFICYP).

The Secretary General noted that if this trend was to be reversed, it would be essential to find a means of resuming an effective negotiating process. Progress toward that goal, he said, was blocked at present by the

conditions the two sides had set for negotiations to take place. While the Turkish Cypriot side insisted that discussions cannot proceed unless the Greek Cypriot side also accepted the Secretary General's March 1986 draft framework agreement, the Greek Cypriot side said that it would not comment on that document until what it termed the basic issues of the Cyprus problem were addressed. The Greek Cypriot side also continued to press for the convening of an international conference, a proposal rejected by the Turkish Cypriot side and the Government of Turkey, and about which Security Council members were also divided.

The Secretary General said in his report that both sides assured him of their readiness to negotiate seriously about the establishment of the federal republic envisaged in their high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979. He also noted his continued belief

that his February 1987 proposal for informal discussions, to which the Greek Cypriot side had responded favorably, could help create the conditions for resumption of substantive negotiations. He urged the parties to bear in mind the risk that if they continued to insist on the conditions they had set for negotiations to take place, there would be no realistic prospect of negotiating a settlement of the Cyprus problem.

This situation is also a matter of concern to the United States, which sincerely seeks the achievement of progress toward a negotiated Cyprus settlement. Consequently, we commend the Secretary General's continued efforts with the parties to resume the negotiating process he launched in August 1984 and to build on the progress achieved so as to achieve an overall agreement that would address as an integrated whole all the issues of concern to the parties.

Throughout this period, the United States continued to provide its strong support to the Secretary General's efforts. To this end, we maintained a dialogue with all the con-

cerned parties both on the negotiating process and the situation on the island. In addition, Under Secretary Derwinski visited Turkey and Greece June 2 to 6. While in Athens, he met with President Kyprianou, at the latter's request.

On June 12, the U.N. Security Council renewed the mandate of UNFICYP for an additional 6 months. As a result of the financial arrangements for UNFICYP, however, which have obliged troop-contributing states to absorb continuously increasing costs, Sweden announced that it would withdraw its contingent from UNFICYP as of January 1, 1988. The Secretary General has said he plans to report further to the Security Council on the results of his consultations on UNFICYP financing.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Proclamation 5680—Captive Nations Week, 1987

July 17, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

For nearly three decades Captive Nations Week has symbolized the American people's solidarity with all throughout the world who courageously seek freedom and independence from Soviet domination. During this week, we recall that the liberties we enjoy are denied to many by the Soviet empire; and we publicly affirm our admiration for captive nations, who keep the light of freedom burning brightly as they oppose military occupation and brutal totalitarian oppression.

Our Nation offers the world a vision of inalienable political, religious, and economic rights. This vision has always been shared among peoples subjugated by Soviet imperialism; and so has resistance, ever the cata-

lyst of liberty. Today, a struggle that began in Ukraine 70 years ago is taking place throughout the Soviet empire. In the last year alone, people have risen up to demand basic human rights in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Moldavia, and among the Crimean Tatars. And across the globe, in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, and Nicaragua, courageous freedom fighters battle tyranny. All captive nations deserve and require our special support. For those seeking to enjoy humanity's birthright of liberty, independence, and justice, we serve as guardians of their dream.

Thus, we must and will continue to speak out on the plight of captive nations. We will continue to call for the speedy release of the persecuted and the falsely imprisoned—people such as Gunars Astra, Lev Lukyanenko, Mart Niklus, and Viktoras Petkus. So

long as brave individuals suffer because of their nationality, faith, and desire for human rights, the United States of America will demand that every signatory of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords live up to its obligations and respect the principles and spirit of these international agreements.

So that we who cherish liberty may proclaim our commitment to those to whom its blessings are presently denied, the Congress, by joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating the third week in July of each year as "Captive Nations Week."

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July

19, 1987, as Captive Nations Week. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities, and I urge them to reaffirm their devotion to the aspirations of all peoples for justice, self-determination, and liberty.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:38 a.m., July 20, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on July 18.

Radio Address to the Nation on United States Assistance for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance July 18, 1987

My fellow Americans:

We're about to mark an important anniversary, but it'll be no cause for celebration. Eight years ago tomorrow, the Sandinista Communists came to power in the Central American country of Nicaragua. It may be hard to remember now, the great hopes with which their revolution was first greeted. The hated dictator Anastasio Somoza had been toppled, and the world looked forward to a bright future for Nicaragua. Little did we think then that the future the Sandinistas were planning for Nicaragua would be darker than anything that suffering country had ever before experienced.

The Sandinistas spelled out their plans for subversion and aggression throughout Central America in the secret, but now notorious, 72-Hour Document, and it wasn't long before they started carrying them out. Arms shipments began flowing to the Communist guerrillas throughout Latin America—in El Salvador, Honduras, Colombia, and other countries. Within Nicaragua, the Sandinistas quickly built up the apparatus of

a police state: closing churches and extinguishing the free press. The ranks of political prisoners swelled into the thousands, and beatings, torture, and official murder became the order of the day. Meanwhile, the Sandinistas began a campaign of slaughter against the peaceful Miskito Indians. One in every ten Nicaraguans is now a refugee—leaving home, family, and friends to escape the oppression inside that country.

If the Sandinistas get their way, the torment of that sad country will soon spread throughout the entire region, engulfing the young democracies that surround Nicaragua. As I said in New York a few months ago, the democratic aspirations of millions in Central America now hang in the balance. The elected leaders of neighboring Central American countries know that until democracy comes to Nicaragua their own democracies will never be safe. And that is why, along with us, they have insisted on one thing: free, fair, and regularly scheduled elections in Nicaragua, the establishment of a genuinely democratic system and

all the freedoms such a system depends on and encourages—freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of worship.

This is what the Nicaraguan freedom fighters are fighting for, and this is why we must support them. We have worked in many ways to counter the spread of communism in Central America and those nations I've mentioned that are threatened by Nicaragua. We've instituted economic assistance to the region, military assistance to threatened democracies, and, together with our Central American allies, vigorous efforts to negotiate a peaceful and democratic outcome. But we know from experience that the Sandinistas will never negotiate seriously unless they see that the freedom fighters are a force to be reckoned with. Without the freedom fighters backing them up, negotiations can amount to no more than a hoax. Believe me, the current efforts of the Central American democracies to seek a peaceful and democratic outcome will not succeed if the Communists think that all they have to do is wait a few months and see if this country still has the resolve to support those who seek freedom in Nicaragua. The Soviets have spent over \$1 billion to prop up the Sandinista regime and to defeat the freedom fighters. The Soviets know what's at stake in Nicaragua, and they know that the freedom fighters are all that stand between them and domination of the entire region.

Now, some tell me that the people in this

country just don't care about the freedom fighters, but I don't think that's true. The more people know about the Sandinista Communists, the more they support the freedom fighters. That's why the closer you get to Nicaragua, the stronger their support grows. Public opinion polls in Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala show overwhelming support for *contra* aid. In Honduras 81 percent of the people support it. Of course, inside Nicaragua they don't have any polls, but the people there are daily risking their lives, giving whatever help they can to see the young men and boys who are fighting for their country's freedom.

In this country, too, we have seen support grow dramatically as the American people learn the facts about Nicaragua. The American people are tired of the off-on-again-policy in Central America. A bipartisan majority supported aid to the freedom fighters last year. The American people want that aid to continue. And that's why we've got to get the message out. Talk to your family, your friends, your neighbors—even your Congressmen and Senators. Let them know how you feel. We've got to get the message out, because there's no question in my mind, when the American people have the facts, they'll support freedom this time and every time.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Proclamation 5681—Fiftieth Anniversary of the Animated Feature Film, 1987

July 18, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Fifty years ago, a milestone in our Nation's artistic history was achieved when "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" became the first full-length animated feature film, and the movie soundtrack album

became the first original soundtrack recording ever released. Since that historic ground-breaking for a new genre in the motion picture art, moviegoers have enjoyed a long and colorful succession of animated films.

As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of the first animated feature-length film, we can be grateful for the art of film anima-

tion, which brings to the screen such magic and lasting vitality. We can also be grateful for the contribution that animation has made to producing so many family films during the last half-century—films embodying the fundamental values of good over evil, courage, and decency that Americans so cherish. Through animation, we have witnessed the wonders of nature, ancient fables, tales of American heroes, and stories of youthful adventure. In recent years, our love for technology and the future has been reflected in computer-generated graphic art and animation.

The achievements in the motion picture art that have followed since the debut of the first feature-length animated film in 1937 have mirrored the artistic development of American culture and the advancement of our Nation's innovation and technology. By recognizing this anniversary, we pay tribute to the triumph of creative genius that has prospered in our free enterprise system as nowhere else in the world. We recognize that, where men and women are free to express their creative talents, there is no limit to their potential achievement.

In recognition of the special place of animation in American film history, the Congress, by House Joint Resolution 122, has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to celebrate the week beginning July 16, 1987, with appropriate observances of the 50th anniversary of the animated feature film.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that during the week beginning July 16, 1987, marking the 50th anniversary of feature film animation, the people of the United States are encouraged to observe this historic milestone in our Nation's artistic history with appropriate ceremonies, programs, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:39 a.m., July 20, 1987]

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the National Science Foundation July 20, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to send to you the annual report of the National Science Foundation (NSF) for Fiscal Year 1986. This report describes research supported by the Foundation in the mathematical, physical, biological, social, behavioral, and information sciences, in engineering, and in education in those fields.

Achievements such as the ones described in this report are the basis for much of our Nation's strength—its economic growth, military security, and the overall well-being of our people.

We face international challenges in sci-

ence, engineering, and technology, but I am confident about our ability to meet those challenges. NSF has been and will remain a key part of the national effort to keep vital our great capabilities in research and productivity and to stay ahead of world competition through innovation and new discoveries.

I commend the Foundation's work to you and hope you share my enthusiasm for the outstanding work it describes.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
July 20, 1987.

Nomination of Dean Burch To Be a Member of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation

July 20, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Dean Burch to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation for a term of 6 years. This is a new position.

Since 1975 Mr. Burch has been a partner with Pierson, Ball & Dowd in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he served as a Counsellor to Presidents Nixon and Ford, 1974–1975; Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, 1969–1974; chairman of the

Goldwater for Senate campaign, 1968; a partner in the firm of Dunseath, Stubbs & Burch; chairman of the Republican National Committee, 1964–1965; and deputy director of the Goldwater for President campaign, 1963–1964.

Mr. Burch graduated from the University of Arizona (J.D., 1953). He served in the U.S. Army, 1946–1948. Mr. Burch was born December 20, 1927, in Enid, OK. He is married, has three children, and resides in Potomac, MD.

Appointment of 12 Members of the Korean War Veterans Memorial Advisory Board

July 20, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Korean War Veterans Memorial Advisory Board. In addition to being highly decorated Korean War veterans, these individuals bring to this Board a broad representation of the United States military services as well as prominent veterans organizations including the Veterans of Foreign Wars, American Legion, Disabled American Veterans, Paralyzed Veterans of America, and the American Veterans Organization.

Edward R. Borchardt, Jr., of California. Since 1966 Mr. Borchardt has been president of Borchardt & Co., in Los Angeles, CA. He graduated from Stanford University (A.B., 1953; M.B.A., 1957). Mr. Borchardt served in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1953 to 1960. He was born July 12, 1930, in Butte, MT. Mr. Borchardt is married, has two children, and resides in Los Angeles, CA.

Col. Fred V. Cherry, U.S. Air Force, Ret., of Maryland. Since 1982 Colonel Cherry has been the director of the technical support services at E.H. White and Co., Inc., in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as Assistant Deputy Di-

rector for Personnel for the Defense Intelligence Agency at the Department of Defense, 1976–1981. Colonel Cherry attended Virginia Union College, 1947–1951, and the National War College, 1973–1974. He served in the U.S. Air Force, 1951–1981. Colonel Cherry was born March 24, 1928, in Suffolk, VA. He is married, has six children, and resides in Silver Spring, MD.

John B. Curcio, of Pennsylvania. Since 1983 Mr. Curcio has been chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Mack Trucks, Inc., in Allentown, PA. Prior to this he served as president and chief operating officer of Mack Trucks, Inc., 1980–1983. Mr. Curcio served in the U.S. Navy, 1951–1954, and the U.S. Naval Reserves, 1954–1959. He was born May 29, 1934, in Hazleton, PA. Mr. Curcio is married, has three children, and resides in Allentown, PA.

Gen. Raymond G. Davis, U.S. Marine Corps, Ret., of Georgia. General Davis was on active duty in the U.S. Marine Corps from June 1938 to March 1972. The last position he held was Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps, which is a Presidential appointment. General Davis was born January 13, 1915, in Fitzgerald, GA. He is married, has three children, and re-

sides in Stockbridge, GA.

Thomas G. Dehne, of Kentucky. Since 1971 Mr. Dehne has served as assistant national adjutant for Disabled American Veterans in Cold Spring, KY. Prior to this he served as comptroller for Disabled American Veterans, 1963–1971. Mr. Dehne graduated from Xavier University (B.S., B.A., 1956). He was born September 2, 1932, in Newport, KY. Mr. Dehne is married, has six children, and resides in Fort Mitchell, KY.

Col. Conrad Hausman, U.S. Army, Ret., of Virginia. Since 1984 Colonel Hausman has been president of Darnoc Enterprises of DC, Inc., in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as program director of Electronic Data Systems in Dallas, TX, 1983–1984. Colonel Hausman graduated from the University of Maryland (B.S., 1960). He served in the U.S. Army from 1951 to 1977. Colonel Hausman was born October 11, 1931, in Buffalo, NY. He is married, has four children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Col. Rosemary T. McCarthy, U.S. Army Nurse Corps, of the District of Columbia. Since 1984 Colonel McCarthy has been adjunct ordinary professor at Catholic University School of Nursing in Washington, DC. Prior to this she served in the Army Nurse Corps Historian Center of Military History, 1978–1984. Colonel McCarthy graduated from the University of Minnesota (B.S., 1957), Boston University (M.S., 1967), and Catholic University (Doctor of Nursing Science, 1974). She was born June 21, 1926, in Dorchester, MA, and currently resides in Washington, DC.

James D. McKeivitt, of Virginia. Mr. McKeivitt is currently a partner in the firm of Webster, Chamberlain, Dean & McKeivitt. Prior to this he was a general partner in Butler & Binion, 1985–1986. Mr. McKeivitt graduated from the University of Idaho (B.A., 1952) and the University of Denver (J.D., 1956). He served in the U.S. Air Force, 1951–1953. Mr. McKeivitt was born October 26, 1928, in Spokane, WA. He is married, has two children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Carlos Rodriguez, of New York. Since 1972 Mr. Rodriguez has been the administrator of benefit services of the Eastern Paralyzed Veterans Association in New York, NY. Mr. Rodriguez attended the Latin American Institute in New York, NY. He served in the U.S. Army, 1947–1948, 1950–1951. Mr. Rodriguez was born March 12, 1932, in Brooklyn, NY. He is married, has three children, and resides in Dix Hills, NY.

William F. McSweeney, of the District of Columbia. Mr. McSweeney is currently president of the Occidental International Corp., in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was executive vice president of the Occidental Petroleum Corp., 1968–1969. Mr. McSweeney attended Boston University and served in the U.S. Army, 1951–1953. He was born March 31, 1929, in Haverhill, MA. Mr. McSweeney is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Gen. Richard Giles Stilwell, U.S. Army, Ret., of Virginia. Since 1986 General Stilwell has been president of Stilwell Associates, Inc., in Arlington, VA. Prior to this he served as Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy at the Department of Defense, 1981–1985. He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy, West Point (B.S., 1938), and attended U.S. Army War College, 1955. General Stilwell served in the U.S. Army from 1938 to 1976. He was born February 24, 1917, in Buffalo, NY. General Stilwell is married, has five children, and resides in McLean, VA.

Col. William E. Weber, U.S. Army, Ret., of Maryland. Colonel Weber served as president of the Army Discharge Review Board, 1973–1980, and Division Chief, Headquarters, Department of the Army, 1968–1973. He graduated from the University of Maryland (B.S., 1962), the Army War College (1972), and Hood College (M.S., 1982). Colonel Weber served in the U.S. Army, 1943–1980. He was born November 10, 1925, in Chicago, IL. Colonel Weber is married, has two children, and resides in New Windsor, MD.

Nomination of Aram Bakshian, Jr., To Be a Member of the National Council on the Humanities

July 20, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Aram Bakshian, Jr., to be a member of the National Council on the Hu-

manities, National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, for a term expiring January 26, 1992. He would succeed

George Alexander Kennedy.

Mr. Bakshian is the author or coauthor of six books. His articles, essays, and reviews on history, politics, humor, and the arts have appeared frequently in major American and overseas publications. He served in the White House as Deputy Assistant to the

President and Director of Presidential Speechwriting, 1981–1983. Mr. Bakshian also served in the Nixon and Ford administrations.

Mr. Bakshian was born March 11, 1944, in Washington, DC, and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Two Members of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education

July 20, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education:

For a term expiring September 29, 1988:

Jim Shore, of Florida. He would succeed Christine C. Harte. Since 1982 Mr. Shore has been general counsel of the Seminole Tribe of Florida in Hollywood, FL. Prior to this he was deputy general counsel of the Seminole Tribe of Florida. Mr. Shore graduated from Stetson University (B.A., 1977; J.D., 1980). He was born February 16, 1945, in Moorehaven, FL. Mr.

Shore is married and resides in Hollywood, FL.

For a term expiring September 29, 1989:

Marie Cox, of Oklahoma. This is a reappointment. In 1970 Mrs. Cox of the Comanche Tribe became founding president of the North American Indian Women's Association in Midwest City, OK. In 1977 she was honored at the North American Indian Women's Association's annual convention as the Outstanding Indian Woman of that year. Mrs. Cox attended Central State College in Edmond, OK. She was born January 17, 1920, in Lawton, OK. Mrs. Cox is married, has one child, and resides in Midwest City, OK.

Nomination of Howard P. Blackman To Be a Member of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation

July 20, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Howard P. Blackman to be a member of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation for a term expiring May 11, 1990. He would succeed Ginny Thornburgh.

Since 1980 Mr. Blackman has served as the executive director of the La Grange Area Department of Special Education in La Grange, IL. He served as coordinator of the Syracuse University/State of New York Mental Retardation Development Center

staff training network, 1979–1980, and administrator, Rye Lake campus, Southern Westchester Board of Cooperative Educational Services in White Plains, NY, 1977–1979.

Mr. Blackman graduated from Jersey City State College (B.A., 1966; M.A., 1967) and Syracuse University (Ed.D., 1980). He was born July 6, 1944, in Brooklyn, NY. Mr. Blackman is married and resides in Western Spring, IL.

Nomination of John F. McDonnell To Be a Member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee

July 20, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate John F. McDonnell to be a member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. He would succeed Robert C. Hall.

Since 1980 Mr. McDonnell has served as the president and director of McDonnell Douglas Corp., in St. Louis, MO. Prior to this he was corporate executive vice presi-

dent of the McDonnell Douglas Corp., 1972–1980. Mr. McDonnell has been with the company since 1962.

Mr. McDonnell graduated from Princeton University (B.S., 1960; M.S., 1962). He was born March 18, 1938, in Baltimore, MD. Mr. McDonnell is married, has five children, and resides in St. Louis, MO.

Nomination of George Deukmejian To Be a Member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council

July 20, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate George Deukmejian to be a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council for a term expiring January 15, 1992. This is a reappointment.

Governor Deukmejian has served as Governor of the State of California since 1982. Prior to this he served as attorney general

for the State of California, 1979–1982.

Governor Deukmejian graduated from Sienna College (B.A., 1949) and St. John's University (J.D., 1952). He served in the U.S. Army from 1953 to 1955. Governor Deukmejian was born June 6, 1928, in Albany, NY. He is married, has three children, and resides in Sacramento, CA.

Proclamation 5682—National Czech American Heritage Week, 1987

July 20, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

For more than three and one-half centuries, Czechs and Czech Americans, through talent, industriousness, and energy, have been compiling a proud record of achievement in our country. All Americans are glad to join our fellow citizens of Czech descent in celebrating this precious and living heritage, as well as the extensive ties between our peoples here and in Europe.

Czechs have long sought liberty and op-

portunity in the United States, and they have distinguished themselves here in every field of endeavor—in science, religion, literature, the professions, business, labor, and the armed forces, the arts, government, sports, and countless other fields. Among the first North Americans ever canonized was a Czech American, St. John Nepomucene Neumann, a missionary and later a bishop of Philadelphia in the 19th century. In that century hundreds of thousands of Czechs came to America, seeking freedom and economic opportunity. In this century as well, Czechs have sought freedom in this

country from Nazi and Soviet oppression—most recently from the brutal Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Connections of Czechs and America flow in both directions. The United States is inextricably linked to the founding of Czechoslovakia. President Woodrow Wilson strongly advocated independence for Czechs and others. The Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence was drafted in Washington, D.C., and the Constitution of the first Czechoslovak Republic was modelled on the United States Constitution, whose bicentennial we observed this year. The great statesman Thomas Masaryk, who married an American, cited the profound influence of the writings of Thomas Jefferson and other American democrats on his own philosophy.

To recognize the contributions of Czech Americans to our country and to encourage the American people to learn more about this legacy, the Congress, by Public Law 100-69, has designated the period begin-

ning July 27, 1987, and ending on August 2, 1987, as "National Czech American Heritage Week" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in its observance.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the period beginning July 27, 1987, and ending August 2, 1987, as National Czech American Heritage Week. I call upon all Americans to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twentieth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:18 p.m., July 20, 1987]

Proclamation 5683—International Special Olympics Week and Day, 1987

July 20, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The 1987 VII International Summer Special Olympic Games, to be held from July 31 to August 8 at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana, will host 6,000 athletes, 15,000 volunteers, and thousands of guests from around the United States and the world. Every American can be grateful for the many dedicated and selfless organizers of these games, the largest worldwide amateur sporting event of the year.

We can also be grateful indeed for the entire program of Special Olympics. Its comprehensive local as well as national programs foster self-challenge and discovery and help the physically and mentally impaired form a healthy self-image, develop

positive interpersonal skills and relationships, and realize all they have to offer. Special Olympics is one of several advances—along with recent progress in scientific and medical research and increased integration of handicapped and developmentally disabled people into the workplace—that have led to a dramatic change in public perception of the capabilities of this important segment of our population. That is truly cause for celebration, at this Special Olympiad and always.

The pride and good wishes of every American go with the special athletes of Special Olympics, now and always.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 85, has designated the period beginning August 2, 1987, and ending August 8, 1987, as "International Special Olympics Week," and August 3, 1987, as "International Special Olympics Day," and authorized and re-

quested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of these events.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the period beginning August 2, 1987, and ending August 8, 1987, as International Special Olympics Week, and August 3 as International Special Olympics Day. I invite all Americans to observe this period with appropriate ceremonies and activities directed toward increasing public awareness of the needs and the potential of people with handicapping conditions and developmental disabilities. I further urge all Americans to join with me in

according our fellow citizens with such disabilities the encouragement and opportunities they need to achieve their full potential.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 20th day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:48 p.m., July 21, 1987]

Statement on the United Nations Security Council Resolution Concerning the Iran-Iraq War July 20, 1987

The United Nations Security Council has taken an historic step today toward ending the increasingly dangerous conflict between Iran and Iraq. The Security Council's firm action offers a rare opportunity for a reduction of tensions and a just peace in this vital area of the world. We must not let that opportunity slip away. We hope that both countries will comply with the Security Council's cease-fire and withdrawal order. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar will vigorously renew his mediation effort with the two governments. I have pledged to the Secretary-General that the United States will spare no effort to support this process.

I urge all members of the United Nations to join in using their influence with the belligerents to persuade them to bring an end to this tragic war. None of us can afford continuation of this bloody and destructive conflict, now in its seventh year. Too many have suffered and died already; too many new dangers have been created by the recent escalation and spread of the war. That is why the United States has been so actively seeking peace. That is why there has been unprecedented recent cooperation

among the members of the Security Council, cooperation which testifies not only to the increasing gravity of the problem but also to the strength of the international commitment to resolving it.

As we act to help transform the Security Council's mandatory resolution into reality, the United States will also stand by its commitments to the security and stability of its nonbelligerent friends in the region. In doing so, we seek simply to deter growing threats to vital U.S. and international interests and to hasten a just settlement of the Iran-Iraq war. Peace is our objective, not taking sides or provocation.

The administration and the Congress both have examined the situation in the Gulf very closely over the past several weeks. As we move ahead to defend our interests and enhance the chances for peace in that crucial region, it is essential that we try to work together. Not to do so would only undercut our diplomatic efforts, embolden our adversaries, and cast grave doubts upon the ability of the United States to conduct its foreign policy effectively and honor its commitments.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Take Pride in America Awards

July 21, 1987

Well, I appreciate your presence here today and deeply appreciate all that many of you have been doing to ensure that our countrymen continue to enjoy the richness and beauty of America. There's a story I like to tell, and I've told it an awful lot of times, but I hope I haven't told it to any of you.

It has to do with an old farmer who picked up some creek-bottom land. It was all covered with rocks and overgrown with brush, but he set to work. And he hauled the rocks away, and he cleaned the brush. And he cultivated, and he fertilized, and he planted. And he had a garden spot. And one day at church, he asked the preacher if he wouldn't, after church, come on out and see what he'd done. Well, the Reverend got out there, and he looked at that corn. And he said, "I've never seen such corn. My," he said, "how the Lord has blessed this land. Those melons—I've never seen anything so big." He said, "God has certainly been good to this place here." And he went on that way, and the old boy was getting a little fidgety. And finally, he says, "Reverend, I wish you could have seen it when the Lord was doing it by Himself." [Laughter]

Well, today we're honoring praiseworthy citizens who are giving God a hand in preserving our precious gifts. Unlike the farmer in the story, more often than not, those we honor today are protecting our land from some of mankind's more wasteful and destructive ways. Some of America's greatest assets are, of course, the parks, national forests, and other public lands that have been set aside for the benefit and enjoyment of our people and for future generations. When one thinks of America, one thinks of purple mountain majesties, of bald eagles, of natural beauty, and of great halls where our ancestors gathered to lay the foundations of our democracy.

We take pride in our freedom, and we also take pride in the natural grandeur of our land. And there's much to be proud of. We have in our country the world's first

and best national park system, national forests and wildlife refuges, an extraordinary urban park system, and preserved historic sites. And all this is the legacy of caring individuals, perhaps like the ones we honor today, who acted to see that these treasures were preserved and passed on. Our administration has been solidly committed to the restoration and maintenance of this inheritance. In the past 6½ years, we've spent \$1 billion to restore our national parks, which had been permitted to fall in some disrepair over a period of time. In the past 6½ years, as I say, we've done that, and we've strictly upheld laws protecting our endangered species and have vigorously pursued plans to recover them. We've moved to stem the serious loss of vital wetlands, and we've set aside millions of acres of wilderness, created 29 new wildlife refuges, and protected thousands of miles of scenic rivers and trails.

One of the hallmarks of our administration has been the concerted effort we've made to mobilize the American people, to get them involved in helping each other and in community building projects instead of just waiting for government. We call it our private sector initiatives program. When Secretary Hodel came to me with the idea of a Take Pride in America campaign, I thought it was terrific. If we really rely—or totally rely on government, whether in conserving our public lands or in any other worthy endeavors, the job is not going to get done. Public land managers have a tough assignment, and they take their responsibility seriously, yet I'm certain they will verify that there can be no greater boon to the conservation and preservation of America's national treasures than the active involvement of the American people. This is what the Take Pride in America campaign is all about.

It was some 20 years ago when Lady Bird Johnson first brought this issue to the American people. We owe her a debt of gratitude, and I think we can show her our ap-

preciation under this campaign. Today we recognize individuals and organizations who are doers, who are protecting what belongs to all Americans. And with this, we reaffirm that preserving our parks and public lands is important to us. Our message to anyone who would trash or vandalize our public lands has been forcefully stated—and that may be putting it mildly—by some of the distinguished celebrities that were with us today. Those who would reduce the natural beauty of our land had better pay attention: “They either clean up their act or get out of town!” [Laughter] Just in case some people don’t take us seriously, we’ve enlisted Lou Gosset, Clint Eastwood, and Charlie Bronson, who couldn’t be here—but for them to give those other people the message.

I want to thank our celebrities and each and every one of you for the role that you are playing. I know the Ad Council has given time to send the word over the airwaves and across the country, and they deserve a special thanks. And so, too, do Secretaries Bennett, Hodel, and Lyng who—well, they, too, have given us inspiring and

energetic leadership.

And today, we’ve selected 38 recipients for our Take Pride in America Award. They’ve been selected from over 500 nominees. Let me suggest, however, that all those who contribute their time and effort are winners. And clearly, our country is the greatest winner of all. And this is the first time this award ceremony, or a part of it, has been held here at the White House. I think it underscores how important we feel this issue is. And our citizens need to know that they can and should make a difference. Could I ask the 38 award winners to stand? [Applause] And that’s what the rest of us will do, is applaud you. You have made a difference, and we do all applaud you.

And thank you all. God bless you. And I’ll bet it won’t take you long to get back in the shade, will it? [Laughter] I’m heading there right now.

Note: The President spoke at 1:29 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of the Interior Donald Paul Hodel, Secretary of Education William J. Bennett, and Secretary of Agriculture Richard Lyng.

Appointment of David Spears Addington as Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (House)

July 21, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of David Spears Addington as Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs (House).

Mr. Addington most recently served as the minority chief counsel of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. He served previously as an Assistant General Counsel at the Central Intelligence Agency and as counsel to the Subcommittee on Legislation of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of

the House of Representatives.

Mr. Addington received the degree of Bachelor of Science in Foreign Service (summa cum laude) from the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in 1978 and received the degree of juris doctor (with honors) from Duke University in 1981. He was admitted to the practice of law in Virginia and the District of Columbia in 1981. Mr. Addington was born January 22, 1957. He is married to Dr. Linda L. Werling and resides in Rockville, MD.

Announcement of the Establishment of the Interagency Low Income Opportunity Advisory Board

July 21, 1987

The President today announced the creation of a new interagency advisory board dedicated to the administration's welfare reform initiative. The action is designed to enhance coordination of Federal public assistance programs and policies that now cut across department lines and to create a focal point for intergovernmental coordination. The Interagency Low Income Opportunity Advisory Board will provide a focal point within the Federal Government for developing and coordinating new policies to aid low income individuals and families and for facilitating implementation of those policies.

The Board Chairman will be Charles D. Hobbs, Assistant to the President, and it will include representatives of the following agencies: the Office of Management and Budget, and the Departments of Agriculture, Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, Justice, Labor, and Interior. Other members may be designated by the President from time to time. When the Board considers a program for which any other executive department or agency has responsibility, that department or agency will have representation on the Board for that purpose.

The Chairman will advise the President with respect to the system of Federal public assistance programs, activities, and related matters and will recommend to the President policies and guidelines pertaining to public assistance matters for all related programs within the executive branch. He will, in addition, review policy alternatives with

outside groups—especially multiprogram reform concepts or proposals of the States—and with executive departments and agencies, the heads of which have been instructed, to the extent permitted by law, to cooperate with the Chairman in carrying out his functions. He will also monitor the implementation of public assistance policies.

Mr. Hobbs, currently an Assistant to the President, with primary responsibility for public assistance programs, previously served as Director of the White House Office of Policy Development and was chairman of the Domestic Policy Council Low Income Opportunity Working Group, which produced the report to the President entitled, "Up From Dependency: A New National Public Assistance Strategy."

The President's actions today, taken on the recommendation of the Domestic Policy Council, reflect his commitment to the objective announced in his State of the Union Address to Congress on January 27, 1987, when he asked Congress to approve a major new national strategy to reform America's flawed welfare system. The first step toward the reform envisioned by the President is the establishment of widespread, long-term experimentation in welfare reform through community-based and State-sponsored demonstration projects. The creation of an interagency policy forum devoted to this purpose will provide a means of integrating the many disparate Federal public assistance programs and policies that have the common purpose of alleviating poverty.

Statement on the International Trade Bill

July 21, 1987

The Senate trade bill, similar to the House version, contains numerous provisions that are unacceptable. If either bill came to me in present form, I would have

no choice except to veto it.

I remain willing to work with the Congress on a more acceptable bill and will reserve final judgment until action is com-

pleted on the trade legislation. But any bill that raises the cost of living for American families and reduces the ability of American

business to compete in the world economy goes in exactly the wrong direction.

Proclamation 5684—Minority Enterprise Development Week, 1987 July 22, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Each year, we set aside a special week to salute the many contributions of minority business men and women to our Nation's economic well-being and to celebrate the free market that makes these contributions possible. Our observance of Minority Enterprise Development Week this year, during the Bicentennial of the Constitution, summons us to reflect on the debt every business man and woman—and each of us—owes to the fundamental principles of freedom and justice guaranteed by this great charter.

By creating a limited form of government, our Constitution protects the inalienable rights of all Americans and ensures equal opportunity for all. Our free market economy springs from these principles. The equality of opportunity it creates makes our Nation prosperous, expands our technological prowess, and keeps our country economically competitive. The more than 840,000 minority American entrepreneurs

exemplify the success our economic freedom offers. These energetic business men and women inspire all Americans as they create jobs, bring new products and services to the marketplace, and enhance our quality of life.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week of October 4 through October 10, 1987, as Minority Enterprise Development Week. I call upon all Americans to join together with minority business enterprises across our country in appropriate observances.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-second day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:49 p.m., July 22, 1987]

Remarks at a White House Briefing for State and Local Officials on the Economic Bill of Rights July 22, 1987

Well, thank you all, and welcome to the Old Executive Office Building. We have officials here today representing States from Maine to California, and I want to thank you all for taking the time out from your busy schedules to join us. But, Governor Orr, ladies and gentlemen, I have to tell you that wherever Americans from differ-

ent States—or whenever—get together, I always find myself enjoying the sense of diversity and the different outlooks, different approaches to problems, and even different accents.

And would you be surprised if I told you that reminded me of a story? *[Laughter]* It has to do with a farmer from Vermont who

was talking with a rancher from Texas. "And just imagine," the Texan boasted—he'd seen the Vermont farm there—he said, "I can get in my truck in the morning and drive all day and still never get to the other side of my ranch." The farmer from Vermont said, "Yes, I know; I've got an old truck just like that." [Laughter] Well, to all of you here today from Texas, I don't mean to tell stories at the expense of your great State. I'll tell you the truth; I'm a little annoyed about what happened the last time I visited Texas. Air Force One landed at the airport, I got off the plane, and a Texas Ranger asked me for my passport. [Laughter]

But this diversity is important, because it's one of our chief strengths as a nation. And from the first, our administration has worked to restore federalism to its rightful place at the very heart of our system of government. We shifted certain programs from Federal to State management. We reduced a large number of complicated programs involving State and local governments into a much smaller number of block grants. And today we're still working to give greater power and independence to State and local governments. As part of our effort to achieve welfare reform, earlier this week I established an Interagency Low Income Opportunity Advisory Board. And this Board will help to coordinate existing waiver authority, providing what might be called one-stop shopping for State officials seeking to try local solutions to welfare problems.

Earlier this month, our Task Force on Regulatory Relief, chaired by the Vice President, made its recommendations on the use of alternative fuels, such as methanol, ethanol, and compressed natural gas. This may sound like a technical issue, but it has dramatic implications for virtually every aspect of American life. You see, used correctly, these fuels can reduce pollution significantly, and the Task Force recommendations would allow States to include alternative fuels as a central part of their air quality attainment plans, if they so choose. This would prove crucial in helping a number of States avoid nonattainment sanctions and the imposition of other, more costly and intrusive regulatory burdens.

Perhaps the most significant step we've taken to return power to the State and local governments has been our effort to limit the growth of the central government here in Washington. Now, it's true that in the early days many of you faced difficulties as we cut back Federal financing of some State and local affairs. But since then, we've seen 55 months of economic expansion: inflation and interest rates down, the stock and bond markets up, over 13 million jobs created, and unemployment at the lowest level in just about 8 years. From your point of view, it's especially important to note that this expansion has put State and local governments in good economic shape. It's economic growth, more than anything else—more than Federal grants and programs—that is required to keep the finances of State and local governments healthy. Even in the large cities that demand special attention from so many of you, a study last year by the Urban Institute concluded that budgets are, by and large, in good condition. Indeed, the study found that as early as the end of 1982 America's major cities were financially better off than they had been at any time during the 1970's.

Well, as we've limited government here in Washington, you in State and local governments have been taking the lead on issue after issue. In Governor Orr's Indiana, we've seen merit pay for State employees. We've seen the teacher career ladder in Tennessee. We've seen job programs in Oregon, New Hampshire, Illinois, and elsewhere. And we've seen tax incentives used to promote economic growth in programs like Pennsylvania's economic revitalization tax credit. At last, power has stopped flowing to Washington and begun to flow back where it belongs: to you, in your State and local governments. In the words of the *Christian Science Monitor*: "Decentralization of power could be one of the most long-lasting effects of the Reagan Presidency." If I'd ad-libbed that instead of quoting that I would let my name out, but—[laughter].

This brings me to the reason I asked you here today, and that is our Economic Bill of Rights. You see, today all the accomplish-

ments of these past 6½ years—the economic expansion, the shift of power away from Washington and back to State and local governments—all these are threatened. For make no mistake, there are those in Congress who would impose tax hikes and fatten the Federal budget still more, weakening the economy and gathering ever greater power to the banks of the Potomac.

Our Economic Bill of Rights would prevent this, putting in place constitutional and other changes that would make the accomplishments of these past 6½ years secure, for our own time and generations to come. More than that, the Economic Bill of Rights would affect each of you directly, giving you still greater scope for taking the initiatives so important to the American people at the State and local level.

The Economic Bill of Rights itself has 10 points, and I know that Ken Cribb has gone over these in some detail for you. But there are two areas in particular that I'd like to draw to your attention. First, the burden of government shall not be hidden from view. The Congress shall require that a financial impact statement accompany each bill, specifying the effect on economic growth and employment. Second, there will be truth in Federal spending. At last, Congress will specify how every single new program is to be paid for.

As I've said, these two points bear directly upon your work as State and local officials, for as I pointed out when I spoke to the National Association of Counties last week in Indiana, in recent years Congress hasn't been satisfied with just spending hundreds of billions of dollars of Federal funds. Congress has wanted to spend still more money, including the funds of State and local governments. And you all know only too well how it works. The Federal Government appropriates millions for this or that program, then mandates that your States or local governments participate in the program by spending millions of your own dollars or by complying with certain national standards to avoid the loss of Federal funds. Well, whatever the fancy technical explanation, what it comes down to is the Federal Government spending your money for you.

Our proposals would change all that. Under legislation that we'll submit shortly,

whenever Congress considered bills that would impose costs on State and local governments, a statement of those costs would appear in the bill itself, not buried in some obscure committee report. Still more significant, Congress would be required to state where it expects needed State and local funds to come from, not leave you to try to explain to your constituents why you're forced to raise taxes because of something that happened in Washington. These simple measures would force the Federal Government to stop treating you like bureaucrats whose job it is to do Washington's business and start treating you with the respect that is the simple right of democratically elected officials playing a central role in the American way of government. Isn't it about time Washington put its own house in order and stopped pushing you around? [*Applause*]

But now, in closing, there's one more thought I'd like to share with you. Weeks before we've even submitted the legislation, the pundits have already begun to say of this Economic Bill of Rights: It can never be done. Well, at this point in my career, I'm used to a certain amount of skepticism. [*Laughter*] Back in 1966, when somebody told my old boss, Jack Warner, that I was running for Governor of California, he thought for a minute and said, "No, Jimmy Stewart for Governor, Reagan for best friend." [*Laughter*] And then there was our proposal for tax reform, and that was supposed to be impossible, too. The trouble is it made so much sense to the American people that Congress was just forced to go along. The headline in the Washington Post read simply: "The Impossible Became Inevitable."

Well, I just have to believe that if we get away from Washington and out to the State and local levels where you live and work, that if we ask the American people whether it isn't time at last to do things like pass a balanced budget amendment, the American people will say yes. My friends, there is still a thing called common sense in America. You know, I can't help but point out to you—maybe I don't need to remind you—but back, oh, before all this great increase in the Federal Government's power began, born of the Great Depression, the total tax

dollar in United States—Federal, State, and local—two-thirds of it was for State and local governments, and only one-third for the Federal Government. That's just about been reversed. You're now on the short end of the stick at the State and local level.

As a matter of fact, I remember a President ran for election in 1932 on the platform that he would cut Federal spending by 25 percent, that he would restore to States and local communities the authority and autonomy that had been unjustly seized by the Federal Government. Well, that's our program now. Didn't seem to work out back then. Matter of fact, it seemed to be reversed. But this is what we believe in: federalism. That is the great, unique thing that gives this country its hold on freedom and everything else. We are a federation of sovereign States. And too many people in Washington over the years have tried to make the States simply administrative districts of the Federal Government.

Well, don't you let that happen. And we're not going to let it happen as long as we can fight back and get it back to the federalism the way it's supposed to be. Sooner or later, that common sense I mentioned has a way of making itself felt, even in Washington. For the cause of fiscal reform, I think these are very exciting days ahead. And, again, I just want to thank you all for being here and letting me get this off my chest to you. And if we all stick together, it's going to have to happen in spite of some objection from Capitol Hill. [Ap-

plause] Thank you all very much.

Somebody brought a speech in to my desk last night, and it was one that I'd made in 1964, before I ever thought I would be in public life. But I was out traveling the mashed potato circuit—you know, in Hollywood, if you don't sing or dance, you wind up as an after dinner speaker. [Laughter] And I was pretty interested, I had kind of forgotten about this. In those days I'd prepare my own words I was going to speak. But I saw one that was criticizing the Federal Government in that speech. And one little incident you might enjoy. I had found an actual incident of a man in Washington who sat at a desk, and his job was receiving papers that came from various areas, reading them and seeing where they were supposed to go, initialing them and sending them on to the proper department and agency. And then one day he got a paper, he did that, he sent it on. And 24 hours later it came back to him. It was a classified paper—says, "You weren't supposed to read this. Erase your initials, and initial the erasure." [Laughter] Well, we'll get things like that all stopped one of these days.

Again, thank you. God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 12:59 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his remarks, he referred to Indiana Governor Robert D. Orr and T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr., Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the Soviet-United States Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Reductions Negotiations *July 22, 1987*

General Secretary Gorbachev, in an interview published today, indicated that the Soviet Union is now prepared to agree to eliminate all longer range INF missiles, including the 100 warheads that they have previously insisted on keeping. We welcome reports of Soviet acceptance of the

President's proposal for the global elimination of U.S. and Soviet longer range INF missiles, initially made in November of 1981. Such an agreement, if achieved, would result in the complete global elimination of this class of missiles. This would substantially reduce the Soviet nuclear threat

to both Europe and Asia. It would facilitate verification as well.

The General Secretary also indicated that he is prepared to agree to the elimination of shorter range INF missiles. With the strong support of our allies, we made such a proposal in Geneva on June 16, which would eliminate U.S. and Soviet SRINF missiles on a global basis. We have seen statements of positive Soviet response before, only to later discover unacceptable conditions. We therefore look forward to seeing their official statement at the Geneva negotiations. Our delegation is prepared to work

constructively there to reach an effectively verifiable agreement.

We believe now is the time for progress in reducing strategic offensive weapons, as well. Our START delegation looks forward to prompt tabling of a Soviet draft treaty to match the one we have tabled more than 10 weeks ago, so we can get down to work on this subject as well.

Note: Marlin Fitzwater read the statement to reporters at 4:54 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Statement on Signing the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act

July 22, 1987

I have signed H.R. 558, the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act. Title III of this bill authorizes the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) to establish a National Board to oversee the expenditure of money for emergency food and shelter programs for the homeless. It also authorizes local governments to constitute boards to determine how the program funds will be distributed.

In approving this measure, I must note concern about the appointment of members of both the National Board and the local boards. If read literally, the measure could be interpreted as requiring the Director of FEMA to appoint to the National Board any individual nominated by one of six private organizations. Any such construction would raise serious questions as to whether the bill violates the appointments clause of the Constitution. Moreover, if the organizations'

recommendations are not deemed advisory, further constitutional questions could be raised under the establishment clause with respect to appointment of both the National Board and the local boards, because four of the six organizations are affiliated with religious organizations. In order to avoid these constitutional infirmities, I have signed the bill with the understanding that the nominations made by the private organizations under H.R. 558 are purely advisory and do not circumscribe the discretion of the Director or the local governments. It is my intention that charitable organizations, including those with religious affiliation, should continue to play a vital role in the delivery of services contemplated in this legislation.

Note: H.R. 558, approved July 22, was assigned Public Law No. 100-77.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on the Presidential Commission on the Human
Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic
July 23, 1987

The President is announcing today his intention to appoint the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic, the AIDS commission. The Commission's 13 members are drawn from a wide range of backgrounds and points of view. They bring together expertise in scientific investigation, medical care and its costs, public health, private research, and both State and National Government, as well as in fields that deal with the many issues of ethics, law, and behavior involved in the AIDS epidemic.

The Commission will consist of the following individuals:

William Eugene Mayberry, Chairman

Colleen Conway-Welch

John J. Creedon

Theresa L. Crenshaw

Richard M. DeVos

Burton James Lee III

Frank Lilly

Woodrow A. Myers, Jr.

John Cardinal O'Connor

Penny Pullen

Cory SerVaas

William B. Walsh

Admiral James D. Watkins (Ret.)

The primary focus of the Commission will be to recommend measures that Federal, State, and local officials can take to stop the spread of AIDS, to assist in research aimed at finding a cure for AIDS, and to better care for those who have the disease. In the course of its work, the Commission will:

—review current efforts at AIDS educa-

tion;

—examine what is being done at all levels of government and outside of government to combat the spread of AIDS;

—examine the impact of the needs of AIDS patients in years to come on health care in the United States;

—review the history of dealing with communicable disease epidemics in the United States;

—evaluate current research relating to the prevention and treatment of AIDS;

—identify areas for future research;

—examine policies for development and release of drugs and vaccines to combat AIDS;

—assess the extent to which AIDS has spread both among specific risk groups and the population as a whole;

—study the legal and ethical issues relating to AIDS;

—review the role of the United States in the international battle against AIDS.

The Commission will proceed under the leadership of Dr. Eugene Mayberry, the chief executive officer of the Mayo Clinic. The President has asked Dr. Mayberry to move quickly, and the Commission will deliver its first report to the President within 90 days. It will produce a final report within a year. The President believes that the spread of AIDS is a cause of deep concern, but not panic. If Americans work together with common sense and common purpose, the President believes we will, in the end, defeat this common threat.

Appointment of 12 Members of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic July 23, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic:

Colleen Conway-Welch, of Tennessee. Since 1984 Dr. Conway-Welch has been a professor and the dean of nursing at Vanderbilt University and associate director of the Vanderbilt University Hospital department of nursing. She received her B.S.N. degree from the Georgetown University School of Nursing in 1965, her M.S.N. degree from the Catholic University of America in 1969, her C.N.M. degree from the Catholic Maternity Institute in 1969, and her Ph.D. degree from New York University in 1973. Dr. Conway-Welch was born April 26, 1944, in Iowa. She is married and resides in Nashville, TN.

John J. Creedon, of Connecticut. Mr. Creedon has been with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. in New York City since 1942. He has been serving as president of the company since 1980 and chief executive officer since 1983. Mr. Creedon is also chairman of the Business Roundtable's task force on health and welfare benefit plans. He is serving as general chairman of the Greater New York Blood Program campaign for 1986 and 1987. Mr. Creedon earned his B.S. degree in 1952 from New York University and earned his LL.B. degree in 1955 and his LL.M. degree in 1962 from New York University School of Law. He served in the United States Navy during World War II. Mr. Creedon was born August 1, 1924, in New York City. He is married, has six children, and resides in New Canaan, CT.

Theresa L. Crenshaw, of California. Since 1975 Dr. Crenshaw has been the director of the Crenshaw Clinic, which specializes in the evaluation and treatment of sexual dysfunction, sexual medicine, and human relationships. She was immediate past president of the American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors, and Therapists. Dr. Crenshaw received her B.A. degree from Stanford University in 1964 and her M.D. degree from the University of California at Irvine in 1969. She served in the United States Navy from 1967 to 1973. Dr. Crenshaw was born September 25, 1942, and resides in San Diego, CA.

Richard M. DeVos, of Michigan. Mr. DeVos co-

founded Amway Corp. in 1959 and has since been serving as president of the corporation. He attended the Calvin College in Michigan. Mr. DeVos served in the United States Air Force from 1944 to 1946. He was born March 4, 1926. Mr. DeVos is married, has four children, and resides in Grand Rapids, MI.

Burton James Lee III, of Connecticut. Since 1969 Dr. Lee has been a practicing physician at the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in New York, specializing in the diagnosis and treatment of lymphomas. He was president of the general medical staff at the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Hospital from 1972 to 1974 and from 1983 to 1985. Dr. Lee earned his B.A. from Yale University in 1952 and his M.D. from the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1956. He was born March 28, 1930, in New York City. Dr. Lee is married, has three children, and resides in Greenwich, CT.

Frank Lilly, of New York. Since 1976 Dr. Lilly has been chairman of the genetics department of the Albert Einstein Medical Center in New York City. He has also served as a professor of genetics at the Albert Einstein College of Medicine since 1974. Dr. Lilly earned his B.S. degree from West Virginia University in 1951. He earned his first Ph.D. degree from the University of Paris in 1958, majoring in organic chemistry, and his second Ph.D. degree from the Cornell Graduate School of Medical Sciences in 1965, majoring in biology. Dr. Lilly served in the United States Army from January 1952 to December 1953. He was born August 28, 1930, in Charleston, WV, and resides in New York.

Woodrow A. Myers, Jr., of Indiana. Dr. Myers is the health commissioner for the State of Indiana and also serves as the secretary of the Indiana State Board of Health. He has served in both of these positions since 1985. Previously he was the physician health adviser for the United States Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources in Washington, DC, from August to December 1984. Dr. Myers earned his B.S. degree from Stanford University in 1973, for which he received honors in biological studies. He earned his M.D. degree from Harvard Medical School in 1977 and his M.B.A. degree from Stanford University Graduate School of Business in 1982. Dr. Myers was born

February 14, 1954, in Indiana. He is married, has two children, and resides in Indianapolis, IN.

John Cardinal O'Connor, of New York. John Cardinal O'Connor was ordained a priest in 1945. He was named Archbishop of New York in 1984 and Cardinal in 1985. John Cardinal O'Connor served as Bishop of Scranton, PA, in 1983. While in the United States Navy, 1952–1979, he was appointed Navy Chief of Chaplains in 1974, and Titular Bishop of Cursola and Auxiliary to the Military Vicar in 1979. John Cardinal O'Connor was born January 15, 1920, in Philadelphia, PA. He currently resides in New York City.

Penny Pullen, of Illinois. Miss Pullen was first elected to the Illinois State House of Representatives in 1976 and has been serving in the State house since that time. In January 1987 she was appointed house minority leader. Miss Pullen is the sponsor of AIDS-related legislation in the State of Illinois. She earned her B.A. degree from the University of Illinois at Chicago in 1969. Miss Pullen was born March 2, 1947, in Buffalo, NY. She currently resides in Park Ridge, IL.

Cory SerVaas, of Indiana. Since 1973 Dr. SerVaas has been editor and publisher of the Saturday Evening Post. She has also served as president and research director of the Benjamin Franklin Library and Medical Society and medical director of the Foundation for Preventative Medicine, 1976 to the present. Dr. SerVaas earned her A.B. degree from the University of Iowa School of Journalism in 1946 and did postgraduate work at Columbia University. She earned

her M.D. degree from the Indiana University School of Medicine in 1969. Dr. SerVaas was born June 21, 1924, in Pella, IA. She is married, has five children, and resides in Indianapolis, IN.

William B. Walsh, of Maryland. Dr. Walsh founded Project HOPE (Health Opportunity for People Everywhere) in 1958 and has been serving as president and medical director since that time. He is also a clinical professor of internal medicine at Georgetown University. Dr. Walsh earned his B.S. degree in 1940 from St. John's University in New York and his M.D. degree from the Georgetown University School of Medicine in 1943. Dr. Walsh served in the United States Navy, 1941–1954. He received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in June 1987 and received the National Institute of Social Sciences Gold Medal in 1977. Dr. Walsh was born April 26, 1920, in Brooklyn, NY. He is married, has three children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Adm. James D. Watkins, U.S. Navy, Ret., of California. Admiral Watkins served as the Chief of Naval Operations, U.S. Navy, from 1982 to 1986. Prior to this he was commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, 1981–1982. Admiral Watkins is a 1949 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy and received his masters degree from the Naval Postgraduate School in 1958. During his military service, Admiral Watkins received several Distinguished Service Medals, including three Legions of Merit and the Bronze Star. Admiral Watkins was born March 7, 1927, in Alhambra, CA. He is married, has six children, and resides in the District of Columbia.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the “C” Flag Awards July 23, 1987

Thank you all very much, and welcome to the White House. And since I understand that you've been in here for a couple of hours—[laughter]—you will bless me when you go out and find out that we refused to have this this morning in the Rose Garden. [Laughter] It's a little warm.

Well, on my desk in the Oval Office, there sits a plaque that says, “It can be done.” It's a belief that I deeply hold true. And there's no community, no problem, no individual that cannot be helped through private sector initiative. When individuals

and organizations are willing to get involved, there's no limit to the good that can be done. It's a tradition as old as our country, that in America neighbors help neighbors. You here today are proof that this great American tradition lives on. The problems and challenges you've addressed are diverse; the solutions all share a common foundation: that of one man or woman reaching out to another.

When floods ravaged communities around Chicago, it was volunteers from the private sector who sat on battered boxes

and listened to the tales of grief and helped the healing process and future begin. Their employer made it possible for this act of kindness to take place, releasing their employees from work and organizing efforts to aid those in need with cleanup assistance, replacement of household goods, and daily meals for over 1,400.

In the town of Yellowbud, Ohio, farmers and their families loaded trucks at midnight with their excess hay so that fellow farmers in drought-stricken North Carolina might feed their herds. A local supermarket chain provided two convoys with over 100 drivers to get hay to those in need as part of their Hay for Farmers program. And Bob Goodale, whose company provided the trucks and drivers, didn't seek any reward for his efforts. "The farmers were the heroes," he said. "We just happened to be in the right place at the right time."

When it comes to the fight against drug abuse, the American Association of Advertising Agencies estimates that 9 out of 10 Americans over the age of 12 will be exposed to at least one of their many antidrug campaigns. The association has mobilized the creative resources of over 300 advertising agencies and multiple trade unions—as they put it—denormalize drug use over the next 3 years.

In Los Angeles there's a group called Share that's close to Nancy's and my heart. Each year the members of Share—women in the entertainment community, including stars like Lucille Ball, Carol Burnett, and others—put on a wonderful show to raise funds for mentally retarded children. Share has been so successful that, just this year, the organization has been able to fund a new wing at the Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles—a wing devoted to research on retardation.

These are just a few examples of private sector initiative at work. You're here today—or you here today, I should say, are the companies and associations who got involved and made it your business to be "in the right place at the right time." You're not only examples for your fellow Americans but the world as well. You know, one night at a dinner, early in my first term, over in the White House there, an Ambassador's wife was my dinner partner on one

side, and the conversation at the table had gotten around to things that were being done here by the private sector initiative. And very quietly, she said to me, "Yes, but you're unique." And I said, "Well, what do you mean?" She said, "Yes, in the United States you do it that way. But," she said, "no place else." She said, "All the rest of us over there just leave it to government." Well, I have never forgotten her story, and I started telling it around and have at every occasion that I could, on this subject, mentioned that.

And now that may be changing. It is changing, in fact. Last November the first International Conference on Private Sector Initiatives was held in Paris, France, and they had asked us if we would participate and tell them how it worked. And while I was in Venice just several weeks ago for the economic summit, I attended an Italian-American Conference on Private Sector Initiatives. And standing at a podium like this, I looked out and saw a few friendly faces from our own country who were there for that particular meeting. The Italian national task force, formed as a result of that conference, met 2 days ago in Italy to develop their own plan of action.

In 1984 my board of advisers on private sector initiatives developed the President's Citation Program for Private Sector Initiatives to recognize and showcase outstanding examples of community involvement. And the backbone of that program is the C-Flag—the flag by which good-neighbor organizations can be identified. And people still ask what does the "C" stand for? Well, it stands for commitment, a commitment to respond to the needs of others. This year over 3,500 organizations proudly fly the C-Flag with its slogan, "We can, we care." And today I'm proud to be here with the 100 winners of the Private Sector Initiatives Citation for 1987 and to bestow this crystal tetrahedron to the 30 top programs. I especially want to thank Bill Taylor of the American Society of Association Executives for all of the help his organization gives in administering this program. You do a fine job, Bill.

And now, I better stop talking, and we'll give out the awards.

Note: The President spoke at 11:48 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his closing remarks, he referred to R. William Taylor, president of the American Society of Association Executives.

Remarks at a Panel Discussion on AIDS Research and Treatment July 23, 1987

Well, I thank you all very much. As you know, generally, when I talk to a group like this, I open with a joke or two to put all of us at ease and get things rolling, and I hope you'll forgive me if I skip that today. I've just come from the ward you have here for children who have AIDS. And let me just make a promise to those children and all others who have contracted this disease: We will—I will do all that God gives us the power to do to find a cure for AIDS. We'll not stop, we'll not rest, until we've sent AIDS the way of smallpox and polio.

Those are words of resolve, and now I'd like to add a few words of hope. One of the amazing stories of modern medicine is the progress that we've already made against AIDS. I know this is old news to you in this room. So many of the breakthroughs were achieved right here in this building. But for our friends in the press, I thought I should put the speed of progress in perspective. Just think that the day I was sworn in as President we didn't even know that AIDS existed. It wasn't until 5 months later that the disease was discovered. But only 3 years after that, in a laboratory on this campus, Dr. Robert Gallo isolated the AIDS virus. This was, of course, at about the same time, as is often the case, similar work was being done by Dr. Luc Montagnier at the Pasteur Institute in Paris. Within a year, a blood test was available.

And now a treatment drug, AZT, is also on the market—also developed here in this building by Dr. Sam Broder, whom I met earlier this afternoon. Dr. Broder told me, by the way, that more progress is coming. He mentioned work on a number of new and promising drugs for treating AIDS. And I understand that a vaccine will soon go into testing. As these drugs and vaccines come along, I'm determined that redtape

will not keep them away from those in need. We will make certain that they get the same kind of accelerated review from the Food and Drug Administration that got the AZT application approved in only 4 months—record time.

I know that everyone here understands how dazzling the progress against AIDS has been. It took 40 years of study to learn as much about polio. It took 19 years to develop a vaccine against hepatitis B. To keep up the momentum, this year the Federal Government will spend \$317 million on AIDS research and development and \$845 million overall, and next year we'll spend 30 percent more on research and \$1.26 billion overall. Spending on AIDS has been one of the fastest growing areas of the Federal budget. The limits on research progress today are not the limits of spending but of the scientific process itself. Growing cultures, monitoring the spread of infection, conducting tests—all of this takes time.

Today we're taking another big step against AIDS. This morning at the White House we announced the members of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic. Dr. Eugene Mayberry, the chief executive officer of the Mayo Clinic, is Chairman of the Commission, the members of which are drawn from a wide range of backgrounds and points of view. And I say Dr. Mayberry "is" Chairman, not "will be" Chairman, because not only did we announce the Commission's membership today, but today is also the Commission's first day of work. They're wasting no time. And in fact, talk about speed, Dr. Mayberry will present the Commission's first report to me in 90 days.

Dr. Mayberry and his colleagues will recommend a full-fledged strategy for battling AIDS. We already have a research strategy

for finding a cure. The Commission will be reviewing not only that but also looking at questions of treatment and prevention: How can we most compassionately care for those who have AIDS? How can we most justly and effectively protect the public from the spread of AIDS?

What we need right now in the battle against AIDS is a good strong dose of common sense. It seems to me common sense to recognize that, when it comes to stopping the spread of AIDS, medicine and morality teach the same lessons. It's also common sense that ignorance about the extent of the spread of AIDS won't help anyone—those who have it, those who might get it, those who are looking for ways of preventing its spread. This is why I called recently for certain kinds of testing. I hope the Commission will help us all put aside our suspicions and work together with common sense against this common threat.

I wish I could say that the vast amounts of money and effort that we're putting into AIDS research will give us a cure in a week or a year or by an absolutely certain date. The truth is, none of us knows for certain just when a cure will come. It might not be until the late 1990's. It might not be until later. That's why prevention and treatment are so important now. But in the spirit of hope, let's not forget, a cure might possibly arrive much sooner.

A few weeks ago I was reading about another field of astonishingly rapid scientific progress—not in medicine but in physics. Despite all the advances of the last year, in what has become known as the phenomenon of superconductivity, one problem was said to be years from solving: that of finding material that could handle what I, as a layman, would call large amounts of electricity. Well, the next week, another report appeared announcing that the problem had been solved. What some said would be years in coming happened just one week later. I don't know if the day will come

when such progress will be in the cards for AIDS research, but that's my hope. And after the visit to the ward today and after the death by AIDS of friends and former associates, this is my prayer: One way or another, whether by breakthrough or steady progress, we will beat this disease.

And now let me turn the meeting over to Secretary Bowen.

[At this point, Secretary of Health and Human Services Otis R. Bowen; James B. Wyngaarden, Director of the National Institutes of Health; and Anthony S. Fauci, Director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, addressed the panel.]

Well, thank you, Dr. Bowen and Dr. Wyngaarden and Dr. Fauci. And Dr. Davis there was most helpful in our assembling this Commission and these people here who I have confidence are going to do such a job for us. By the way, I thought you'd all like to know that, near as I can determine, Dr. Bowen is only the seventh physician to serve in the Cabinet from George Washington's time to the present. *[Laughter]*

As I was listening to the panel and going on a tour today, I couldn't help remembering something that W.H. Auden said, that the true men of action in our times are not politicians or statesmen but scientists. Dr. Mayberry and the Commission will be working with you and many others to chart the Nation's course against this disease. I believe that when the medical history of our times is written you and they will go down as among our greatest men and women of action.

Well, I thank you all, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:49 p.m. to members of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic and public health officials in the auditorium at the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda, MD.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on Vietnam-United States Talks on POW-MIA Issues
July 24, 1987

The United States and Vietnamese Governments have agreed on the dates of August 1–3, 1987, for the visit to Hanoi of General John Vessey, Special Presidential Emissary for POW-MIA and other humanitarian issues. Both sides have agreed that these discussions on humanitarian issues should not be linked to any outstanding political problem between the two countries, such as normalization of relations or the Cambodian question.

General Vessey's distinguished background and his dedication to this issue are

well known. The United States looks forward to fruitful discussions with the Vietnamese on these issues through his mission. In this regard, Members of the Senate and House yesterday informed the Vice President of a joint resolution they expect to be passed soon expressing full support for General Vessey's mission and calling upon the Vietnamese to respond positively on the POW-MIA issue. The President is grateful for the strong bipartisan support of our policy on this issue.

Remarks to Captive Nations Conference Participants
July 24, 1987

Thank you, and thank you, Ambassador Dobriansky. I want to express my deep appreciation to the Ukrainian Catholic Church for permitting us to use this shrine. And let us look forward to the day when Ukrainian Catholics and members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will again be free to gather and worship in churches like this in their own homeland.

There are indications of change coming from the Soviet Union, and those are welcomed. But we should not and cannot turn our attention away from those who look toward the day there is improvement in human rights and basic freedoms. Today we come together to declare again our solidarity with those whose nations have been captured by communism. This commemoration is in keeping with the vision of our Founding Fathers, who saw our new land as an inspiration to all mankind, a bastion of freedom, and a shining beacon of hope for all the world's oppressed. And that's what America is all about, and together, we intend to keep her that way.

A member of my staff recently brought to my attention a document that reflects this traditional American commitment to the

universality of human freedom. The document concerns Governor Lazlo Kossuth, one of the leaders of the Hungarian revolution of 1848, an uprising that, except for the brutal intercession of Russian troops, would have allowed the Hungarian Nation to move toward liberty and independence.

In 1852 Governor Kossuth was traveling through the United States, speaking about the people of Hungary and their desperate struggle for freedom. One place he visited was Springfield, Illinois, which was then on the edge of the frontier. A town meeting was called by some of the community's respected citizens, including one Mr. A. Lincoln. Apparently, the Hungarian leader's speech aroused a fiery debate about America's international role among the people of Springfield. A vote was taken, and the final resolution included the following unmistakable and heroic commitment: "It is the duty of the United States not to do any act or lay down any principle in regard to noninterventionism that shall prevent this nation at any time from interfering in favor of any people who may be struggling for liberty in any part of the world."

So said the people of Springfield, Illinois,

in 1852. I wish we had a few of 'em with us so they could pay a little visit to Capitol Hill the next time Congress is about to vote on support for the freedom fighters. Clearly, there is still a noninterventionist sentiment in the United States, although it's tempered by an understanding that our country cannot live in isolation, as we did before World War II, and that the free people of the world look to us for leadership. Our global commitment to freedom does not mandate the sending of arms or troops, but at the very least it means that any people whose liberty is denied or whose independence is violated—that these people know we Americans are on their side.

We are the keepers of the flame. It's up to us to foster the legacy of those who came before us and to ensure America remains a champion of liberty and a force for good in the world. I want to take this opportunity to thank each of you for what you have done and are doing in this regard. Many of you've contributed much time, effort, and resources to this cause. I hesitate to mention any names, because there are so many here who've done so much. Those who suffer under Communist oppression may not know our names, just as we don't know the names of every American who attended that Springfield town hall meeting back in 1852. Nevertheless, those behind the barbed wire, those who are separated from us by the killing zones and watch towers, realize they have unnamed friends in distant lands, people who care deeply about them and people who are uncompromising in the fight against the tyranny that enslaves so much of mankind.

We're not misled by the propaganda and parades, the rallies and the orchestrated spectacles and events. We know that Communist governments do not represent those whom they govern, otherwise they would not suppress the people's right to speak or travel or have free elections. Those brave souls who endure such regimes are our allies. They, more than anyone else, realize that communism is a failed philosophy, a theory that creates only misery, deprivation, and oppression wherever it's put into practice. People who live in the Soviet Union tell many funny stories, often as a form of underground protest. One is about

the question: What is a Communist? The answer: A person who has read the works of Marx and Lenin. And the question: What is an anti-Communist? The answer: Someone who understands the works of Marx and Lenin. [Laughter]

Today we're being told that there are historic changes taking place in the Soviet Union, that the leadership is now pushing for openness and democratization. Well, last month when I was in Berlin, I called on Soviet leader Gorbachev to prove to the world that his *glasnost* campaign is more than words. I challenged him to tear down the Berlin Wall and to open the Brandenburg Gate. I renew that challenge today and expand it to include opening up those countries that are now under the domination of the Soviet Union or its Leninist proteges, from the Baltic States through Bulgaria, from Vietnam to Ethiopia.

If the leadership of the Soviet Union desires a new relationship with the West, it can start by establishing a new relationship with its neighbors and allies. Let us hear that the so-called Brezhnev doctrine is no longer policy; it is null and void. Let the Kremlin announce—or renounce the use of force as a means of imposing on any people a form of government they do not choose or of preventing the captive nations from freeing themselves. At home and throughout the Soviet bloc, open up the gates, tear down the walls, let the political prisoners go. We can have a peaceful world. We can spend less on weapons. We can have more cooperation. And make no mistake, the improvement of freedom and human rights is essential to progress between East and West.

Petro Ruban, for example, is a prisoner in special regimen labor camp number 36-1, one of the most notorious of the Soviet gulags. In 1976 he fashioned a wooden replica of the Statue of Liberty and for that was taken away. Later, he was arrested again for criticizing the invasion of Afghanistan. Well, free Petro and the others in the gulag and respect people's fundamental human rights.

The free people of the West are also looking closely at what the Soviet Union is doing in the Third World and in regional

conflicts. In Afghanistan and Angola brutal puppet regimes are being propped up by Soviet and Cuban troops. For some time now, we've heard words about the movement toward peace, especially in Afghanistan. But if Moscow wants reconciliation, why do Soviet aircraft still bomb villages in Afghanistan? Ground your helicopter gunships, take your troops home, and let the people of Afghanistan solve their own problems.

In Central America over \$1 billion worth of Soviet-bloc military hardware and other assistance was poured into Nicaragua last year alone. The Communist regime in Nicaragua has been engaged in subversive aggression against its neighbors almost from its first days in power. The word about the Soviet attempt to establish a beachhead in Central America is getting through. The polls now suggest that the American people are waking up to the threat of a Communist powergrab in their own neighborhood. Well, let me pledge to you here today: We are not about to stand by and see our neighbors in Central America added to the list of captive nations. *[Applause]*

Thank you. I predict the increased awareness of the American people, as you've shown here just now, will permit us to continue providing weapons and support to those brave individuals who are struggling for the right to choose freedom, and not to continue a Communist dictatorship in their native Nicaragua. Our own security and the cause of human freedom are inseparably linked in Central America. The threat is too close to home to ignore or to be deluded by wishful thinking. It's too close to home to tolerate an on-again-off-again, vacillating congressional policy toward that region.

All indications suggest that the more people know about what's happening in Central America, the more they support a strong stand for freedom. Thomas Jefferson said that if the people know all the facts,

the people will never make a mistake. Well, I have one favor to ask of you men and women who understand the threat communism poses to our country and to the free people of the world: Can I count on you to help me get the word out and mobilize the American people? *[Applause]*

Thank you. You just made my day! *[Laughter]* I'd just like to leave with you one thought: I think America is heading into one of the greatest periods in its history. Yes, we have our differences, and at times politics can get pretty rough. Democracy is not for weak spirits. Whatever problems we have, whatever differences we have, however, are minor compared to those of our adversaries. Freedom is now on the offensive. We turned a corner in 1981, and if we have courage and are realistic in our approach to world affairs, freedom will not only survive, it will triumph.

Furthermore, our economy is strong, and our young people are filled with energy, creativity, and optimism. I don't mind telling you that what we've got today in those young people are the best darn bunch of kids we've ever had. A general once said that about another generation. He used a word that I didn't feel in my position I could use. So, they are the best darn—*[laughter]*.

What I see in America today is that same character and spirit, that same love of freedom, that was evident back in that town hall meeting in Springfield in 1852. The final resolution from that town hall meeting contained the following section: "The sympathies of this country and the benefits of its position should be exerted in favor of the people of every nation struggling to be free." As I say, now it's up to us. Thank you. God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 12:57 p.m. at the Ukrainian Catholic National Shrine.

Remarks Announcing the Nomination of William Steele Sessions To Be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

July 24, 1987

The President. It's with great pleasure that I today announce my intention to nominate Judge William Steele Sessions to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Judge Sessions is well recognized as a man of great personal integrity and honor, dedicated to the vigorous enforcement of the criminal laws of our country and to the evenhanded administration of justice. I'm happy to be able to draw upon the talents of a person with such extensive experience, both on the bench and as a prosecutor, to lead the FBI in our fight against crime.

Judge Sessions has established himself as a fairminded, tough prosecutor and one of the finest Federal judges on the bench today. He's committed to protecting the rights of all Americans under the Constitution. He understands and has demonstrated unwavering dedication to constitutional principles in securing protection of the

lives, the property, and the homes of our citizens, not only with respect to those who violate our laws but with respect to those who are charged with the responsibility of enforcing our laws. Under Judge Sessions' leadership, I'm confident that the FBI will continue its impressive tradition as one of the finest law enforcement agencies in the world, unmatched in integrity, commitment, and skill.

Judge Sessions. Mr. President, I thank you for reposing the confidence in me to become the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I look forward to trying to maintain the high standards that Judge Webster has provided for leadership in the Bureau, to working with Attorney General Meese as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and I'm grateful to you, sir. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:33 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House.

Nomination of William Steele Sessions To Be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

July 24, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Judge William Steele Sessions to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice. He would succeed William Webster.

Judge Sessions has been sitting on the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Texas since 1974 and has served as Chief Judge of that Court since 1980. Prior to his appointment to the District Court, Judge Sessions served as the United States Attorney for the Western District of Texas from 1971 to 1974. From 1969 to 1971, he was

Chief of the Government Operations Section of the Criminal Division of the United States Department of Justice in Washington, DC. From 1959 to 1969, he was in private law practice; he was a partner in the firm of Haley, Fulbright, Winniford, Sessions & Bice in Waco, TX, from 1965 to 1969.

Judge Sessions received his J.D. from Baylor University in 1958 and his B.A. from Baylor in 1956. He served in the U.S. Air Force from 1951 to 1955. Judge Sessions is married and has four children. He was born May 27, 1930, in Fort Smith, AR.

Memorandum on Historically Black Colleges and Universities July 24, 1987

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

On September 15, 1981, I issued Executive Order 12320, to enhance the Federal Government's support of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). On September 22, 1982, I issued further implementing instructions. The Executive Order is one aspect of my continuing commitment to improve educational opportunities for all Americans and particularly for the poor and minorities. The enrollment of minorities in postsecondary education is key to their personal economic success and to the growth of the American economy.

Since 1981, under the leadership of the Department of Education, there has been much progress by the 27 agencies specifically included in the Executive Order. It is apparent, however, that more can and should be done.

I am therefore now taking the following steps:

1. I direct the heads of the 27 agencies to make a personal effort to find creative ways to increase opportunities for HBCUs to participate in their programs and to make sure that agency officials understand the high priority I personally place on this initiative. Examples of activities each agency should explore include:

- reviewing all agency programs for areas where more extensive involvement with HBCUs would aid the agency in fulfillment of its mission and could lead to a permanent improvement in the quality of the HBCUs' programs.

- identifying ways to forge long-term links between specific schools and the private sector.
- striving to increase the level of agency funding for higher education allocated to Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

2. I direct the Secretary of Education to provide additional assistance, as needed, to the 27 involved agencies as they carry out the objectives of the Executive Order.

3. I direct the Secretary of Education to conduct a thorough study of the factors that affect minority postsecondary enrollment, both financial and nonfinancial, and provide the results to me and to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget no later than June 1, 1988. The study should be comprehensive in scope and should include any recommendations of the Secretary for cost-effective approaches to increasing minority enrollment.

4. Pending completion of the study, I direct the Secretary of Education to provide to me and to the Director of the Office of Management and Budget by September 30, 1987, his recommendations for more immediate activities that can help address minority postsecondary enrollment. These recommendations should be developed in consultation with other involved agencies.

We have made significant progress in implementing the Executive Order, and I look forward to significant further strides forward in this matter. Educational opportunities for qualified minority students are vital to our Nation's future.

RONALD REAGAN

Proclamation 5685—Clean Water Day, 1987 July 24, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

No resource is more vital to the welfare of the United States than clean water. Virtually every aspect of modern life depends in some way on an abundant and clear supply of this precious gift of nature.

Americans use well over 100 billion gallons of water every day; the water that sustains and nourishes us must be safe, and agriculture and industry alike require clean water. Because clean water is the basis of life for myriad species of animals, clean rivers, streams, lakes, estuaries, and oceans are essential.

Given the universal importance of clean water, it is fitting that we set aside a day to recommit our energies to wisely managing this precious resource for ourselves and for generations yet unborn.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 160, has designated July 25, 1987, as "Clean Water Day" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in its observance.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim July 25, 1987, as Clean Water Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fourth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

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Radio Address to the Nation on Catastrophic Illness Medical Insurance July 25, 1987

My fellow Americans:

Few tragedies hurt American families more than catastrophic illness among our elderly. First, there's the human and emotional cost of caring for a loved one who's severely ill; and then there's the financial cost, one that can frequently wipe out the hard work and savings of a lifetime. It was to do something about this tragedy that I proposed legislation earlier this year that would provide catastrophic health insurance for our elderly.

It's a responsible program that would limit annual personal expenses for Medicare acute care services to \$2,000. Beyond that point, Medicare would pay for unlimited physician care and time in the hospital. The cost would be under \$6 a month, or \$70 next year, in Medicare premiums. Although

the premiums, as the years go by, would rise to keep pace with program costs, they would remain affordable. Here then was a sound program that would take care of the national tragedy of catastrophic illness among the elderly. A program, too, that would be financially sound and not jeopardize the solvency of the basic Medicare system.

Then I submitted it to Congress. Unfortunately, this sound, reasonable program has been converted into a massive program that will impose a new tax on the elderly and soon threaten to bankrupt the Medicare trust fund. On Wednesday, the House of Representatives rejected a Republican-sponsored plan based on my proposal. Instead, they passed a bill that will cost over \$10 billion in 1989 and nearly \$100 billion by

2005—more than three times what my plan would cost. The House threw out the basic affordable premium of under \$6 per month and replaced it with a surtax on beneficiaries' income tax of up to \$580 per year. That means an elderly person with a \$6,000 to \$14,000 income would have his or her marginal tax rates raised from 15 percent, as promised in last year's tax reform, to 22 percent in a single year—and by 1992, to 25 percent.

Put another way, a Medicare recipient with monthly income as low as \$1,200 could have his or her income tax increased by \$580 per year. But even this huge increase in taxes on the elderly isn't enough to finance the program. By 1995, the costs will be so great they will threaten the entire Medicare trust fund. And just after the start of the next century, in the year 2005, there will be a \$20 billion shortfall—a shortfall that will have to be made up by more tax increases.

So, in summary, here's the situation: I promised Americans a plan that would protect you in your retirement years from financial devastation brought on by a catastrophic illness requiring prolonged hospitalization and medical care. I fulfilled that promise and in return the Democratic House more than tripled the costs, increased tax rates for virtually all elderly taxpayers, expanded the program so much that in about 15 years it will run a \$20 billion deficit and threaten the solvency of the entire Medicare trust fund. And to top it off, Congress would have the elderly begin paying a year before starting the full plan.

I know all of this is upsetting, but let me stress that I don't think there's cause for

pessimism. As perhaps most of you know, I've been out around the country lately, and everywhere I go I hear protests from people like you about the ways of Capitol Hill. I think the American people are doing a slow burn over Congress' failure to face up responsibly to the problems. And I think the public's temperature is going to rise even higher when it understands that Congress has been trifling with a plan to provide elderly Americans with insurance against catastrophic illness—a plan that can work without taxing the elderly into servitude.

As we move along throughout the summer and the start of next year, these issues will come increasingly into focus. I think it's then that a lot of Representatives will start realizing that Americans like you are disturbed by Congress' ways. But the health plan is not just another pork-barrel project we're arguing over. This is a fight about protecting the health of our senior citizens—come to think of it, citizens like me. And doing it in a way that doesn't bankrupt the elderly in the process.

So, be sure to tell your Representatives and Senators that you support the administration plan, not the high-taxing substitute for catastrophic health insurance. America's living conditions and health delivery systems have come a long way in the last half century. Let's keep that progress going, and let's do it in a fiscally sound way that protects our elderly citizens and their families from the tragedy of catastrophic illness.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Statement on the Death of Malcolm Baldrige

July 25, 1987

The Nation has suffered a great loss with the tragic and untimely death of Secretary Malcolm Baldrige. An experienced businessman and respected community leader, he was a talented and dedicated public servant

who sought nothing more than to make a contribution to America. And indeed he did. Under his stewardship, the Department of Commerce played a key role in the birth of our country's prosperity, and all of

us owe a great debt to Mac Baldrige.

He was a loyal member of the Cabinet, whose common sense, wisdom, and counsel I relied on often and deeply valued. Mac and I shared a special affinity for the West,

and I will greatly miss his friendship.

Nancy and I are truly saddened and extend our deepest sympathy to Midge and the Baldrige family. They will be in our thoughts and prayers in the time ahead.

Remarks to Broan Manufacturing Company Employees in Hartford, Wisconsin

July 27, 1987

Thank you very much. And, Mr. Schlegel, thank you for bringing me into the family. And I want you to know that I'm also grateful to the other three employees of yours that are up here with me—the Governor, the Senator, and the Congressman, myself. We all work for you. And it's great to be here today, although I confess to being a little nervous about leaving Washington. And there are two reasons: Congress is still debating the budget—[*laughter*]—and then there are so many people back there now from both parties that are saying how much they want my job. [*Laughter*] In fact, I ran into a bunch of candidates at the airport this morning who said they were also on their way to the Midwest. What a strange coincidence. All I can tell you is that somebody must be offering one terrific vacation package to Iowa this year. [*Laughter*]

You know, as I was coming into the plant today, I remembered all those years as a political candidate that I spent shaking hands at plant gates. I guess that's the difference when you're President—they let you come inside. [*Laughter*] But I do wish I'd gotten here in time for your company picnic. [*Laughter*] I'll have to check my staff on who scheduled me for the leftover potato salad. [*Laughter*] Don Schlegel tried to make me feel better about missing the picnic by saying it was hot out there, too. [*Laughter*] I said, "Yes, Don, but on the other hand, there was also plenty of that stuff that made Wisconsin famous." And I'm not talking about ice-cold Gouda cheese. [*Laughter*]

But actually, it's what each of you are doing to make Wisconsin famous that brought me here today. Broan Company is

a success story: a growing business with quality products, a company with good management and with employees who care because they have a say in how things happen here. I've heard how your award-winning employee suggestion program has resulted in more than \$1,200,000 in savings.

It's just one more reason that you're an example of what's known in Europe as America's economic miracle. You don't know what it means to go over there to those economic summits anymore and have those leaders of other countries use that term. I didn't invent it. They wanted to ask me and talk about the American miracle. Well, the miracle has brought down inflation, it's pushed up family income, and it's created over 13 million new jobs.

And all this is a credit to you. Nobody works as hard as the American worker. And forgive my pride, but when given half a chance American business and labor can outcompete any country or people in the world. But your success here is also a credit to the American electorate—of which you're a part—because they made it possible for your hard work to pay off when they said no to policies that led to double-digit inflation, growing unemployment, and booming interest rates. Yet even though the people spoke emphatically at the polls, it was tough to turn things around in Washington. Believe me, when it comes to spending your tax dollars, the Congress, like Oscar Wilde, can resist everything but temptation.

But turn it around we did: We cut taxes, we simplified taxes, we reformed taxes. And let me make sure that when I use the term, "Congress," I'm talking about a part of the

Congress because we have had the help in what we're trying to do of Senator Kasten and Congressman Sensenbrenner, and also now, your good Governor.

We went on, and we reduced unnecessary regulation. We cut the rate of growth of spending and even got the Congress to sign off on a deficit reduction plan—Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. We fought protectionist legislation that would invite foreign retaliation, retaliation that would eventually close down markets and American plants and factories. But sure enough, just as prosperity becomes rampant in America, some in Congress want to go back to busting the budget—proving again the truth of Will Rogers. You remember him, that humorist, what he said: “All you need to grow fine, vigorous grass is a crack in your sidewalk.” [Laughter]

Now, some of you know I'm crisscrossing the country to fight these dangerous trends on Capitol Hill. I've been campaigning not only to hold on to the progress that we've made and keep our prosperity growing but to institute permanent reforms—something called an Economic Bill of Rights—that would protect you and your children from future encroachments of government. One of the most dangerous inclinations of human nature, Thomas Jefferson once said, is appropriating wealth produced by the labor of others rather than producing it by one's own labor. He said government was the usual vehicle for this abuse. And as he put it: The stronger the government, the weaker the producer. And he added: The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground.

And that's why I'm out pushing our Economic Bill of Rights. We want to protect you—the producers, the taxpayers—by reforming the way future Congresses spend your money and raise your taxes. We want to put permanent checks and balances like a balanced budget amendment, line-item veto—which your government has—and truth-in-spending legislation on government's inevitable tendency to confiscate more and more of your take-home pay. [Applause] You are right; it's time to cut the Federal budget, not the family budget.

Now, I've got to tell you, my decision to take our case to the people has gotten some

of the seers and sayers back in Washington upset. They keep telling me that I'm just walking down a fruitless political path, that the people don't care, and that I'd better let Congress conduct our finances. But, you know, I have been all across the country lately, and I think an overwhelming number of Americans are against more taxes and spending. And all these warnings from the big spenders saying the people don't care just ring hollow to me.

In fact, they make me think of Yogi Berra when he said: “Nobody goes to that restaurant any more—it's too crowded.” [Laughter] I say the people care about higher taxes, and I say the people care about higher spending, and I say the people care about higher trade barriers that would cost America jobs. So, to those on Capitol Hill who keep telling me, “Now, Mr. President, just take it easy; don't go out there and get the people all riled up about taxes and spending and trade,” I say, the people have a right to be riled up; I say the people have a right to protect America's hard-won prosperity.

There is much left to do in the next 18 months. And to borrow a phrase that you might have heard recently from one of the lawyers—defense lawyers at the legislative hearings there going on in Washington—[laughter]—who had to protest that he wasn't a potted plant; he was a lawyer there with his client—I reject a potted-plant Presidency. I'm here to do a job, and when the Congress spends too much money or tries to raise taxes or passes trade legislation that will hurt American workers, you can bet I'm going to be out here asking you, the people, for your hands and your hearts and your help.

I also say it's a President's job to warn Americans and American workers about trade legislation that could lead to foreign retaliation—retaliation that will cut off foreign markets, shut down plants, and as I said, destroy jobs here at home. We tried that once way back in the depths of the Great Depression, and we only spread depression around the world. Right now the House and the Senate have passed trade bills that are dangerous to economic growth. And I'm here to tell you today:

Under the guise of protectionism, those bills threaten the jobs and livelihood of American workers, and that's why I'm prepared to veto this legislation if it reaches my desk in its present form. I stand ready to work with Congress, but on a trade bill that promotes economic growth rather than stifles it.

This antiprotectionist and antigrowth [progrowth] message is something I'll be taking to other stops today in your great State. And once again, I'll be preaching the same old Jeffersonian gospel—that the government that governs least is the government that governs best.

So, thank you again for this visit today. Keep up your good work, help America grow and prosper, and talk to your friends and neighbors about our Economic Bill of Rights. It's something we can leave our children and something that can guarantee them a future of economic growth and opportunity. And that happens to be the only

goal of my life. I want to see those kids that I get to meet and talk to every once in awhile have an America that presented the same opportunity that America presented to my generation when we were kids growing up. And if I can remember what it was like way back there, that's quite a test of memory. [Laughter]

But I just want to thank all of you here for letting me interfere for a little while and visit with you. And as I say, I've got two more stops nearby to go, so just thank you all, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 11:10 a.m. on the manufacturing floor at the plant. In his opening remarks, he referred to Gov. Tommy Thompson, Senator Robert W. Kasten, Jr., Representative F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr., and Donald M. Schlegel, president of the Broan Manufacturing Co. Following his remarks, the President traveled to West Bend, WI.

Remarks at a Rotary Club Luncheon in West Bend, Wisconsin July 27, 1987

Governor Thompson, Senator Kasten, Congressman Sensenbrenner, Mayor Miller, today feels like a homecoming to me. Traveling through the towns and the farmland here in Wisconsin reminds me of the town where I grew up, just across the border, down in Illinois. It reminds me of when I was a young man graduating from college. I didn't know what I wanted to do, and the Depression was on, but I was lucky enough to find opportunities—more than I ever dreamed of. And one of the things I'm most dedicated to doing as President is to ensure that for every young man and woman getting out of high school or college, starting a family, finding a job, America remains what it has always been: a land of unlimited opportunity.

You know, when I get to talking about opportunity, that reminds me of a story. But I'm a collector of stories that I can verify the Soviet people are telling among themselves, and it gives me an idea of how

they regard their situation. And many of those stories have to do with the state of their economy and their dismay at the fruits of communism. Like, what are the four things wrong with Soviet agriculture? Spring, summer, winter, and fall. [Laughter] But the story I'm thinking of concerns a star Soviet athlete, a hammer thrower. He'd gone to the West and seen what it was like and then returned home. And in the first meet after he got back, he set a new world record. A journalist from a Soviet newspaper rushed up to him and asked, "Comrade, how did you manage to throw your hammer that far?" And he replied, "Give me a sickle, and I'll throw it even farther." [Laughter]

Earlier today in Hartford, and here in West Bend, and later, I'm sure, in Port Washington, I'm seeing what has made America a land of opportunity. It was in the faces of the workers I met a couple of hours ago at the Broan plant. It was in the faces

of the people who lined the streets here in town as we drove through. It's here among you who give so much in service to your community—and I congratulate you on this effort that your president just spoke of. It's the pride and strength of a great and proud and free people; plain and simple, it's the American spirit.

Seven years ago, when I ran for this office, inflation was running wild, as you've been told, and interest rates, too. The economy was slowing to a crawl; paychecks were shrinking fast. And our leaders told us the roots of the problem: we Americans and something they called malaise. You remember that? Well, I didn't buy that, and neither did the American people. The problem was never the people; it was too much Federal regulation. Taxes that were too high, too much Federal spending—in short, too much big government and not enough freedom from it. That, and not our spirit, was the source of our troubles.

Changing that is why, today, inflation has slowed way down. And it's why families can buy more with their paychecks. And it's why, in communities like West Bend or like the city I was in 2 weeks ago, New Britain, Connecticut, and all around America, job opportunities are growing. Unemployment has fallen to the lowest unemployment that it's been in this decade. We've created more jobs in the last 4 years than Europe and Japan combined. And there have been more people at work this year than ever before in the history of the United States. Now, you could say, well, that's because the population totally keeps growing up. But wait a minute, I didn't know until a short time ago that the potential employment pool in the United States was considered to be everybody, male and female, from 16 years up, all the way. The highest percentage of that potential pool is employed today than has ever been employed in the history of the United States.

But, ladies and gentlemen, I'm here in the Midwest today because all that we've accomplished together, all we've done to lower tax rates and lift the suffocating blanket of excessive government off of the American dream—and you know the outstanding contributions of Senator Kasten and Congressman Sensenbrenner in doing

what we've done, and you know what your Governor has set out as a program to do—well, all of this is under attack in Washington. I'm here to ask your help and the help of people all over the Midwest. I'm here because, in years to come, I would like it to be said that one of the legacies of my administration was opportunity for young Americans, not just this year or next year but into the next decade and into the next century.

If we're to do that, we've got to get control of the Federal budget. Now, you've heard leaders of Congress say that spending has been cut to the bone, that the only way to lower the deficit now is to raise taxes. They insist that everything in the budget now is essential. Well, let me tell you about some of the spending that they say is so essential. In one major city there's a mass transit system that the Federal Government is now paying to extend. So few people ride that system, or are likely to ride it after the extension is finished, that it would be cheaper for us to buy every rider a new car every 5 years for the next 50 years. I'd say it's the taxpayers who are really being taken for a ride on that one.

Another example: For national security reasons, the Government subsidizes through loan guarantees the cost of building ships for our merchant marine. But over the years, the meaning of the word "ship" has been stretched. And the meaning of that is last year the Government poured out \$400 million in order to make good on defaulted offshore oil rigs constructed with Federal guarantees. This is what they call essential spending.

Now, I don't need to tell you good people about what's happening with farm spending. Farm aid is meant to help the family farmer, but the way it is now the Government gives little or nothing to most family farmers. The bulk of the money goes to the big, rich ones. Last year, for example, one cotton farmer got \$12 million. Ten rice farms got more than \$1 million each. All this is well known, so you'd think everyone would be making certain that whatever money goes to farmers in the future really does go to family farmers. But that's not the way we do things in Washington. Just last

week the Senate passed a trade bill. In it was another agricultural subsidy for the rich: \$365 million to big sugar interests. And two-thirds of that would go to two big corporations, each of which made millions last year. Yes, essential spending.

Now, anyone who tells you that we can't reduce the deficit without cutting defense and raising taxes is not telling you the truth. Last year we got the special interests out of the tax code; now it's time to get them out of the budget. And that's just what I mean to do. You know, this thing, defense—would it interest you to know that starting in 1981 and through about 1985 the Congress cut \$125 billion out of defense spending, but in that same period, it added \$250 billion to the budgets that I had submitted.

In a little while in Port Washington, I'll be talking about the economic freedoms that underpin our free enterprise system and about an Economic Bill of Rights, as the Congressman told you, to guarantee them. The Economic Bill of Rights includes something 85 percent of Americans want: a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. It also gives the President something that 43 Governors, including your own, have: a line-item veto. You know, to me a line-item veto is just a way of applying to the Federal budget the simple common sense a family uses in the grocery store. When you buy apples in a store, you don't buy a big bag sight unseen. You look at each apple. Right now spending programs are sent to me by the barrelful. My choice is to take it or leave the barrel. A line-item veto would just mean that I could go through the barrel, pull out each bad apple, and ask the American people if they really want to buy that apple. If they do, Congress can override my veto. My guess is that, once the special interest spending is pulled out of the barrel, the American people will send it right into the trash.

The pundits in Washington say the Economic Bill of Rights doesn't stand a chance. They say it's dead on arrival and we can't beat them. But I've got news for them: The special interests don't run our country, the American people do. Looking at the way Washington spends money, you would think that you were watching "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous" on TV. [*Laughter*] The

special interests want to raise the American people's taxes to pay for their high times and holidays. Well, as long as I am President, those holidays are over. And any tax increase that reaches my desk will be headed on a different kind of vacation: a one-way cruise to nowhere on the SS *Veto*.

I've come to the Midwest today to ask you to join me in the battle against the special interests. I mentioned the trade bill earlier. This is one place where the special interests have had a field day. As it stands now, the trade bill is not just expensive but dangerous. It would put into law the most protectionist provisions since the Smoot-Hawley Act that started or at least deepened the Great Depression of the 1930's. It invites foreign retaliation and a trade war that would threaten every one of the up to 10 million American jobs—hundreds here in West Bend—that are tied to trade. Not only that, but the trade bill includes measures, like government-imposed restrictions on plant closings, that would make American companies less competitive in the world markets. As it stands now, the trade bill is a declaration of war on American jobs. If it gets to my desk without big changes, I'm going to do my duty as an elected official who represents one special interest: all of the American people. I'll have no choice but to veto it.

It's time for the folks back in Washington to fold away the circus tents, pack up the grandstands, and get down to the business of cutting Federal spending. I'm ready to work with Congress to do that, but I'm going to need your help. Two hundred years ago, our Founding Fathers gave us a government of, by, and for the people. They believed that the Constitution they drafted would be a new order for the ages, and they were right. The dream of America has been a shining beacon for all mankind ever since then. It's the light of freedom and the torch of democracy, and it's drawn millions to our shores from all over the world. We, the American people, hold that torch in our hands. We, and not any monarch or despot or special interest, will hand that torch to the next generation. We will determine whether the opportunities that we've known will be for our children, as

well. And let's work together to make certain they will.

Now I've come to the end of my remarks, because I'm due, as you know, in another place to make another speech on pretty much the same subject. But I can't leave without telling you how fortunate you are that I'm going to have to cut it short. [Laughter] You know, there's a story of ancient Rome and the Christians there in the Colosseum. And they turned the lions loose on them, and the lions came roaring and charging. And one man stepped out from the little huddled group and spoke some quiet words, and the lions all lay down. Well, the crowd was furious. They couldn't

understand what had happened, and Nero sent for this one man and said, "What did you say to them that made them act like that?" He says, "I just told them that after they ate there'd be speeches." [Laughter] Thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:54 p.m. in the Old Settlers Room at the Old Washington Restaurant. In his opening remarks, he referred to Gov. Tommy Thompson, Senator Robert W. Kasten, Jr., Representative F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr., and Mayor Michael R. Miller. Following his remarks, the President traveled to Port Washington, WI.

Remarks to Citizens in Port Washington, Wisconsin July 27, 1987

The President. Thank you, Governor Thompson, Senator Kasten, Lieutenant Governor McCallum, Congressman Sensenbrenner, Congressman Petri, Mayor Lampert, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen. I can't tell you how terrific it feels to get out of Washington and to be here with you. I grew up in a town with people like you, just across the border in Illinois.

And being here along the lake reminds me of the story—when you're my age, everything reminds you of a story—[laughter]—about a young man who was selling fish to the local restaurant, a fellow named Elmer. Well, no one could figure out how Elmer was able to catch so many fish. And they asked the sheriff if he would investigate. Well, he asked Elmer if he could go fishing with him. And early the next morning they rowed out to the middle of the lake. When they got there, Elmer reached into the tackle box, pulled out a stick of dynamite, lit it, threw it into the water. Of course, there was an explosion, and the fish all came floating to the surface. And the sheriff looked at the young fellow and said, "Elmer, do you know you just committed a felony?" Elmer reached into the tackle box, pulled out another stick of dynamite, lit it,

handed it to the sheriff, and said, "Did you come here to talk or fish?" [Laughter]

Well, when it comes to fishing, it's clear that Port Washington is where the action is. But unfortunately, I came to talk. One of the genuine pleasures of this job you've given me is being able to meet and talk with people like you all across this great land of ours. And you may not see it on the evening news, but let me tell you, today in America there is a spirit of confidence and enterprise, of can-do and let's go, as I have not seen in many years.

It's evident in these workers I met this morning up in Hartford and in the service club members I had lunch with in West Bend. From now on, if anyone tries to sell America short or tells me that Americans don't have the will to compete or the stamina to keep out in front, I'm going to tell them to come and see you, the people of Wisconsin.

Audience. Reagan! Reagan! Reagan!

The President. America is number one, and we're going to stay that way. Let me add that nowhere is the energy and vitality I am talking about more evident today than among our young people. And God bless them, they're the best darn bunch of kids this country's ever had. I know we must

have a few of them here from Port Washington High, from Homestead High, from Cedarburgh High, from Grafton High, and from Ozaukee High. [Applause]. I hope I didn't miss any. But what we've been doing in these last 6½ years has been for them. It wasn't that long ago they were being told to lower their expectations. We were all being told that America's best days were behind her, that our problems were unsolvable.

It's no mere coincidence that this blanket of gloom and doom, this smothering pessimism, followed a great expansion of the Federal Government's power and authority. Our system of limited government, free enterprise, and individual freedom was bent out of shape. Federal spending and taxing were the order of the day. Our pockets were picked, and the coffers of State and local governments drained, as more and more of the country's financial resources were funneled for the bureaucracy in Washington. As a matter of fact, not too many years ago, before all this government build-up began in Washington, two-thirds of the total tax dollar in this country went to local and State governments, and less than a third to the Federal.

In recent years, it's been two-thirds to the Federal Government and only one-third to local and State government, where the services that you need so much are provided. Our pockets were picked, and the coffers of State and local governments, as I say, drained, and more of the country's financial resources funneled to the bureaucracy in Washington. Unfortunately, not only did the country's problems not magically disappear, as we were promised, but we ended up with empty pockets, near runaway double-digit inflation, economic stagnation, and as the Governor told you, interest rates that were the highest that we've had since the Civil War.

Now, there are those who think you really don't care about these kinds of economic statistics. So, before I go any further, I'd like to know how you feel about a few things. Now, perhaps after each question, you can just shout back yes or no. Clear your throats, though, and let's let them hear you all the way to Washington.

Do you want to go back to the days of

inflation and stagnation?

Audience. No!

The President. Do you want to go back to the old formula of more taxing and more spending?

Audience. No!

The President. Or do you want to lower taxes and balance the budget once and for all?

Audience. Yes! Reagan! Reagan! Reagan!

The President. In other words, do you want America to keep on the path of more growth, jobs, and opportunity?

Audience. Yes!

The President. Well, you know, there's a lot left to do. And to borrow a phrase I heard recently, I reject a potted-plant Presidency. Together, in these last 6½ years, we turned decline, inflation, and malaise into growth, stability, and pride. It wasn't government that did it; it was you, the people. And instead of putting more power and authority into the hands of bureaucrats and Federal officials in Washington, we chipped away at Federal regulations, eliminated much useless paperwork, and cut redtape. Our deregulation drive bolstered the efficiency and competitiveness of American industry and reduced the paperwork burden of government—Federal, State, and local—by—get this—we reduced the time spent on government-required paperwork by 600 million hours a year. Mayors Lampert, Miller, and Kirley can testify that the last thing America's towns and cities need is more Federal forms to fill out. Our philosophy since getting to Washington has been that the most effective thing the Government can do is get out of the way and let you, the most productive people in the world, do what you do best.

When I talk about productive people, I'm referring to individuals like John Stollenwerk and those of you who work with him. Just 11 weeks ago in a White House ceremony, I named John the number 2 Small Businessman of the Year. I'm also talking about the folks I met today at the plant in Hartford and all of you who work hard and take care of your families and love your country. You know how to run your lives and spend what you earn. You are citizens of the freest country in the world.

Audience. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. Yes. And my theory has always been you should be telling the Government what to do, and not the other way around. You know, a President some years ago was talking about government and its power, and he said: "If the people don't know enough to run their own lives, where do we find a little select elite that cannot only run their lives themselves but the people's lives for them? And that's government?" Well, you can't find them.

That's not the way the advocates of big government, as I say, look at it. Far too often your property, your take-home pay, your profit from large or small investments, even the assets of your pension funds are spoken of in the corridors of power as if they are government resources, as if government officials are being generous by letting you keep as much as you do keep of what you earn. Well, they're wrong. In America, government is the servant, not the master, and we intend to keep it that way.

During the last decade, the Federal tax-take nearly tripled. Inflation pushed working people into higher and higher tax brackets, until many working Americans were paying at rates that had been formerly reserved for the more affluent. Well, in these last 6½ years, we've tried to correct that situation.

Say, is there an echo in here? [referring to chanting by audience members]

As the Governor indicated, we've simplified the tax code, made it more equitable, and brought down rates. And we've done our best to keep the Federal Government's grasping hand out of our pockets.

Now I'd like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to two champions in the battle to protect your take-home pay, heroes in the cause of a strong and growing America: Senator Bob Kasten and Congressman Jim Sensenbrenner. And your Governor is out in front and doing that same thing. Bob's leadership on economic issues and those concerning environmental protection is something for which you can all take pride, and that goes for Jim, too. He's been a voice for fiscal responsibility and economic freedom, and he's also been working his heart out in the battle against

drug abuse.

By the way—

Audience. Just say no! Just say no! Just say no!

The President. Well, you beat me to it. Before I left this morning, Nancy wanted me to ask you young people what's the answer to someone who offers you drugs, and you beat me to it.

Audience. No!

The President. Well, with Bob and Jim's solid support, we've protected your paychecks, put in place an economic program that by Thanksgiving will have given this country the longest period of peacetime growth in the postwar era. And this year, more Americans are working and a higher percentage of our work force is employed than ever before in our history. The unemployment rate continues to move in the right direction—down. I know in this area companies are humming with activity, and unemployment is below the national average.

While I am here, I'd like to commend Governor Thompson for his aggressive campaign to get the hardcore unemployed off welfare and into jobs. I happen to believe that, instead of dependency and handouts, we should be offering the less fortunate jobs and opportunity, and that's what they want. At the national level, the best thing we can do for those who want to improve their lot is to make sure that America has a strong, growing economy, and that's exactly what we've been doing.

Our greatest challenge now is to keep America on an upward track and to protect the gains that we've made. And what is needed is fundamental reform that sees to it that our economic freedom is every bit as protected as our political freedom. On July 3d, I unveiled a reform package—we call it the Economic Bill of Rights—aimed at doing just that: protecting our economic freedom against the abuses of excessive and overbearing government.

First, the Economic Bill of Rights would add to the Constitution an amendment that would require the Federal Government to do what every family in America has to do, and that is balance its budget. Now, there are those who say the easy way to bring

down deficit spending is by raising your taxes.

Audience. No!

The President. But what they don't tell you is that these new taxes are to pay for more spending, which means that deficit spending might not come down at all. Those who are always calling for tax increases seem to think that you're under-taxed. If I might ask you one more question: Are your taxes too low?

Audience. No!

The President. I agree, your taxes are not too low. And if Congress raises them, it could well knock the legs out from under our economy and drag us back down to the bad times that we had back in those seventies. Raising taxes should be serious business and should not be done without the support of a broad consensus of Americans. That's why the Economic Bill of Rights requires that more than a just majority vote of the Members of each House of Congress for the passage of any tax increase. The bottom line is tax increases should be as difficult for Congress to pass as they are painful for the people to pay. What's wrong with saying that 60 percent or maybe even two-thirds should be required to increase the taxes?

And as far as deficit spending, we don't have a deficit because you're not taxed enough; we have a deficit because the Federal Government spends too much. And to ensure that wasteful spending isn't maneuvered through the system by attaching it to needed legislation, we propose to give to the President a line-item veto, the tool that will permit him to cut the fat and keep the meat of legislation that comes to his desk. Forty-three Governors, including Governor Thompson, are armed with this taxpayers' protection device. The President of the United States should be no less equipped to protect your paycheck.

The Economic Bill of Rights would also require a truth-in-spending provision for every piece of legislation. If the bill is going to cost you, the taxpayers, it should state clearly how much it is going to cost and who's going to pay for it. Our program is aimed at protecting our heritage as free Americans. It is aimed at protecting what you earn, what you own, what you'll live on when you retire, and what you will pass on

to your children.

The Economic Bill of Rights is about freedom, about limited government and unlimited opportunity. It represents all we've fought for and all that we need to continue to fight for. I'm going to work for this, not just for the remainder of this job but for the rest of my public life.

Audience. Reagan! Reagan! Reagan!

The President. I was going to say I hope I can count on your support. You've told me I can already. Now, some of you may know that I announced the Economic Bill of Rights on July 3d, standing on the steps of the Jefferson Memorial. And as I spoke, I could see symbols of our precious freedoms. In the distance was the White House, the Washington Monument, and the Lincoln Memorial. One building that can't be seen from the Jefferson Memorial, however, is the Capitol, where both Houses of Congress meet and do business. And that view is obstructed by government buildings. Well, by working together, and with our Economic Bill of Rights, we're going to make certain that Congress never loses sight of Jefferson, his ideals, and his vision for all Americans. He is the man that just shortly after the Constitution was ratified said it has one glaring omission: It does not have a clause preventing the Federal Government from borrowing. Well, together, we'll keep this the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Audience. U.S.A.! U.S.A.! U.S.A.!

The President. And I just want you to know that I believe that even more strongly than I always have, after being here with you here today.

Thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. at Lower Lake Park. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Tommy Thompson, Senator Robert W. Kasten, Jr., Lt. Gov. Scott McCallum, Representatives F. James Sensenbrenner, Jr., and Thomas E. Petri, Mayor George O. Lampert of Port Washington, Mayor Michael R. Miller of West Bend, and Mayor Dean T. Kirley of Hartford. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Remarks at the Federal Conference on Commercial Applications of Superconductivity

July 28, 1987

Thank you, John, and thank you all very much. It's a great pleasure to welcome you to Washington and an honor to address this assembly of some of the foremost members of our scientific and business community.

I'm pleased to announce, though—I'm going to take a liberty here before getting on with the subject that brought us together, to pause for a moment for an announcement of something that I think is of interest to all of us—that today our delegation to the Geneva discussions on intermediate-range nuclear missiles is putting forward a formal U.S. proposal that embodies two earlier suggestions made by the United States. In November of 1981 we promised elimination—or eliminating the entire class of long-range intermediate missiles. On June 15th we then formally offered to eliminate the shorter range INF weapons, as well.

As perhaps some of you know, until last week the Soviet Union had insisted on what could have been a major stumbling block to our double-zero suggestion: the right to retain some of its missiles currently deployed in Asia. But last Wednesday General Secretary Gorbachev announced that he was preparing to drop this demand. As I say, the proposal put forward today would reduce to zero the number of both longer range and shorter range INF missiles, and we are pleased the Soviets have now expressed support for both concepts. It would make provisions for strict and effective verification and reject transfer of existing U.S. and Soviet INF missiles and launchers to any third party. Two vital new elements are also included: the destruction of missiles and launchers covered by the treaty and no conversion of these systems and launchers to other types of weapons.

There's still much to do in Geneva, but I'm heartened that the climate is now receptive to an historic proposal of this type. The United States is proud to be in a position to make this proposal. I can only add that there are other arms reduction negotiations going on, as well, and these concern

strategic or longer range nuclear forces. We have tabled our proposal in the form of a proposed START treaty, and we hope the Soviet Union will do likewise and formalize their views in this area. Our goal, as you can see, is not arms control but arms reduction. And despite the skepticism when we first announced these plans, we are moving in this direction.

Now, before I begin our discussion of the vital subject that's brought us here today, there is one person I must mention, a moving force in getting this conference underway. He was a patriot, a fine Cabinet officer, and a champion of American enterprise, and we will truly miss Mac Baldrige. *[Applause]*

But we're privileged to have here today with us many of those scientists whose pioneering work made this conference on superconductivity a possibility, and congratulations to you all. And it's a safe bet that this conference room also contains many of the minds and spirits who will carry this revolution forward, who will open up a whole new realm of heretofore unimagined possibilities and practical applications.

I've had a lot of experience in my own career of how technology can change things. I remember back in the twenties, when somebody first told Harry Warner about talking pictures, and he said, "Who the heck wants to hear actors talk?" *[Laughter]* Actually, I don't think he said, "heck,"—*[laughter]*—but Presidents aren't allowed the same license as studio executives. Of course, when it comes to high-tech, Presidents often have trouble, too, keeping up with the times. A favorite story of mine is about one of the first times the White House hosted a science and technology event. A demonstration of a recently invented device was put on for President Rutherford B. Hayes. "That's an amazing invention," he said, "but who would ever want to use one of them?" He was talking about the telephone. *[Laughter]*

It's hard to believe that it's been less than

1 year since we first heard news of the startling breakthrough in superconductivity by two scientists in the IBM labs in Zurich. And since then, it's seemed as if the papers have had to struggle to keep up with the rapid advance up the Kelvin scale. You know, it's been said that there are three stages of reaction to any new idea. One: It won't work. Two: Even if it works, it's not useful. And three: I said it was a great idea all along. [Laughter]

Well, to most of us laymen, superconductivity was a completely new term. But it wasn't long before we learned of the great promise it held out to alter our world for the better, a quantum leap in energy efficiency that would bring with it a host of benefits, not least among them a reduced dependence on foreign oil, a cleaner environment, and a stronger national economy. I've been accused of being an incurable optimist, but lately I've been playing catch-up ball with the usually more staid science profession.

And the other day, I met with Dr. Graham and the members of the White House Science Council for a briefing on superconductivity. Edward Teller told me that we have seen discoveries in the laboratory these last 8 months that the optimists thought we wouldn't make for 200 years. One theorist was quoted as saying: "It shows all the dreams that we've had can come true. The sky is the limit." There are predictions of high-speed trains levitated above their tracks, supercomputers on a single silicon chip, cheaper and more effective medical imaging devices, but I suspect that we haven't even begun to dream the possibilities or imagine the potential. Just as no one imagined 747's making transatlantic commercial flights when the Wright brothers first flew at Kitty Hawk, and no one dreamt of the computer or the communications satellite when Ben Franklin first captured electricity from a lightning bolt.

It was Ben Franklin who wrote: "I have sometimes almost wished it had been my destiny to be born two or three centuries hence. For invention and improvement are prolific and beget more of their kind. The present progress is rapid. Many of great importance, now unthought of, will before that period be produced; and then I might

not only enjoy their advantages but have my curiosity gratified in knowing what they are to be." Well, the present process is rapid and, it seems, constantly accelerating. One can imagine how gratified Ben Franklin would be if he were alive today. But you know, I bet he would join me, and I'm sure most others in this room, in wishing that we had a window to the future—10, 20, and 100 years hence—so that we, too, could see the marvels of the coming age. There's something universal in that sentiment, I'm sure, but I can't help but feel that there's something especially American in the optimism, the certainty of hope and faith with which we look to the future.

Two hundred years ago, Thomas Jefferson said: "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past." Well, since that time, we've built here something entirely new, a history in which Thomas Jefferson would have felt more at home. It is a history that is constructed of dreams dreamt in freedom and realized in a land of opportunity. Science tells us that the breakthroughs in superconductivity bring us to the threshold of a new age. It's our task at this conference to herald in that new age with a rush. If you will, it's our business to discover ways to turn our dreams into history as quickly as possible.

The laboratory breakthroughs into high-temperature superconductivity are a historic achievement. But for the promise of superconductivity to become real, it must bridge the gap from the laboratory to the marketplace; it must make the transition from a scientific phenomenon to an everyday reality, from a specialty item to a commodity. And that's why we're here in this conference, so that business and science can cross-fertilize, can begin at these early stages to dream and plan together, because this new age of superconductivity is a new arena for the spirit of enterprise, one that we can't even guess the limits of.

We also want to see how we in government can do our part in helping this process along. Now, I have to confess that I'm one of those people who, when the Government offers to help, gets very nervous. We've learned from experience that the helping hand of government too often has a

crushing weight. I'm reminded of what Wernher von Braun once said about America's space program. He said, "We can lick gravity, but sometimes the paperwork is overwhelming." [Laughter] Well, this is not to say that government doesn't have an important role, especially at the basic research level. We must continue to support our outstanding researchers in all disciplines, giving them the freedom of resources and flexibility they need to dream their dreams and make their experiments. One key for doing this is the National Science Foundation, and we have proposed, as you've been told, to double its budget over the next 5 years. As you may know, the National Science Foundation and NASA provided funding for Dr. Paul Chu's landmark experiments at the University of Houston.

Increasingly, in this last part of the 20th century, information is becoming the most valuable commodity. We have begun major initiatives at our national laboratories to improve communication, and last April I signed an Executive order ensuring that all Federal agencies and laboratories become partners with the private sector in moving research from the laboratories to the marketplace. The message of government is simple: We have an open door policy to the private sector; cooperation, wherever and whenever possible, is the order of the day. We must also move to protect intellectual property and write protections into the Freedom of Information Act for scientific and technical information generated by government laboratories. We need to strengthen patent laws to increase protection for manufacturing processes and speed up the patent process so that it can keep pace with the fast-paced world of high technology. And of critical importance, we must modernize our antiquated antitrust laws, laws designed for a previous century that only held America—or hold America back and give our foreign competition an unfair advantage.

If we're serious about improving American competitiveness, the way to do it isn't through protectionist trade legislation that closes markets and throws people out of work. One good place to start is bringing antitrust laws up to speed with the modern world. This is no longer the era of the so-

called robber barons; it's the age of high-tech and global competition. Let's stop penalizing American business and treating it like an enemy. Let's give ourselves a fair shake in the world marketplace. I will soon send a legislative initiative to Congress addressing these three issues—antitrust, patents, and the Freedom of Information Act—as they relate to the commercial application of superconductor technology. I hope you will lend your support to this legislation. Your opinions matter to your Senators and Representatives. Let them know how you feel, individually and through your various trade organizations. This package of reforms will go a long way toward preserving the competitive advantage of U.S. industries in this field.

These and other actions are part of an 11-point superconductivity initiative that will also include a "wise men's" advisory group on Federal policies and regulations that effect superconductivity research and commercialization, the "quick start" grants for good ideas on processing superconducting materials into useful forms, the establishment of a number of superconductivity research centers, and a nearly \$150 million research and development effort by the Department of Defense over 3 years. Funding basic research, sharing information, removing the impediments to commercialization—in this way government can be a catalyst to the future. But we have an even more important role that we must be sure to accomplish. It's a fundamental role that not only looks forward to the 21st century but harks back to the first principles enunciated in our Constitution 200 years ago.

First, we must recognize that just as recent breakthroughs in superconductivity have outrun existing theories and brought us to the threshold of a new world of opportunities, so too, the world around us is in the process of a radical transformation, a revolution of shattered paradigms and long-held certainties. This transformation, too, is opening for us new horizons of possibility. In a recent article, "The New American Challenge," the economist George Gilder describes this new reality and how we must respond to it. The information age has only just begun, he says. Increasingly, we are

moving from the economy of the Industrial Revolution, an economy tied to the Earth's natural resources, to an economy based on information, where that old cliché, "Knowledge is Power," is truer than ever.

It's estimated that raw materials account for 80 percent of the cost of pots and pans, 40 percent of automobiles, and less than 2 percent for an integrated circuit. The value of a silicon chip doesn't lie in the sand from which it comes, but in the microscopic architecture engraved upon it by ingenious human minds. The most promising superconductors are made from ceramics. Their value doesn't come from their material, but from the brilliant inspiration of a few scientists. It is the human imagination that is building the 21st century out of sand and clay.

We're increasingly moving from an age of things to an age of thoughts, an age of mind over matter. In this new age, it's the mind of man, free to invent, free to experiment, that is our most precious resource. Gold, steel, oil—these were the treasures of the past that made people rich and nations strong. Today the premium is on the human heart and mind. They can't be locked in a vault, nationalized, or expropriated. They can only be let free, and then, really, the sky is the only limit. That is the American challenge: Will we continue the policies of economic freedom, of noninflationary growth, of low and flatter tax rates, and deregulation? Will we strengthen them with an Economic Bill of Rights so that they will never again be lost?

When I signed our tax reform legislation into law, I noted that the last 20 years had witnessed an expansion of many of our civil liberties, but that our economic liberties had been too often neglected, even abused. We protect the freedom of expression of the author, as we should, but what of the freedom of expression of the entrepreneur, whose pen and paper are capital and prof-

its, whose book may be a new invention or small business? What of the creators of our economic life, whose contributions may not only delight the mind but improve the condition of man by feeding the poor with new grains, bringing hope to the sick with new cures, vanquishing ignorance with wondrous new information technologies?

When our forefathers wrote guarantees of life, liberty, and property into our Constitution, they tapped a wellspring of hope and creativity that has transformed history. That basic blueprint they laid down—the Constitution, whose 200th birthday we celebrate this year—is, if anything, more vital than ever. That secular trinity of life, liberty, and property is the key to the future, the key to meeting and winning the new American challenge. Archibald MacLeish once said, "There are those, I know, who will reply that the liberation of humanity, the freedom of man and mind, is nothing but a dream." And then he said, "They are right. It is the American dream."

You here today will be among the pioneers carrying on that American dream into the future, a day when this 20th century of ours may seem no more than a rough prototype of the 21st. I wish you well with the rest of your conference. You have captured the imagination of the American people, and I'm sure I can speak for them all when I say our hearts and hopes and best wishes go with you. Thank you all very much, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 11:47 a.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige, who was killed in a rodeo accident on July 25; William R. Graham, Science Advisor to the President and Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy; and Edward Teller, director emeritus of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory.

Appointment of John C. Tuck as a Member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships

July 28, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint John C. Tuck, Deputy Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff, to be a member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships. He would succeed Fred F. Fielding.

Since April 1987 Mr. Tuck has been serving at the White House as Deputy Assistant to the President and Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff. Prior to this he served as Deputy Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs from October 1986 to April 1987 and Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs from March 1986 to

October 1986. He was assistant secretary for the majority, United States Senate, 1981-1986.

Mr. Tuck graduated from Georgetown University, School of Foreign Service (B.S., 1967). He served in the U.S. Navy, 1968-1973, and was detailed to the White House as a social aide from September 1971 to December 1972. Mr. Tuck is a commander in the Naval Reserve. He was born May 28, 1945, in Dayton, OH. Mr. Tuck is married to the former Jane L. McDonough. They have three children and reside in Arlington, VA.

Accordance of the Personal Rank of Ambassador to Max L. Friedersdorf While Serving as United States Representative to the Conference on Disarmament

July 28, 1987

The President today accorded the personal rank of Ambassador to Max L. Friedersdorf, of Florida, in his capacity as United States Representative to the Conference on Disarmament and nominated him for the rank of Ambassador while so serving. The accordance of the personal rank of Ambassador is an interim measure pending his

confirmation by the Senate.

On May 1, 1987, the White House announced the appointment of Mr. Friedersdorf by the Secretary of State to be United States Representative to the Conference on Disarmament. He will succeed Donald S. Lowitz.

Designation of Fred F. Fielding as a Member of the Panel of Arbitrators of the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes

July 28, 1987

The President today announced his intention to designate Fred F. Fielding to be a member of the Panel of Arbitrators of the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes for a term of 6 years. He would succeed Soia Mentschikoff.

Mr. Fielding is currently a partner with the firm of Wiley, Rein and Fielding in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as Counsel to the President at the White House, 1981-1986. He was a partner with Morgan, Lewis & Bockius in Washington,

DC, from 1974 to 1981.

Mr. Fielding graduated from Gettysburg College (A.B., 1961) and the University of Virginia School of Law (LL.B., 1964). Mr. Fielding was commissioned in the U.S.

Army in 1961 and served on active duty from 1965 to 1967. He was born March 21, 1939, in Philadelphia, PA. Mr. Fielding is married, has two children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Appointment of Vincent C. Gray as a Member of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation

July 28, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Vincent C. Gray to be a member of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation for a term expiring May 11, 1990. He would succeed Ruth Warson.

Since 1974 Mr. Gray has been serving as executive director of the D.C. Association for Retarded Citizens in Washington, DC.

Prior to this he served as deputy executive director of the D.C. Association for Retarded Children, 1972-1974.

Mr. Gray graduated from George Washington University (B.A., 1964; M.A., 1966). He was born November 8, 1942, in Washington, DC. Mr. Gray is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Two Members of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations

July 28, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations for terms of 2 years:

Peter L. Scott, of Connecticut. He would succeed Nancy Clark Reynolds. Since 1985 Mr. Scott has been chairman and CEO of Emhart Corp. in Farmington, CT. Prior to this he was president and CEO of Technology Transitions, Inc., in Hartford, CT. Mr. Scott graduated from Ohio State University (B.S., 1949). He served in the United States Navy, 1945-1946. Mr. Scott was born May 27, 1927, in Bellaire, OH. He is

married, has two children, and resides in Farmington, CT.

Peter J. Wallison, of Maryland. He would succeed Lloyd Hackler. Since March of 1987 Mr. Wallison has been a partner in the firm of Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was Counsel to the President, 1986-1987. From 1981 to 1985, he served as General Counsel of the Treasury Department. Mr. Wallison graduated from Harvard College (B.A., 1963) and Harvard Law School (LL.B., 1966). He was born June 6, 1941, in New York, NY. Mr. Wallison is married, has three children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Appointment of Leslie Keller as a Member of the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad

July 28, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Leslie Keller to be a

member of the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad for a

term of 3 years. This is a new position.

Since 1965 Mr. Keller has been president of Kelso, Inc., in Rego Park, NY. He was

born September 2, 1920, in Salgotarjan, Hungary. Mr. Keller is married and resides in Forest Hills, NY.

Appointment of James H. Evans as a Member of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts *July 28, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint James H. Evans to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Smithsonian Institution, for a term expiring September 1, 1996. He would succeed Jack J. Valenti.

Mr. Evans retired as chairman of the board of the Union Pacific Corp. on July 1, 1985. He joined the corporation in 1965

and served as president from 1969 to 1977 and then chairman and chief executive officer, 1977-1985.

Mr. Evans graduated from Centre College (B.A., 1942) and the University of Chicago (J.D., 1948). He served in the U.S. Navy during World War II. He was born June 26, 1920, in Lansing, MI. Mr. Evans is married and resides in New York City.

Appointment of Robert V. Bush as a Member of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation *July 28, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint Robert V. Bush to be a member of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation for a term expiring May 11, 1990. He would succeed James Bopp, Jr.

Since 1963 Mr. Bush has been president

of Albuquerque Prosthetics Center, Inc., in Albuquerque, NM. He served in the U.S. Army from 1942 to 1946. Mr. Bush was born August 9, 1920, in Moultrie, GA. He is married, has one child, and resides in Albuquerque, NM.

Remarks at the Memorial Service Honoring Malcolm Baldrige *July 29, 1987*

Midge, Megan, Molly, distinguished ladies and gentlemen: The day I called Mac Baldrige to ask him to join the Cabinet, I was told by Midge I would have to call back later. He was out on his horse roping and couldn't come to the phone. Right then I knew he was the kind of man I wanted.

It's a gift to be simple, we're told. If that means to hold simple, strong, and decent values, Mac had that gift. You could see it in the way he moved around the White

House. He seemed to know everyone, not just those in the public eye but the secretaries and assistants, as well. And he treated everyone with the same measure of courtesy and respect, from his driver to the President. He never judged a man or woman by rank or trappings. Despite his many remarkable successes, worldly success was not the way he measured people. No, money was not, position was not, qualities of character were. Honesty, courage, industry, and

humility—these were his yardsticks. And if you had these simple qualities, you'd made it in his eyes, whether you were rich or poor, famous or unknown.

Language was one way he decided if you were his kind of person. It's well known now that he insisted on simple language in memos at the Commerce Department. He banned phrases that were vague or redundant. He once said that the thing he liked about cowboys was that they didn't talk unless they had something to say, and when they said something, they meant it. To him, simple language did not mark a simple mind, but a strong and fearless one. It was a sign of those who didn't hide their meaning behind a cloud of ambiguous words.

Mac, of course, never hid his opinions. Even if the tide was against him, he was forceful and clear and unflinching. I always knew where he stood, and so did the country. I could always count on him for the truth as he saw it, no matter how unpleasant or unpopular. There were times the Cabinet came down on an issue 12 to 1, and he was on the short end. But I knew that if he believed something that others didn't he wouldn't reign himself in and follow the herd. He would step forward and be clear.

What I'm saying about Mac Baldrige adds up to a simple but extraordinary quality that I would call, more than anything else, American. In his directness, in his honesty, in his independence, in his disregard for rank, in his courage, he embodied the best of the American spirit. I suppose we think of that spirit as living most of all in cowboys. And that's why I've always suspected that it was more than just roping and his place here in Washington that got Mac voted into the Cowboy Hall of Fame. He belonged there. It was in his blood. It was in his heart and soul.

Let me say a word about his many contributions to his country. These were not simple, although they were built on simple principles, principles like his reverence for the independence of the American character, for the freedom that lets independence flourish, and for the opportunities of a free society. Mac was an architect of American international economic policy during years in which that policy moved to center stage.

He also helped shape our policy towards East-West trade in a period in which that was a source of new questions and concerns. And perhaps the least recognized of his major achievements was the securing of trade ties with China. In just 4 years since his 1983 visit to China, trade has become a pillar of the Sino-American relationship.

To contribute so much required skill and persistence—qualities Mac had in abundance. It also required vision, vision not only for dealing with immediate issues but for the future of the entire world and its economy, as well. I always prized the quality of Mac's vision. He had the capacity to look up from the dust of the plains to the distant mountains. He never forgot that all the skirmishes and battles over trade policy that we have here in Washington and around the world have one final goal: We're building a world in which our children and grandchildren will live. And we who love freedom and revere the dignity of humanity have a sacred duty to make that an open world of real hope and abundant opportunity, a world in which the spirit of freedom—yes, what you might call that part of the American spirit that lives in all of mankind—in which that spirit can ride across an open range towards the peaks beyond.

I'm told that Mac's staff had orders to interrupt him at whatever time of the day with calls from only two people. I was one, and any cowboy who rang up was the other. Well, I'm honored to have been in that company. Mac, as we know, left us while he was doing what he loved most. And now, whenever any of us wants to ring him up, we'll have to remind ourselves that he's out on a horse somewhere, and we'll just have to wait. Yet in his simplicity, he has entered the company of the men and women who have shaped our nation and its destiny, and he will live in that company forever.

Yes, there is sorrow, but the sorrow is with us and for us. We must believe that door is opened that God promised and he has just gone through that door into another life, where there is no more pain, no more sorrow. And we must believe that we, too, will one day go through that door and join him again. Thank you. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:12 a.m. at the National Cathedral. In his opening remarks, he referred to Mr. Baldrige's wife and daughters.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Members of the National Law Enforcement Council

July 29, 1987

It's a pleasure welcoming you to the White House complex, you chiefs of police, state troopers, sheriffs, and other members of the National Law Enforcement Council. And it's quite a difference from my first experience with one of your kind, when I was about so high and had some fireworks in the wrong place. *[Laughter]* And after my father paid the fine, there were fireworks at home. *[Laughter]*

Well, seeing so many of you reminds me of a story. And you may have heard, everything reminds me of a story. This one concerns a fellow who was in a small automobile accident, one of those fender-bender types. And he got out, and the other fellow got out of his car, and neither one of them were hurt. But the other fellow said, "Hey, you look a little shaken up. Wait a minute here." And he went back to his car, got a bottle, handed it to him, and said, "Here, take a drink of this. It will settle you down." So, the man did. And he said, "Oh, come on, take another one. I know you're shaken up." And he did. And three or four drinks later the fellow said, "Well, wait a minute here. I don't want to drink it all. You have a drink." And he said, "No, I'll just stand here and wait for the police to get here." *[Laughter]*

Well, this year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the framing of the Constitution. And in the history of nations, ours is a young nation. The nations of Western Europe are older, as are many of the nations of Asia. China is much older. And yet young as our nation is, we have, nevertheless, the oldest written Constitution in the world. For two centuries our Constitution has secured the blessings of liberty for people from every part of the Earth who left behind the lands of their ancestors and came here to live in freedom and to call

themselves Americans. I say this to you because you, and members of the law enforcement community like you, have played a special role in our nation ever since its founding. The men who wrote the Constitution said that among their purposes was to "establish Justice, and insure domestic Tranquility." They knew that for this to be a land of liberty it must also be a land of lawful order.

You know, a few years ago it seemed that some people who should have known better had forgotten the basic truth that law, order, and liberty go hand in hand. Too many courts appeared to regard the serious business of ensuring our domestic peace and protecting our nation's communities against crime as a kind of intricate game that pitted police officers against clever lawyers. And always we heard about the rights of criminals, rarely those of their victims.

In the last 7 years, a balance has begun once again to return to America's courtrooms. Both Federal and State Government have tightened their criminal codes. New judges have been appointed to the bench. The result has been longer sentences and a more realistic view by courts on all levels of what it's like for you to go to your duties each morning with the very real life-and-death warning, "Be careful out there." I'm proud to report to you that the Federal Government has taken a lead in bringing about this change.

When I first came into office, I promised a massive attack on organized crime, a social evil that had been tolerated too long in our nation. I said we were declaring war on the mob—its drug peddling, yes, but also its influence in every form of racketeering and its capacity to corrupt business, unions, and public law enforcement officials. When

I announced this attack on the mob in 1982, I also announced a wide-ranging series of steps from new preventive and investigative measures to the appointment of a Presidential commission on organized crime. Some, of course, were skeptical, but the evidence is now in from all around the country. We're winning, and these are no longer just tactical victories. We have a full-fledged strategic assault underway, and the mob is on the run. Around the country, Federal prosecutors are winning convictions against the working heads of organized crime, and the Mafia's national board of directors, the infamous "commission," has been put behind bars. Meanwhile, drug seizures have reached record levels. Drug arrests have gone up and have included some of the most notorious figures in the drug underworld.

Three years ago, after long stalling, the Congress at last passed the Comprehensive Crime Control Act. The act eliminated parole and reduced the amount of time off for good behavior that could be granted a prisoner. The United States Sentencing Commission was also established, and it has drafted guidelines that make sentences more predictable. The Crime Control Act also included new provisions, like rules for confiscating drug assets. I can't tell you what a kick it was for me the first time, early on in my term, down in Florida—stand in front of a table with \$20 million piled up on it, all drug assets that had been confiscated. It's making life harder for drug traffickers and easier for the police, and you can see the results for yourselves.

Last year the average Federal prison sentence for a drug offense was almost 40-percent lower [longer] than it was in 1979. The average fraud and weapons possession sentences were more than 40-percent lower [longer]. Overall, Federal sentences have averaged more than 30-percent longer than they had 7 years before. Put another way, in 1979 the average Federal sentence for drug dealers was over 50 months. Since then it has climbed steadily to 70 months, and drug convictions have doubled. Some of you may have been involved in the National Narcotics Border Interdiction System that works under the direction of Vice President Bush.

One critically important part of the criminal justice system is the judiciary. Federal judges have also been getting tougher on criminals and the sentencing figures, as they suggest. And I'm told that I've appointed 4 of every 10 judges that are sitting on the bench today. Several weeks ago, I made another nomination to the Federal Bench, one I'm particularly proud of, and I know that you've heard about him already this morning: Robert Bork. I believe that Judge Bork will be an extraordinary addition to the United States Supreme Court. He has already had a remarkable legal career. As a partner in a leading law firm, he was recognized as among the best in his field. As a professor at Yale, he became one of the preeminent legal scholars of our time. And as a judge on the most important appeals court in the country, he has been widely acclaimed for his intellectual power and his fairness. No man in America, and few in history, have been as qualified to sit on the Supreme Court as Robert Bork.

Furthermore, in his 5 years on the bench, Judge Bork has demonstrated a clear understanding of the appropriate role of the judiciary in our constitutional system. Many years ago a great Justice, Felix Frankfurter, defined his role when he said: "The highest exercise of judicial duty is to subordinate one's personal pulls and one's private views to the law." This is called the doctrine of judicial restraint. And as Lloyd Cutler, President Carter's White House Counsel, recently wrote, I quote: "All justices subscribe at least nominally to this philosophy, but few rigorously observe it. Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes, Louis D. Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter, Potter Stewart, and Lewis F. Powell, Jr., were among those few, and Judge Bork's articles and opinions confirm that he would be another." If I could appoint a whole Supreme Court of Felix Frankfurters, I would. And I've taken a step, I think, with Robert Bork.

The Supreme Court has shown its own esteem for Robert Bork. Judge Bork has written more than 100 majority opinions and joined in another 300 majority opinions. The Supreme Court has never reversed a single one of these more than 400 opinions. That's a vote of confidence any

judge in America would envy. And what's more, 9 of the 10 times the Supreme Court reviewed a case that Judge Bork had ruled on, Justice Powell agreed with Bork. It's hard for a fairminded person to escape the conclusion that if you want someone with Justice Powell's detachment and statesmanship you can't do better than Judge Bork.

Judge Bork deserves to be evaluated on his merits. He deserves to be considered promptly. Justice Powell has noted that when the Court is below full strength, it has an adverse effect on the Court's business. I hope the Senate will take note of this concern. One way or another, it should act on Judge Bork's nomination before the Court goes into session in October. Each Senator must decide which criteria is right for casting this critical vote: qualifications or politics. I hope you'll join me in urging the Senate to confirm Judge Bork. I feel the American people want criminals going to jail while constitutional rights are preserved. So, please tell your Senators that you'll stand by them if they support Judge Bork. I can't think of any better way of marking this 200th anniversary of the framing of our noble Constitution than by placing a Justice of Robert Bork's quality on the

United States Supreme Court.

I just want to confirm how strongly I feel about you and law enforcement. There's a member of the Secret Service today who was formerly a policeman in San Bernardino, California. And I'll bet maybe you've heard of the famous diaper case. He and another man, on evidence that indicated that heroin was being sold from a certain residence, had a warrant, went in, searched the residence, and couldn't find it. And on the way out, just on a hunch, this fellow turned—there was a baby there in the crib—and he took off the baby's diaper, and there was the heroin. The evidence was thrown out of court, because the baby hadn't given its constitutional right to be searched. And that's when he quit being a policeman and came here to the Secret Service. *[Laughter]*

But I think we've had enough of diaper cases and that sort of thing in this land. And you ought to be freed of any such disappointments as he had when he came into court with the evidence. So, I thank you all, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Remarks to State Officers of the Future Farmers of America July 29, 1987

Well, thank you, and I appreciate this opportunity to speak with you, and I hope you're having a good time visiting the Nation's Capital. Unfortunately, we've just suffered through one of the worst heat waves to strike this city in recent years. And if you're feeling a little extra warm right now, I can tell, for us who've been here for several days, this is a day that cooled off. *[Laughter]* But weather trouble, of course, is nothing new to anyone that's concerned with farming. You'd be surprised how many people don't realize how precarious farming is because of the weather.

I was in Las Vegas some years ago to address the annual Farm Bureau meeting.

And on my way to the hall, a fellow recognized me and asked what I was doing in Las Vegas. And I told him what I was there for. And he said what are a bunch of farmers doing in a place like Las Vegas? And I couldn't resist. I said, "Buster, they're in a business that makes a Las Vegas crap table look like a guaranteed annual income." *[Laughter]*

Well, I'm afraid that we're never going to be able to fully come to grips with the problems weather creates for the farmer. We can, however, do our best to eliminate those problems that government creates for farmers. That's exactly what we've been trying to do in these last 6½ years. I hope

when you get home that you'll relay my best wishes to your families and let them know that I'm aware of serious hardships still facing segments of America's farming community and that I care deeply about those who are still struggling.

What we face are maladies inherited from the last decade. The devastating inflation of the waning years of the 1970's damaged our country to a far greater degree than many realize. The price of land, because of inflation, was going up in those days, and as a result, many farmers overextended themselves buying new property. And I might add, certain government agencies may have encouraged that course of action. Then in the 3 years prior to 1980, farm costs shot right through the roof. It was the largest 3-year jump in the cost of farming in the history of America, a nearly 50-percent increase, which is about \$44 billion in real terms. Is there any wonder that a large number of farmers ended up behind the eight ball?

Well, since getting to Washington, we've done our best to get this situation straightened out. We started by putting in place economic policies which brought inflation under control, gradually brought down the interest rates, and revitalized our economy. As is abundantly clear, most of the economy has adjusted and now is on an upward track. I'll be the first, however, to point out that the job is not done and that there are farm families still caught in bad times. We're working diligently to make certain that everyone in America benefits from the growing prosperity.

Every time I'm out here talking and that happens, I suspect they're all Democrats. [*The President referred to noise caused by an airplane flying overhead.*] [*Laughter*]

You know, there's a story about a pig and a chicken, and they got tired of farm life and decided to find jobs in town. They no sooner arrived in town when the chicken spotted a sign in the window of a restaurant. It said, "Ham and Eggs, \$1.25." And the chicken suggested they go in and apply. And the pig said, "Wait a minute. For you, this job only requires a contribution; for me, it's a total commitment." [*Laughter*] I just want all of you to know that we're not going to be satisfied with just making a con-

tribution to America's farmers; we are totally committed to a strong and vibrant American agricultural economy. We've set our sights on long range goals that will well serve you, the Future Farmers of America. In recent years, we've been pushing ever more aggressively to open markets for your goods. And that's part of an ongoing process, and it will continue.

However, we've also set forth a bold new initiative that may revolutionize American agriculture and that of the entire free world. It's the most ambitious proposal for world agricultural reform ever offered. We're calling for a total phaseout of all policies that distort trade in agriculture by the end of the century. And over a 10-year period, we want to see all of our major trading partners opening the borders, tearing down the barriers, and ending the export subsidies for agricultural goods. If we're successful, agriculture throughout the Western World will be set free from political controls and interference.

I happen to believe that, when it comes to farming, the decisionmaking shouldn't be in the hands of the politicians, academics, or bureaucrats. It should be in the hands of the farmers. Thomas Jefferson once said: "State a moral case to a ploughman and a professor, and the former will decide it as well, and often better, than the latter, because he has not been led astray by artificial rules." Well, it's time to get the artificial rules out of the way and get back to fundamentals like freedom, private property, and supply and demand. We're looking forward with you to the day when you'll be the proud, free producers of our country's and the rest of the world's food and fiber.

I want to take this opportunity to thank you, the Future Farmers of America, for all it is doing to prepare young Americans for the challenge that lies ahead. If we're successful in putting our reforms in place, we're counting on you to beat the pants off the competition, and all America is confident that you will. A special congratulations to your national president, Kevin Eblen. I'm impressed with all the fine things this organization has accomplished and will continue to accomplish under his leadership.

And there are two other individuals I'd

like to single out. First is Scott Sooy. He was born without a hand, and yet he has more than made up for that disability with good sense, hard work, and an indomitable spirit. He's vice president of Ohio's FFA and is helping run a 183-acre farm and will soon attend college. Scott, you're terrific. Then there's a former vice president of the Washington State FFA, a courageous young man who serves not only as an inspiration to future farmers but to all young Americans. Due to a diving accident, he lost the use of his legs and only has partial use of his arms and torso. Nevertheless, Don Hayden's can-do attitude and aggressive lifestyle is a tribute to American spirit. This year he climbed Mount Rainier and right into the hearts of everyone who heard about this effort. Don, you're not only demonstrating

that no one should ever give up, you're encouraging people, through your example, to live life to its fullest. Your family and friends and your President are proud of you.

And let me just say I'm proud of all of you. I've met America's young people all over this great land. Your energy and enthusiasm for life have kept me going at times. And I can only say—and I've never lost sight of this—what we're doing here is for you. I know you'll never let us down, and I promise we'll never let you down.

Enjoy your stay here in the Nation's Capital. Have a safe journey home, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:12 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Statement on the Death of James Burnham

July 29, 1987

Nancy and I have learned with deep sadness of the passing of James Burnham. Mr. Burnham, the author of seminal works, like "The Managerial Revolution" and "The Suicide of the West," and a senior editor of the *National Review*, was one of those principally responsible for the great intellectual odyssey of our century: the journey away from totalitarian statism and towards the uplifting doctrines of freedom.

A Trotskyist and Communist at an early age, Mr. Burnham wrote of his rejection of communism in 1940: "The basic reason for the break was my conclusion Marxism was false and Marxist politics in practice lead

not to their alleged goal of democratic socialism, but to one or another form of totalitarian despotism." Mr. Burnham later dismissed socialism as impossible "of achievement or even of approximation," and spent the remaining decades of his life as a skilled and fearless champion of human liberty.

For all the fierceness of his convictions, Mr. Burnham was a man both kind and gentle. He loved greatly his family, his friends, his country—life itself. We extend our sympathy to the Burnham family and join them in mourning the death of a great American.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Right to Life Activists

July 30, 1987

Senators, Congressmen, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to you all. Before I get on with things here, I think I'd better explain a little bit. This is just a small billboard that says—it's a reminder that says, "Stay out of

the Sun." [Laughter] Well, there's one Congressman I see in the front row to whom I have to say a special word: Henry Hyde. Watching your contributions to the hearings, Henry, I couldn't help thinking—

[laughter]—forgive me for this—other politicians can run, but there's only one I know who knows how to Hyde. [Laughter] It's a great pleasure to welcome all of you to Washington and an honor to be able to speak to this assembly of Americans who are doing so much to declare and defend the sacredness of all human life.

One of the aspects of this gathering that impresses me most is that just a few years ago many of you, perhaps most, never dreamed of getting involved in politics. What brought you into politics was a matter of conscience, a matter of fundamental conviction, and that gives you an integrity that Americans of all views cannot help but respect. It also happens to make me feel a particular kinship with you. You see, there was a time in my own life when nobody who knew me ever expected me to go into politics myself. [Laughter] In fact, back in 1966 when someone told my boss, Jack Warner, that I was running for Governor of California, he is supposed to have said, "No, Jimmy Stewart for Governor. Reagan for best friend." [Laughter]

But we come here today on an issue of the most fundamental importance. Many of you've been attacked for being single-issue activists or single-issue voters. But I ask: What single issue could be of greater significance? What single issue could say more about a society's values than the degree of respect shown for human life at its most vulnerable: human life still unborn?

Many of the most compelling arguments against abortion are as old as our civilization. Indeed, I would submit that a reverence for all human life is one of the distinguishing marks of true civilization. In our own time, medical science has added to our knowledge of the processes of life that take place before birth, deepening our understanding of what abortion means to the mother and the unborn child. We know, in particular, that when an abortion is performed the unborn child often feels pain.

You might be interested to learn that when I first mentioned this in a 1983 speech there was an outcry, enraged criticism and angry denials. But criticism wasn't the only response. It so happens that I also received a letter signed by 24 medical doctors, including eminent physicians like the

former chief of pediatrics at the St. Louis City Hospital and the president of the New York State Medical Society. The letter stated that in recent years medical techniques have "demonstrated the remarkable responsiveness of the human fetus to pain, touch, and sound."

And the letter concluded: "Mr. President, in drawing attention to the capability of the human fetus to feel pain, you stand on firmly established ground." Well, in recent years medical science has taught us so much more about the individuality and responsiveness of the fetus, even at very early stages of development. My friends, isn't it about time the law of the land recognized the medical evidence of 1987? [Applause] If there's even a question about when human life begins, isn't it our duty to err on the side of life?

The law of the land—that's a phrase with special resonance for Americans. After all, ours is not a nation founded upon centuries of shared history, like the nations of Europe or Asia. No, ours is a nation founded upon a shared and basic law, the Constitution. And because it is the Constitution that must reflect our most fundamental values—freedom, equality before the law, and yes, the dignity of human life—because of this, the duty of everyone here today is clear. We must not rest—and I pledge to you that I will not rest—until a human life amendment becomes a part of our Constitution.

At the same time, we must continue to search for practical steps that we can take now, even before the battle for the human life amendment is won. I've submitted a bill to Congress that I know interests each of you keenly, and I'd like to talk about that with you in just a moment. But first, permit me to mention four other important steps our administration has taken, steps that I believe represent powerful examples of what can be done now to protect the lives of unborn children.

First, our position on international population policies—as you may be aware, some international organizations have chosen to support abortion as a means of population control. Well, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities, or UNFPA, for example, works with Chinese population pro-

grams, which include abortion. Our response to that? We cut off American funds from UNFPA and from overseas organizations that support or promote abortion. As I said in my statement to the 1984 Mexico City International Conference on Population—incidentally, one of the best parts about being President is that from time to time you get to quote yourself—[laughter]—but as I said then: “We believe population programs can and must be truly voluntary, cognizant of the rights and responsibilities of individuals and families, and respectful of religious and cultural values.” Well, that means no coercive measures such as involuntary sterilization and no use of abortion for population control.

Second, permit me to mention our recent actions concerning the District of Columbia. You’ll recall that the Congress has the responsibility to oversee and appropriate all funds in the District of Columbia budget, but each year Congress has chosen to restrict only Federal funds in the DC budget from being used for abortions on demand. Yet in practice, the record is clear. There is no way to separate Federal from locally raised funds, and this has permitted the District to go right on financing abortions. And you know, I just felt that the great beauty of this capital city meant nothing if right here, in this city that belongs to all Americans, the dignity of human life was being neglected and even attacked. So, this year we took action. You’ll be pleased to know that, in transmitting to Congress the District of Columbia budget for 1988, we made it clear that both Federal and local funds must comply with the Hyde amendment.

I want, third, to restate our firm opposition to the so-called, Grove City legislation sponsored by Senator Kennedy. This bill, S. 557, would mean that all hospitals and colleges receiving Federal funds, even those with religious affiliations, would be open to lawsuits if they failed to provide abortions. In other words, the legislation would virtually force these institutions to provide abortion on demand. I don’t mind telling you this one really touches my temperature control. I don’t want to get started, but let me just say this: As far as I’m concerned, every Member of Congress should oppose

this proabortion Federal intrusion. [Applause] Thank you. You just made the day for some Legislators here. [Laughter] We support an amendment offered by Senator Danforth, an amendment that would eliminate the proabortion aspects of that legislation. As I said before, this administration will oppose any legislation that would require individuals or institutions, public or private, to finance or perform abortions.

Now, the fourth point is one that will come to you as especially good news, a set of initiatives that we will pursue immediately. The first of these is a revision of the title 10 Family Planning Program guidelines. Current guidelines require grant recipients to provide abortion counseling and referral. This policy has effectively barred family planning organizations that will not engage in abortion activity from participating in the title 10 program. I’m directing the Secretary of Health and Human Services to publish regulations in the *Federal Register* removing this bias against groups that refuse to engage in abortion activities. In order to give effect to the statutory prohibition on the use of appropriated funds in programs where abortion is a method of family planning, I am also directing Secretary Bowen to make sure that the regulations specifically state that a program which does provide counseling and referral for abortion services as a method of family planning will not be eligible for title 10 funds.

Then there’s an initiative that represents an important change in the title 10 regulations so that any organization that provides abortion-related services will be required to clearly separate these services from title 10 programs that the Federal Government is paying for. At present, the coexistence of abortion with federally supported family planning services fosters the view that abortion is an acceptable and government-sanctioned method of family planning. In order to ensure that this will no longer occur, I’m directing the Secretary of Health and Human Services to publish in the *Federal Register* regulations that require grant recipients to separate, financially and physically, their eligible and noneligible programs.

Now, a third initiative is the development of a thorough and solid body of public health information on the effects of abortion on women. Growing numbers of women who've had abortions now say that they have been misled by inaccurate information. Making accurate data on maternal morbidity available to women before an abortion is performed is an essential element of informed consent. I am, therefore, directing the Surgeon General to issue a comprehensive medical report on the health effects, physical and emotional, of abortion on women.

The final initiative is a restriction on the use of Federal funds for activities that advocate abortion. It is inconsistent with title 10 for Federal funds to be used to provide speakers to debate in opposition to pro-life speakers, to lobby for proabortion legislation, to provide transportation to abortion clinics, or make reservations at abortion clinics, to bring lawsuits in support of abortion as a family planning method, or to provide or distribute materials that advocate abortion. And I am, therefore, directing Secretary Bowen to publish regulations in the *Federal Register* to ensure that no title 10 funds go to any program that encourages, promotes, or advocates abortion or which assists a woman in obtaining an abortion.

You'll be pleased to know that Secretary Bowen is fully supportive of my position on abortion and of these initiatives. Secretary Bowen has agreed that all necessary work will be completed in time to publish draft regulations in the *Federal Register* within 30 days. And I'm also pleased to say that the Secretary's newly appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population Affairs is Nabers Cabaniss. Nabers will be among those charged with implementing these new initiatives at the Department of Health and Human Services.

And this brings me to the bill I mentioned earlier. To begin with, a word or two of background. In the past, we've been successful in restricting the use of Federal funds for abortions on a department-by-department basis, making use of the Hyde amendment. Yet each year there have been a few departments and agencies not covered by the Hyde amendment. The bill that

we're submitting to Congress will change that. And listen, if you will, to the key provision: "No funds appropriated by Congress shall be used to perform abortions, except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term." In other words, this one piece of legislation would permanently restrict the use of funds for abortions throughout the Federal Government, with absolutely no exceptions.

And introduced in the Senate by Senator Gordon Humphrey, this bill has 12 Senate cosponsors. And in the House, the bill was introduced by Congressman Henry Hyde and has garnered cosponsors numbering 124. Yes, opposition is stiff. But the very fact that this bill has been introduced has drawn attention to the importance of the debate and demonstrated the growing strength of the prolife movement throughout the country.

Will the bill pass? The pundits certainly don't think so, but I have to tell you, at this point in my career, I'm used to a little skepticism. [Laughter] "The Impossible Became Inevitable"—that's what the Washington Post headline said when our tax reform was finally enacted. And I just have to believe that, given the fundamental goodness of the American people, given this great nation's reverence for life itself, prolife measures like this legislation will become inevitable, too. So, I intend to push for these prolife measures just as hard as I know how. Can I count on your support? [Applause] Thank you. I knew that was a foolish question when I asked it.

Many who turn to abortion do so in harrowing circumstances, and we must remind those who disagree with us, and sometimes even ourselves, that we do not seek to condemn, we do not seek to sit in judgment. Yes, we must take our stand without apology. Yet at the same time, it is our duty to rise above bitterness and reproach, to call upon all Americans to come together in a spirit of helping and understanding. For we know that in this great and good nation, positive solutions to the tragedy of abortion can be found.

If I could, I'd like to leave with you a quotation that means a great deal to me. These are the words of my friend, the late

Terence Cardinal Cooke, of New York. "The gift of life, God's special gift, is no less beautiful when it is accompanied by illness or weakness, hunger or poverty, mental or physical handicaps, loneliness or old age. Indeed, at these times, human life gains extra splendor as it requires our special care, concern, and reverence. It is in and through the weakest of human vessels that the Lord continues to reveal the power of His love."

The weakest of human vessels—surely there is no human life more frail and vulnerable than that of an infant still in its mother's womb. And surely it is our task to

appeal to the goodness we know we can find in every American and to call upon the power of His love.

I thank you all, and God bless you all for what you're doing.

Note: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to a basal cell carcinoma on his nose. He also referred to Representative Henry J. Hyde of Illinois, who participated in the congressional hearings on the Iran-contra controversy.

Remarks to the Central American Peace Scholarship Program Participants July 30, 1987

I know that all the students here have been studying the language as well as technical skills, so you'll probably understand my English much better than my Spanish. But I'm going to have a try at it anyway: *Buenos días, y bienvenidos en la Casa Blanca.* [Good day, and welcome to the White House.] It's a genuine pleasure to welcome all of you here—Senators and Congressmen and the private citizens and government officials who've worked so hard throughout the years to further the cause of peace in Central America. And all of us are especially pleased to welcome these fine young men and women, our neighbors from the south, who've come to study in the United States. We see in you the hope and the future of Central America.

The room we're meeting in couldn't be more full of historical significance. We call it the Roosevelt Room, after two of our United States Presidents, Teddy and Franklin Roosevelt. They came from opposite political parties. One was a Republican, the other a Democrat. There were a lot of things they probably wouldn't have agreed on, but there was one subject on which they saw eye to eye: that from Tierra del Fuego to the upper reaches of Baffin Bay, we are all Americans, brothers and sisters

with a shared history and a common birthright—freedom.

Our efforts to protect that birthright, to make it real for every American, is what brings us here together today. In 1983 I appointed the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America—what's become known as the Kissinger commission—to help us come to a better understanding of that troubled region. Their report was blunt and compelling: The crisis in Central America is, to quote them, "real and acute" and "the stakes are large, for the United States, for the hemisphere, and most poignantly, for the people of Central America." The roots of that crisis, the complex problems of the region—economic, social, political, and military—are all part of a "seamless web," the report said, requiring a sustained response in all areas, from the United States and the free world.

We responded immediately with a multiyear, multibillion-dollar program of economic assistance, and one that we hope to extend and expand in the nineties. Based on the Kissinger commission recommendations, Congress and the executive branch have worked together to develop programs that have strengthened democratic institutions; helped stabilize economies; and im-

proved health and nutrition; built better housing, water, sewage, and other infrastructures. The fact is, our military assistance has only been a modest fraction of our overall economic aid.

Dr. Silber, one of the members of the Commission, was the inspiration for this scholarship program. Senator Kasten, who is also here with us today, was instrumental in Congress making it a reality. And since the program has started, over 4,100 Central American students have studied in the United States, many under the guiding hand of Father Harold Bradley, of Georgetown University. Congratulations to you all!

I know the students have learned much in their studies here, but sometimes I think an even greater benefit of these programs is the education it gives us in the United States, because seeing you here brings the reality of your homelands—the great hope and the great peril—so much closer to us all. Seeing you here, we realize that we cannot be agnostic in this struggle, that we cannot be aloof and uncaring; because in a very real sense, our fates and our futures are intertwined as one.

It was this face-to-face contact, this immersion in the problems of Central America, that forged the bipartisan consensus of the Kissinger commission—representatives of both parties united on common ground. It's important to remember some of the men who did such fine work on that Commission: AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland; Governor Bill Clements of Texas; Robert Strauss, then chairman of the Democratic party; the late Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart; Dr. John Silber, of course; and Richard M. Scammon. That list isn't complete, but it gives a good idea of the stature and wide representation of the Commission. Democrat and Republican, representing government, academia, business, and labor—they defined the bipartisan mainstream response to the crisis in Central America, one that this administration has been diligently following. There was no partisan disagreement on their assignment to the crisis. It had both indigenous and foreign roots. And with the exception of two members, there was no disagreement on the need for a sustained response that included both economic and military aid.

Finally, I just want to say to you students: Since you've been in places like Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Pewaukee, Wisconsin, I know you've seen the heart of America. I come from that neighborhood myself, which is between those two States—Illinois. But I know that Americans are so pleased that you've been able to be here so that they can get to know you better. This is just the kind of freedom that we as a country believe in: giving a helping hand so that you, in turn, can help those in your countries.

And I'm going to be brave again, maybe foolhardy, and say that though you'll soon be traveling back to your own countries, *siempre estaran en nuestros corazones. Vayan con Dios!* [you will always be in our hearts. Go with God!]

Thank you all. God bless you.

[At this point, Oscar Rosales, representing the students, thanked the President for the opportunity to study in the United States.]

Reporter. Mr. President, how serious is your nose, sir? How are you feeling, sir? How are you feeling, sir? How serious is your nose?

The President. Oh, my nose gets laughs all the time. [Laughter] What he's talking about is I went out in the sun too much and—[laughter]—had to do a little peeling here on the end of my nose.

Q. How concerned are you about tomorrow, sir?

The President. No more than about any other tomorrow—[laughter]—

Q. How do you feel?

Q. Are you going to stay overnight in the hospital?

The President. —and even a little finer and inspired after coming in here with these young people.

Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:35 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In the exchange with reporters following his remarks, the President referred to the basal cell carcinoma on his nose, which was removed at Bethesda Naval Medical Center on July 31.

Statement on Poverty and Income Statistics for 1986

July 30, 1987

The official 1986 poverty and income statistics released today demonstrate, once again, that sustained, noninflationary growth is the Government's single best tool for fighting poverty and building a better life for our nation's families.

The poverty rate is down for the third year in a row. The 1.6 percentage point drop in poverty over the last 3 years is the largest sustained improvement since 1970. Low-income whites, blacks, and Hispanics, both children and adults, all have shared in these gains. Median family income, after adjustments for inflation, increased by 4.2 percent in 1986, the largest increase since 1972. This is the fourth straight year in a row that real median family income has in-

creased. Since 1982 all racial and ethnic groups have made real gains.

The positive news that we received today stands in stark contrast to the news we heard not long ago when spiraling inflation and economic stagnation took a heavy toll on all Americans, and particularly the poor. Between 1979 and 1980, the increase in poverty was the most dramatic since we began keeping such records, and the drop in real median family income was near recordbreaking. Our economic recovery program slowed and eventually reversed these negative trends. I remain fully committed to ensure that our nation's citizens do not suffer the ravages of stagflation.

Nomination of John K. Meagher To Be a Deputy Under Secretary of the Treasury

July 31, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate John K. Meagher to be Deputy Under Secretary of the Treasury (Legislative Affairs). Upon his confirmation, the President will designate him as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. He would succeed J. Michael Hudson.

Since 1981 Mr. Meagher has been vice president-government relations at the LTV Corp. in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was with the Committee on Ways and

Means, U.S. House of Representatives, as minority counsel and staff director, 1974-1981, and as assistant minority counsel, 1972-1974.

Mr. Meagher graduated from the College of William and Mary (B.A., 1963) and the Marshall-Wythe School of Law at William and Mary (J.D., 1965). He was born August 29, 1941, in Syracuse, NY. Mr. Meagher is married, has two children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of Peter R. Sommer To Be United States Ambassador to Malta

July 31, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Peter R. Sommer, of the District of Columbia, as Ambassador to the Republic of Malta. He would succeed Gary

L. Matthews.

Mr. Sommer began his career as a research analyst for the Department of Defense at the U.S. mission to the North Atlan-

tic Treaty Organization in Paris, France, 1965–1967. He returned to Washington and served as staff assistant on the Senate Committee on Appropriations, 1967–1970. He returned to NATO in Brussels, Belgium, as a defense planning analyst, 1970–1975. Mr. Sommer was then appointed assistant for African affairs at the Defense Security Assistance Agency, Department of Defense, 1975–1978. He served as political-military attaché at the United States Embassy in London, England, 1978–1982. Since 1982

he has been Director for European and Soviet Affairs, National Security Council, at the White House.

Mr. Sommer graduated from George Washington University (B.A., 1962) and attended L'Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris, France, from 1962 to 1963. He served in the U.S. Navy. Mr. Sommer was born March 17, 1938, in Washington, DC. He has two children and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Elizabeth I. Board as Special Assistant to the President for Media and Broadcast Relations

July 31, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Elizabeth I. Board to be Special Assistant to the President for Media and Broadcast Relations.

Miss Board has served as Director of the White House Television Office since January of 1985 and was first named a Special Assistant to the President in November 1985. Miss Board worked for NBC News from 1979 to 1984, first as senior unit manager and later as network news editor. Previously, she was director of creative services

for WMAL and executive producer of the Washington Redskins Radio Network. She was also an account executive at WRC Radio and executive producer of "Empathy" on WWDC Radio.

Miss Board graduated from the University of Colorado (B.A., magna cum laude, 1974), Stanford University Broadcasting and Film Institute, and George Washington University (M.B.A., 1981). A native of Front Royal, VA, she now resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of R. James Woolsey To Be a Member of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation

July 31, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate R. James Woolsey to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation for a term of 2 years. This is a new position.

Since 1979 Mr. Woolsey has been a partner in the law firm of Shea & Gardner in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was the Under Secretary of the Navy, 1977–1979. From 1973 to 1977, Mr. Woolsey was an

associate with the law firm of Shea & Gardner.

Mr. Woolsey graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1963) and Yale University Law School (LL.B., 1968). He served in the United States Army from 1968 to 1970. Mr. Woolsey was born on September 21, 1941, in Tulsa, OK. He is married, has three children, and currently resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

Appointment of Three Members of the Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education

July 31, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education for terms expiring July 27, 1991:

James D. Nowlan, of Illinois. He would succeed Ralph J. Perk. Since 1986 Mr. Nowlan has been a professor at Knox College in Galesburg, IL. Prior to this he was director of graduate programs in public administration at the University of Illinois at Urbana, 1981–1985. Mr. Nowlan graduated from the University of Illinois at Urbana (B.A., 1963) and the University of Illinois (M.A., 1965; Ph.D., 1973). He served in the U.S. Army, 1966–1968. Mr. Nowlan was born September 8, 1941, in Kewanee, IL. He resides in Little York, IL.

William M. Cooper, of Montana. He would succeed Betty R. Sepulveda. Since 1984 Mr. Cooper has been superintendent of the Kali-

spell School District No. 5 in Kalispell, MT. Prior to this he was superintendent of the Libby School District No. 4 in Libby, MT. Mr. Cooper graduated from State University of New York at Fredonia (B.S., 1962) and the State University of New York at Buffalo (M.A., 1969). He served in the U.S. Army, 1963–1966. Mr. Cooper was born November 9, 1940, in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, Canada. He is married, has two children, and resides in Kalispell, MT.

Dorothy F. Zumwalt, of Oklahoma. She would succeed Mary C. Tucker. Since 1982 Mrs. Zumwalt has been an instructor with Tulsa Junior College in Tulsa, OK. Prior to this she was an instructor at Sapulpa High School in Sapulpa, OK. Mrs. Zumwalt graduated from Oklahoma Baptist University (B.A., 1953). She was born October 21, 1931, in Oklahoma City, OK. Mrs. Zumwalt is married, has three children, and resides in Sapulpa, OK.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the United States Arctic Research Plan

July 31, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with Section 109 of Public Law 98–373, the Arctic Research and Policy Act of 1984, I transmit herewith the United States Arctic Research Plan. It is submitted on behalf of the Interagency Arctic Research Policy Committee, which is chaired by the National Science Foundation. The Plan was developed in consultation with the Arctic Research Commission, the Governor of the State of Alaska, residents of the Arctic, the private sector, and public interest groups. It is a comprehensive statement

of national needs and priorities in the areas of national security, rational resource development, and acquisition of new scientific knowledge in the Arctic. As noted in the report, the Plan is intended to serve as a guide to the Federal agencies as they plan and perform their Arctic programs and missions; it is not intended to be a commitment by the Administration.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
July 31, 1987.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Transmitting the District of Columbia Supplemental Appropriations Request July 31, 1987

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In accordance with the District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act, I am transmitting the request for supplemental appropriations by the District of Columbia for the fiscal year 1987 in the amount of \$51,236,000 in District of Columbia funds. This transmittal does not represent an endorsement of the contents.

Also, I am taking this opportunity to reiterate my request that the Congress ensure that none of the funds appropriated for the District of Columbia be used for abortion

unless the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term. Thus, I will support an amendment to the District of Columbia's appropriations bill that restricts the use of both the District's Federal and locally generated funds for abortion.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and George Bush, President of the Senate.

Informal Exchange With Reporters July 31, 1987

Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy

Q. Mr. President, the hearings are about over on Capitol Hill. Have you heard any evidence that any laws were violated in the Iran-*contra* affair?

The President. You know I don't take questions at these photo opportunities, but when you ask a question like that, I haven't heard a single word that indicated in any of the testimony that laws were broken.

Q. In that case, do you think Colonel North, Admiral Poindexter, or others deserve pardons at this point just to prevent any kind of prosecution?

The President. I am going to speak out on that whole subject and the subject of this whole affair.

Q. When?

The President. When the hearings are over.

The President's Health

Q. Are you at all worried about your surgery this afternoon, Mr. President?

The President. What?

Q. Are you at all worried about your surgery this afternoon?

The President. No, it seems a little overdignified to call what's going to happen surgery. They're going to scrape a little patch on my nose.

Note: The exchange began at 11:30 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House, prior to discussions with President El Hadj Omar Bongo of Gabon.

Remarks Following Discussions With President El Hadj Omar Bongo of Gabon

July 31, 1987

President Reagan. President El Hadj Omar Bongo has been a very welcome guest at the White House. This has been a long-awaited visit that has given us a chance to return the generous hospitality President Bongo personally accorded to so many representatives of this and earlier administrations.

For 20 years President Bongo has led his country in an era of stability and progress. Under his leadership, Gabon has consistently encouraged the peaceful settlement of regional disputes, siding with reason, dialog, and moderation over bloodshed, war, and terror. Recognizing this, the Organization of African Unity asked President Bongo to help find a solution to the conflict in Chad.

President Bongo has been a champion of African development and has worked tirelessly for the welfare of his people and all Africans. The United States and Gabon have cooperated closely in the effort to achieve these noble goals. We have enjoyed a positive and friendly relationship for the past two decades, a relationship that has served both our countries well. I've greatly valued President Bongo's advice and counsel concerning America's role in Africa's political and economic development.

Today President Bongo and I found ourselves in harmony about many of the key issues that confront Africa. We agreed that economic reform, which is the best hope for growth, self-sufficiency, and full economic sovereignty, must proceed. The United States has encouraged reform through special aid funds and increased contributions to international financial institutions. Gabon is contributing, as well, by setting an example, taking positive steps toward reform on its own and in coordination with the IMF [International Monetary Fund]. We admire this commitment and wish President Bongo great success. For our own part, we will soon be signing a bilateral debt rescheduling agreement with Gabon. The U.S. investors have had a favorable experience in Gabon. President Bongo is working to make

the investment climate even more attractive, and we're working with him to promote increased U.S. investment there.

President Bongo and I also reviewed the situation in southern Africa. We share the conviction that negotiated, peaceful solutions to the disputes that afflict that region are urgently and clearly possible. The evil of apartheid is no exception. President Bongo and I are committed to working together, along with other African leaders of good will, to set the region on a peaceful course.

The United States will continue to stand unequivocally by the side of Africa, with our counsel, our friendship, and our assistance. Constructive meetings, like the one I held today with President Bongo, bolster that commitment. I was very much heartened by our discussions and pleased to have President Bongo as our guest.

President Bongo. Mr. President, I'm deeply touched by the attention lavished upon us and friendship and sympathy that my delegation and myself have received during this official visit, which is now beginning, which it is my privilege to carry out throughout your great and beautiful country. I'm also touched by your kind words towards me, and touched also by the confidence you displayed toward my country. May I thank you for this, Mr. President, and tell you, in turn, on behalf of the people of Gabon and in my own name, how much esteem and friendship we feel towards you personally and towards the American people.

In you, the American people finds its perfect embodiment, because beyond your great statesmanlike qualities, it has found the leader which has given back confidence and greatness and dignity back to the American nation. No country can stand idly by and watch what is going on in the United States, and Gabon watches with keen interest, the deep and rapid shifts taking place under your leadership within American society.

In this political world in which we live, the United States built its own nation, predicated upon the diversity of origins of your people. Thus, you have become an example for all countries which love liberty, solidarity, and peace. Therefore, speaking as a leader of an African nation, may I state that we follow very carefully all your efforts to put an end not only to apartheid and regional conflicts but also to put an end to the steady deterioration of the economic situation of the African continent.

For our part, Mr. President, we have set up with the IMF an austerity program which imposes drastic constraints upon us if we want to preserve the future. The IMF and the Paris and London Clubs have been made aware of our determination and of our will to honor our commitments. In this connection, may I tell you how much I appreciate to the full extent of the impact the rescheduling measures taken, vis-a-vis our debt, that you were kind enough to undertake in this very difficult situation. We wish, Mr. President, for the spirit of solidarity to prevail in the end and for our export commodities to gain access to world markets and their remunerative level. Solidarity, indeed, must become the reality in relationships among states.

In this connection, distance between our two countries, the difference in our levels of development, and in our respective eco-

nomie impact must not be an obstacle to cooperation in many areas. Gabon is a peaceful and peace-loving country, stable, and a welcoming country; and there is security in Gabon. Gabon is the special preserve of no one. Gabon seeks to diversify its partners, and in this connection, we know that there is a place for your country. The United States, indeed, can bring us their know-how, their technology, and their capitals in order to contribute to our development.

Mr. President, the United States and Gabon have for some years now enjoyed a harmonious relationship. We have a few American companies in Gabon already. What I wish for in the future is to see our relations enjoy a new impetus, particularly after we sign the bilateral agreement on treaty protection and investments. Finally, Mr. President, may I express my best wishes for your personal happiness and your success, for the prosperity of the great American people, and stronger cooperation between our two countries.

Note: President Reagan spoke at 1:30 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. President Bongo spoke in French, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Earlier, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office and then had lunch in the Residence.

Proclamation 5686—Helsinki Human Rights Day, 1987 July 31, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Twelve years ago, the United States, Canada, and 33 European countries signed the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. These nations thereby committed themselves to observe important standards of international conduct and to respect basic human rights and fundamental freedoms at home. They also pledged themselves to pursue

practical steps to reduce the barriers by which the Soviet Union has divided Europe into East and West, denying the nations of Eastern Europe the right of self-determination and limiting contact between peoples.

The Helsinki Final Act embodies its signatories' agreement that freedom and human rights are the best guarantors of peace. It mandated that these freedoms, routinely enjoyed by the peoples of the West, be recognized and respected as well in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. After more than a decade, though there

have been some limited gains, that mandate has not been fulfilled.

The Soviet Union and the Soviet-dominated governments of Eastern Europe have systematically violated many of their most fundamental Helsinki pledges. Freedoms of thought, conscience, religion, and belief are constrained. Loved ones, families, and friends are kept apart. The flow of ideas and information is restricted. The right of the individual to depart from and return to his own country is denied. Helsinki monitors and other prisoners of conscience continue to languish in prisons, labor camps, psychiatric hospitals, and internal exile, merely for expressing their political and religious beliefs. In Perm Camp 36-1, the most brutal of the labor camps in the Gulag, ten political prisoners—three of whom were Helsinki monitors—have died in the last 3 years. Harsh treatment and lack of medical care threaten the lives of those remaining in the camp.

These and other violations have exacted a fearsome and tragic human cost, and they reflect a disregard for the fundamental principle that in order for any of a nation's international agreements to be respected, all must be observed. The continuing violations of Helsinki obligations by the Soviet Union and the Soviet-dominated countries of Eastern Europe place in doubt those nations' faithful observance of their international obligations in every sphere.

The third Follow-up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has been underway in Vienna since November 1986. The primary aim of the

United States and its NATO Allies in Vienna is to secure compliance by the East with the commitments made at Helsinki, so that citizens in all the signatory states can enjoy the fundamental freedoms agreed to in the Final Act.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 151, has designated August 1, 1987, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in its observance.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim August 1, 1987, as Helsinki Human Rights Day and reaffirm the American commitment to universal observance of the values enshrined in the Final Act. These values are fundamental to our way of life and a source of inspiration to peoples around the world. In renewing our dedication with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities, let us call upon all signatories of the Final Act to match deeds with words and to respect in full its solemn principles and provisions.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:32 p.m., August 3, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 1.

Radio Address to the Nation on Welfare Reform *August 1, 1987*

My fellow Americans:

Americans always have cared about the less fortunate, and I'm sure it'll deeply gladden the hearts of many of you to know the kind of progress we've made during the past 6½ years in helping the poor. We have between 4 and 6 million fewer low-income families on the Federal income tax rolls.

We've tamed inflation rates that were devastating the purchasing power of those least able to afford the basic necessities of life and reversed an upward spiral in the number of poor people that began in 1979. The official statistics released on Thursday show that the poverty rate is down for the third year in a row. The 1.6-percentage

drop in poverty over the last 3 years is the largest sustained improvement since 1970. And median family income, adjusted for inflation, rose by 4.2 percent in 1986—the largest increase since 1972.

All of us can be pleased with this progress; pleased but not satisfied. More must be done to reduce poverty and dependency and, believe me, nothing is more important than welfare reform. It's now common knowledge that our welfare system has itself become a poverty trap—a creator and reinforcer of dependency—and that's why last year, in my State of the Union Message, I called for an overhaul of our welfare system.

Since that time, I've sent to Congress a carefully designed package of proposals that rejects the old Federal approach of sweeping solutions dictated from Washington. The central point of our new proposal—as outlined in our earlier study "Up From Dependency" and now embodied in our legislative proposal, the Low-Income Opportunity Improvement Act—is a provision that will allow States and localities to test new ideas for reducing welfare dependency. Through experimental changes, through carefully tested and evaluated demonstrations, this new approach can determine what does work in reducing welfare dependency. When the National Governors' Association met last weekend in Michigan, they gave substantial support to our plans to give them greater flexibility and they promised to work closely with us and the Congress.

But, while we must let loose the creative energies of our States and localities, I think there are some critical improvements we can make at the Federal level. Under the laws now in place, all mothers who have children under age 6 are exempt from participating in work activities that—as several demonstration projects have shown—can help Aid For Dependent Children, AFDC, recipients become more self-reliant. Fewer than one-fifth of all recipients now participate in work activities. We must lift this counterproductive exemption and thereby get early help to these women and their children before they become chronically dependent on welfare. We must also reform work requirements so that long gaps in

school or in other work-related experiences no longer occur—and so too, work opportunities for AFDC recipients must be expanded. We must give teenagers on AFDC who have not completed high school the opportunity to continue their schooling and older recipients to participate in employment and training activities. Two proposals we've sent to the Congress—GROW, or Greater Opportunities Through Work, in AFDC and the AFDC Youth Training Initiative—will allow us to do all of these things.

So too, changes in our child support enforcement system can reduce welfare dependency. Parents who bring children into the world have a responsibility for these children, whether they live with them or not. The administration is taking steps to ensure that States are able to do a better job in locating absent parents, establishing paternity, and collecting child support on behalf of AFDC recipients. We also have asked the Congress for new laws that would increase child support award amounts for both welfare and nonwelfare families.

Now the question I ask about any welfare reform proposal is: Will it help people become self-sufficient and lead a full life, or will it keep them down in a state of dependency? I'm afraid that several Members of Congress have suggested some proposals that, while claiming to require work-related activities, would make staying on welfare more attractive. Their misguided compassion would only bring more people into the welfare system, encourage them to stay on the welfare rolls longer, and discourage work. For example, the Democratic House bill contains no demonstration authority at all and another Senate bill only a very limited one.

AFDC work program reforms that emphasize early intervention to prevent welfare dependency, child support enforcement improvements to provide children the help that they need, and demonstration projects that give us the information necessary to make changes in the national welfare system: that is my welfare reform strategy; I hope it has your support.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Proclamation 5687—Thanksgiving Day, 1987 July 28, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Thanksgiving Day is one of our most beloved holidays, an occasion set aside by Americans from earliest times to thank our Maker prayerfully and humbly for the blessings and the care He bestows on us and on our beautiful, bountiful land. Through the decades, through the centuries, in log cabins, country churches, cathedrals, homes, and halls, the American people have paused to give thanks to God, in times of peace and plenty or of danger and distress.

Acknowledgement of dependence on God's favor was, in fact, our fledgling Nation's very first order of business. When the delegates to the First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in 1774, they overcame discord by uniting in prayer for our country. Despite the differences among them as they began their work, they found common voice in the 35th Psalm, which concludes with a verse of joyous gratitude, "And my tongue shall speak of thy righteousness and of thy praise all the day long."

This year, of course, our Thanksgiving Day celebration coincides with the Bicentennial of the Constitution. In 1789 the government established by that great charter of freedom, and "the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed," were cited by George Washington in the first Presidential Thanksgiving Proclamation as among "the great and various favors" conferred upon us by the Lord and Ruler of Nations. As we thank the God our first President called "that great and glorious Being, who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be," we have even greater cause for gratitude than the fresh triumphs that inspired Washington's prose.

We have seen the splendor of our natural resources spread across the tables of the world, and we have seen the splendor of freedom coursing with new vigor through the channels of history. The cause for which we give thanks, for which so many of our citizens through the years have given their lives, has endured 200 years—a blessing to us and a light to all mankind.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1987, let us, in this unbroken chain of observance, dedicate ourselves to honor anew the Author of Liberty and to publicly acknowledge our debt to all those who have sacrificed so much in our behalf. May our gratitude always be coupled with petitions for divine guidance and protection for our Nation and with ready help for our neighbors in time of need.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Thursday, November 26, 1987, as a National Day of Thanksgiving, and I call upon the citizens of this great Nation to gather together in homes and places of worship on that day of thanks to affirm by their prayers and their gratitude the many blessings God has bestowed upon us.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-eighth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:49 p.m., August 3, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 3.

Remarks on Receiving the Report of the Presidential Task Force on Project Economic Justice

August 3, 1987

Well, first and foremost, I would like to express my appreciation to Ambassador Middendorf and Norm Kurland and the members of the task force for the time and effort they contributed to this project. And I just wonder—would the members of the task force like to stand? There they are. Thank you. And incidentally, there are some other gentlemen who were mentioned here by Bill, and I would like to personally welcome the Ambassadors and representatives of Embassies from our Latin American neighbors and the Caribbean countries who are with us today. Perhaps you gentlemen and ladies would like to stand also. Thank you.

You know, scientists say a perpetual motion machine is impossible. Well, considering that this task force completed its work without any appropriation from Congress, I think we ought to introduce Bill Middendorf to a few scientists. [*Laughter*] This country's ultimate resource is the creative talent, the hard work, and entrepreneurial spirit of individuals like Bill and like many of you here today. The American character—and that's what we're talking about—is no accident, no fluke of nature. It was nurtured by the political and economic liberty that has been hailed and protected by generations of Americans. It's the source of power that turned a vast wilderness into an economy that has provided more opportunity and a higher standard of living for more people than any other in the history of mankind.

Today the pivotal relationship between freedom and economic progress is becoming ever more important. The root cause of stagnation in the developing world, clearly, is not a lack of resources but a lack of freedom. In Ethiopia, for example, it has been the Communist dictatorship, even more than drought, that has brought about such suffering and hunger.

In so many countries, what will change despair into confidence, deprivation into plenty, stagnation into upward mobility is a

commitment to human freedom and an understanding of how that relates to the economic progress of mankind. We see evidence of this in the great progress taking place on the Pacific rim. There competition flourishes, the market is less controlled, and the people are freer to invest and engage in enterprise. They are more confident that they will be permitted to enjoy the fruits of their labor. Freedom of enterprise at an individual level builds countries from the bottom up; a lack of it, on the other hand, has the opposite effect.

Economist and businessman Hernando De Soto conducted an extensive study of the economy of his native Peru that confirms this. He found the greatest impediments to progress in his country are laws, regulations, and government controls that suppress the common people's entrepreneurial activities and prevent social and economic mobility. Those trying to improve their lot are hurt the worst.

Mr. De Soto describes how it took a lawyer and three others 301 days of full-time work, dealing with 11 government agencies, to get through the redtape necessary to put into business one small garment-making shop in Lima, Peru. According to Mr. De Soto, when the forms and paperwork were laid end to end, they measured 102 feet. One researcher working on the project then tried the same experiment in Tampa, Florida. The entire process took 3½ hours. The controls and restrictions Mr. De Soto talks about are certainly not unique to Peru. Such government intention is often—or intervention, I should say, is often well-intended, but in the end, it does not serve the needs of the people, as producers or consumers.

You know, I have a recent hobby. I have been collecting stories that I can tell—or prove are being told by the citizens of the Soviet Union among themselves which display not only a sense of humor but their feeling about their system. One of them has to do with the fact that in the Soviet Union

to buy an automobile as a private citizen you have to wait 10 years for delivery of the car. [*Laughter*] And so this story has this one individual going through all the agencies and bureaus that he has to go through with regard to the purchase. And finally he's at the last place where they stamp the paper. And then, 10 years in advance of delivery, he must put up the money—give them the money for the car. And the man then that had made the final stamp of the paper, taken the money, said, "All right, come back in 10 years and get delivery of your car." And he said, "Morning or afternoon?" [*Laughter*] And the fellow said, "Well, 10 years from now, what difference does it make?" "Well," he said, "the plumber's coming in the morning." [*Laughter*]

Far too many Third World countries are immobilized by the policies that smother individual initiative and drain the private sector of resources. Instead of controlling the energies of their people, lesser developed countries should be freeing up and unleashing those energies. Andres Bello, an intellectual giant of the last century, once said: "Liberty gives wings to the spirit of enterprise wherever it meets it; it breathes breath into it where it does not exist." There's no reason to believe that the citizens of most countries with struggling economies are not as bright and hard working and capable as those in countries which are enjoying great progress, like on the Pacific rim. If an environment is created where enterprise can thrive and profit can be made, investment will flow, jobs will be created, production will increase, and everybody will be better off.

Our government's international programs at Treasury and AID in recent years have been molded to promote just such growth-oriented policies. There's been a crying need, however, for creative and innovative thinking in regard to economic growth in Central America; and that's where the task force for Project Economic Justice comes in.

We're all aware that Central America is today on the frontlines of the battle for human freedom. The security of our country and the stability of the hemisphere are tied to events in that volatile region. We've provided our friends there with the weap-

ons and the military equipment needed to counter an ongoing strategic move by the Soviet bloc, which, I might add, pumped in more than \$1 billion of military aid and other support to its puppet regime in Nicaragua last year alone.

But don't let anyone tell you that we're relying on guns alone to carry the day. Our friends in Central America must have the weapons they need to survive, but if they're to win, if freedom is to be secure, the Central American democracies must have strong, growing economies. And let me reaffirm to all of you: Our commitment to counter Communist aggression in Central America will not diminish. We will not diminish our efforts to meet the economic challenges that confront the people of that troubled region.

Growth, of course, is not enough. It must be the vehicle of a better standard of living for all the people. Again, economic and political freedom are inseparably linked. The people of Central America—and in a broader sense, the entire developing world—need to know firsthand that freedom and opportunity are not just for the elite but the birthright of every citizen, that property is not just something enjoyed by a few but can be owned by any individual who works hard and makes correct decisions, that free enterprise is not just the province of the rich but a system of free choice in which everyone has rights, and that business, large or small, is something in which everyone can own a piece of the action.

I've long believed that one of the main springs of our own liberty has been the widespread ownership of property among our people and the expectation that anyone's child, even from the humblest of families, could grow up to own a business or a corporation. Thomas Jefferson dreamed of a land of small farmers, of shopowners, and merchants. Abraham Lincoln signed into law the Homestead Act that ensured that the great western prairies of America would be the realm of independent, property-owning citizens—a mightier guarantee of freedom is difficult to imagine.

I know we have with us today employee-owners from La Perla Plantation in Guatemala. They have a stake in the place where

they work and a stake in the freedom of their country. When Communist guerrillas came, these proud owners protected what belonged to them; they drove the Communists off their land. And I know you join me in saluting their courage.

In this century, the United States has evolved into a great industrial power. Even though they are now, by and large, employees, our working people still benefit from property ownership. Most of our citizens own the homes in which they reside. You know, every time I take Marine One, that helicopter, and go off to Camp David or something, and I look down at those tracks of homes, some of them with a little backyard swimming pool and all of them with an automobile or two in the driveway, some lawn surrounding it, and I have a fantasy of having Mr. Gorbachev beside me—[laughter]—and being able to point down and say those are the homes of American workers. They own them. And then I get frustrated, because he'd think it was something we created artificially just to show him. [Laughter]

Well, in the marketplace our people benefit from direct and indirect business ownership. There are currently close to 10 million self-employed workers in the United States; that's nearly 9 percent of total civilian employment. And millions more hope to own a business someday. Furthermore, over 47 million individuals reap the rewards of free enterprise through stock ownership in the vast number of companies listed on U.S. stock exchanges. I can't help but believe that in the future we'll see in the United States and throughout the Western World an increasing trend toward the next logical step: employee ownership. It's a path that benefits a free people.

Walter Reuther was one of the first major labor leaders to advocate that major—or that management and labor shift away from battling over wage and benefit levels to a cooperative effort aimed at sharing in the ownership of the new wealth being produced. He was looking far beyond the next contract. There's a story that Reuther was touring a highly automated Ford assembly plant when someone said, "Walter, you're going to have a hard time collecting union dues from all these machines." And Reuther simply shot back, "Not as hard a time as

you're going to have selling them cars." [Laughter] Reuther was killed in a tragic plane accident in 1970, so he didn't live to see the passage of legislation sponsored by Senator Russell Long of Louisiana that provides incentives for employee stock ownership plans, or, as we call them, ESOP's.

In recent years, we've witnessed medium-sized and even some large corporations being purchased, in part or in whole, by their employees. Weirton Steel in West Virginia, as has been mentioned here; Lowe's companies in North Carolina; the Milwaukee Journal; the Lincoln Electric Company of Cleveland, Ohio; and many others are now manned by employees who are also owners. And I want to tell you, in our own privatization efforts here, my biggest thrill was when we made a sale of a railroad and made it on a plan of sale to stockowners—to people who would be the owners of that instead of to some existing corporate management. The energy and vitality unleashed by this kind of people's capitalism—free and open markets, robust competition, and broad-based ownership of the means of production—can serve this nation well.

It can also be a boon, if given a chance, to the people of the developing world. Nowhere is the potential for this greater than in Central America. Ambassador Mitterand, I'm looking forward to examining thoroughly the recommendations in this report, especially those that deal with debt-equity swaps as a method of reducing the debt burden in Central America. Members of my staff described for me the overwhelmingly positive response your task force received when it floated this idea during a visit to Central America—that debt payments can be reduced, state-owned businesses privatized and made more efficient, and employee ownership expanded, all as part of a mutually reinforcing plan. And that's an exciting idea. I'd like to think of it as the Mitterand plan for growth and justice. But I hope all of you on the commission will continue to work with me to see that this proposal and the other innovative ideas put forth in the task force report don't get lost or ignored, as so many good ideas do.

Privatization is part of our current Economic Bill of Rights reform effort. If privatizing government operations is valuable for the United States, with our powerful economy, how much more valuable will it be for developing economies to be freed from such burdens. I'm instructing the appropriate officials in our administration to take a close look at all of the task force's recommendations and to move on those that can be put into practice. This effort builds nicely on the foundation laid by the Kissinger commission, the Caribbean Basin Initiative, and the Agency for International Development and the Secretary of the Treasury. I would hope that a dialog with our friends in the region commences quickly as to how this report can be turned into economy-building action.

On July 3d I announced our Economic Bill of Rights reform package from the steps

of the Jefferson Memorial. Well, the Founding Fathers, Jefferson in particular, did not see economic and political freedom as the right only of the citizens of the United States but the right of all people, everywhere and for all time. Today the free people of the United States and Central America face a great challenge. I have every confidence that together we'll meet the test and that freedom will not only survive but triumph. The work of this task force should help bring about that triumph.

Thank you all for what you're doing. God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 11:34 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to J. William Middendorf II and Norman G. Kurland, the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Task Force.

Statement on the Senate Confirmation of Alan Greenspan To Be a Member and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System

August 3, 1987

I welcome the Senate's confirmation of Dr. Alan Greenspan as a member and Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. I appreciate the Senate's expeditious consideration of his nomination and the overwhelming support afforded him by the Banking Committee and the Senate. Dr. Greenspan will now be able to assume his post as Chairman Volcker departs office.

Dr. Greenspan's experience in both the public and private sectors, spanning the last three decades, superbly qualifies him for this important and challenging position. His years of prior service to the Government,

including his tenure as Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, have given him a broad perspective on the role of government and the operation of the Federal Reserve. In the private sector, Dr. Greenspan successfully practiced his profession as an economist and shared his talents through teaching. Dr. Greenspan will carry on the important traditions of an independent Federal Reserve System, dedicated to stability and economic growth while maintaining the safety and soundness of the banking system.

Appointment of Nancy R. Joaquim as a Member of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education

August 4, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Nancy R. Joaquim to be a member of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education for a term expiring July 10, 1990. She would succeed Lily Ring Balian.

Since 1986 Mrs. Joaquim has been president of Art-Quest, Ltd., in Paradise Valley,

AZ. Prior to this she was a concert performer and music educator in Scottsdale, AZ, 1978–1986.

Mrs. Joaquim graduated from Boston University (B.A., 1960). She was born October 8, 1938, in Fall River, MA. Mrs. Joaquim is married, has one child, and resides in Paradise Valley, AZ.

Nomination of David M. Walker To Be an Assistant Secretary of Labor

August 4, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate David M. Walker to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor (Pension and Welfare Benefits). He would succeed Dennis Miles Kass.

Since 1985 Mr. Walker has been Deputy Assistant Secretary of Pension and Welfare Benefit Programs at the U.S. Department of Labor. Prior to this, he served as Acting

Executive Director of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation from April 1985 to August 1985; and Deputy Executive Director of the Corporation, 1983–1985.

Mr. Walker graduated from Jacksonville University (B.S., 1973). He was born October 2, 1951, in Birmingham, AL. Mr. Walker is married, has two children, and resides in McLean, VA.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the United Kingdom-United States Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty

August 4, 1987

To the Senate of the United States:

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, I transmit herewith the Treaty between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning the Cayman Islands relating to Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters, with protocol signed at Grand Cayman on July 3, 1986, and related notes. I transmit also, for the information of the Senate, the report of the Department of State with respect to the Treaty.

The Treaty concerning the Cayman Is-

lands provides for a broad range of cooperation in criminal matters. Mutual assistance available under the Treaty includes: (1) executing requests relating to criminal matters by undertaking diligent efforts, including the necessary administrative or judicial action (e.g., for the issuance of subpoenas and search warrants), without cost to the Requesting Party; (2) taking of testimony or statements of persons by noncompulsory or compulsory measures; (3) effecting the production, preservation, and authentication of documents, records or articles of evidence; (4) providing assistance to each other in

proceedings for forfeiture or restitution of proceeds of an offense or for imposing fines; (5) serving judicial documents, writs, summonses, records of judicial verdicts, and court judgments or decisions; (6) effecting the appearance of a witness before a court of the Requesting Party; (7) locating persons; and (8) providing judicial records, evidence, and information.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Treaty and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
August 4, 1987.

Proclamation 5688—Women's Equality Day, 1987 *August 4, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Throughout our history, an American saga of optimism, hard work, quiet heroism, and steady expansion, the contributions of women have been indispensable to this Nation's progress. From Plymouth and Jamestown to the Oregon Trail and the Great Plains, women of strength and determination helped fashion a new life and a new nation from the raw materials of the American wilderness. Their faith in God, their trust in the promise of the New World, and their love for their families steeled them against the rigors of daily living in a harsh and untamed land. Without their commitment, America would never have yielded up the bounty that was the first hallmark of its greatness.

In recognition of these immeasurable contributions and to redress the injustice of denying American women the right to vote, the Nineteenth Amendment was adopted in 1920 to guarantee political equality, the very bedrock of all rights and liberties, to American women. On this August 26, we celebrate the 67th anniversary of the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment as Women's Equality Day, and we celebrate as well the role that women have won for themselves in our country's democratic process. Political equality has meant a growing panoply of opportunity for women and accelerating economic growth for America.

It has reaffirmed the core ideals of the political compacts that built our Nation and sustain it now—the endowment of unalienable rights and unique abilities that each of us possesses from our Creator. It has opened the horizons of achievement and widened the paths of prosperity and personal fulfillment.

On this occasion, then, we must rededicate ourselves to policies and strategies that safeguard equality of opportunity and that help us secure the goals that equality serves: healthy families, good neighborhoods, productive work, true peace, and genuine freedom. America today honors women for all they have done, as pioneers, patriots, parents and partners, to build happy homes and a strong society.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim August 26, 1987, as Women's Equality Day. I call upon all Americans to mark this occasion with appropriate observances.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:19 p.m., August 5, 1987]

Proclamation 5689—National Alzheimer's Disease Month, 1987 August 4, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Alzheimer's disease is a degenerative brain disorder that causes progressive loss of memory and intellectual function. Those afflicted suffer increasing forgetfulness, confusion, irritability, and other changes in personality and behavior, and sometimes in judgment, concentration, and speech.

The tragedy of Alzheimer's disease has spurred scientists to intensify their efforts to understand what causes the brain to deteriorate. Recently, a research team cloned a gene involved in the wayward biochemistry of the Alzheimer's brain and located this gene on a specific chromosome. This achievement opens new lines of investigation and offers hope that one day we can identify those at risk and develop methods of treatment and prevention.

Until we conquer Alzheimer's disease, we must continue our research efforts, provide the public with information about the disorder, and seek other ways to ease its burden on patients, families, and caregivers. Many people and organizations are already devoted to this effort, including the Federal gov-

ernment's National Institute on Aging and National Institute of Mental Health and the private sector's Alzheimer's Disease and Related Disorders Association, which conducts and promotes research and lends support to families seeking help.

The Congress, by Public Law 100-68, has designated the month of November 1987 as "National Alzheimer's Disease Month" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this occasion.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the month of November 1987 as National Alzheimer's Disease Month, and I call upon the people of the United States to observe this month with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:20 p.m., August 5, 1987]

Remarks to Reporters Announcing the Central American Peace Initiative August 5, 1987

Good morning. I have a very brief statement to read here, and then I am going to have to depart, and the Secretary of State is going to take some of your questions here with regard to this event.

I've just concluded a meeting with the joint congressional leadership, and I'm pleased to announce that there's a general agreement among us to go forward with a renewed diplomatic initiative in Central America along the lines of the peace plan prepared in cooperation with the Speaker

and the joint congressional leadership. Accordingly, I've instructed the Secretary of State to transmit that document to the leaders of the five Central American countries that are meeting in Guatemala City tomorrow with the request that these views should be taken into account in their deliberations.

As I said at Ellis Island several months ago, this administration has always supported regional diplomatic initiatives aimed at

peace and democracy. The aspirations of our Central American neighbors, the democratic resistance in Nicaragua, and the Nicaraguan people are one and the same: the establishment of genuinely democratic systems throughout the region with the fully guaranteed liberties of free assembly, free speech, free press, and the simple principle of self-determination.

I applaud this bipartisan effort in Congress, and I express the hope that it will produce a peaceful resolution to the conflict

in Nicaragua. I urge other nations of the world to join in the support of this effort and refrain from activities that would jeopardize it.

Note: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Statement on the Death of Jesse Unruh

August 5, 1987

Jesse Unruh brought a deep and abiding dedication to the causes in which he believed. We knew each other for many years, and I always respected his devotion to the

State of California and to the people he served. Nancy and I are saddened by Jesse's death and extend our deep sympathy to his family.

Memorandum on Acid Imports From China

August 5, 1987

Memorandum for the United States Trade Representative

Subject: Import Relief Determination Under Section 406 of the Trade Act of 1974 on Ammonium Paratungstate and Tungstic Acid from the People's Republic of China

Pursuant to sections 406, 202, and 203 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (19 U.S.C. 2436, 2252, and 2253), I have determined the action I will take with respect to the report of the United States International Trade Commission (USITC) dated June 5, 1987, concerning the results of its investigation, as requested by the United States Trade Representative, of the domestic industry producing ammonium paratungstate and tungstic acid, provided for in Items 417.40 and 416.40, respectively, of the Tariff Schedules of the United States.

After considering all relevant aspects of the case, including those set forth in section 202(c) of the Trade Act of 1974, I have determined to provide import relief for the domestic industry. Relief should be granted

in the form of a negotiated orderly market agreement.

I therefore direct you to negotiate and conclude an orderly marketing agreement and to report the results of such negotiations not later than 50 days from the date of this determination. If such negotiations are not successful, I direct you to prepare and present to me for signature no later than 60 days from the date of this decision a proclamation imposing quantitative restrictions.

Finally, in view of this determination to provide relief, I direct that a review be completed, within 60 days, regarding relevant plans for the operation of the stockpile for the fiscal years 1988 and 1989.

This determination is to be published in the *Federal Register*.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:25 p.m., August 5, 1987]

Note: The memorandum was printed in the "Federal Register" of August 7.

Executive Order 12604—Presidential Board of Advisors on Private Sector Initiatives

August 5, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. I), and in order to extend the life of the Presidential Board of Advisors on Private Sector Initiatives, it is hereby ordered that Executive Order No. 12528 of August 8, 1985, is amended as follows:

Section 1(a) is amended to increase the maximum number of members of the Board

from 30 to 35.

Section 4(a) is amended to read:

“The Board shall terminate on July 1, 1989, unless sooner extended.”

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
August 5, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:28 a.m., August 6, 1987]

Message to the Congress on Acid Imports From China

August 5, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to sections 406, 202, and 203 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (19 U.S.C. 2436, 2252, and 2253), I have determined the action I will take with respect to the report of the United States International Trade Commission (USITC) dated June 5, 1987, concerning the results of its investigation, as requested by the United States Trade Representative, of the domestic industry producing ammonium paratungstate and tungstic acid, provided for in Items 417.40 and 416.40, respectively, of the Tariff Schedules of the United States. In accordance with section 203 of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2253), I am hereby reporting to the Congress the actions I am taking and the reasons therefor.

After considering all relevant aspects of the case, including those set forth in section 202(c) of the Trade Act of 1974, I have determined to provide import relief for the domestic industry in the form of an orderly market agreement to be negotiated by the United States Trade Representative. I have

determined that relief should be granted, and in a form different from that recommended by the USITC, for the following reasons:

1. The domestic industry has suffered losses in employment, profits, and production.

2. The economic costs of relief in terms of consumer cost, inflationary impact, and national economic welfare would be small, because of the small size and structure of domestic industry.

3. Relief will help maintain a viable domestic processing industry; important because tungsten is a strategic metal, and the legislated national stockpile is based on continued domestic processing capabilities.

4. Imports from China were at very low levels around 1980, but nearly tripled between 1982 and 1986, when they accounted for 85 percent of imports and 17.8 percent of U.S. consumption. Chinese imports as a percent of consumption have risen to 28.6 percent in the first 4 months of 1987.

5. Other countries are considering pro-

tecting their producers, which would increase pressure on the U.S. market to absorb additional imports.

6. An orderly marketing agreement is likely to deal more effectively with possible circumvention of the import restrictions.

In addition, I have directed that a review

be completed, within 60 days, regarding relevant plans for the operation of the stockpile for the fiscal years 1988 and 1989.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
August 5, 1987.

Nomination of Stephen M. Duncan To Be an Assistant Secretary of Defense

August 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Stephen M. Duncan to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense (Reserve Affairs). He would succeed James H. Webb, Jr.

Since 1982 Mr. Duncan has been senior litigation partner at the firm of Hopper, Kanouff, Smith, Peryan, Terry and Duncan in Denver, CO. Prior to this he was litigation partner with Morrison and Foerster in Denver, 1979–1982.

Mr. Duncan graduated from the United States Naval Academy (B.S., 1963), Dartmouth College (M.A., 1969), and the University of Colorado (J.D., 1971). He served in the United States Navy, 1963–1969, and since 1969 has served in the United States Naval Reserve. Mr. Duncan was born March 28, 1941, in Oklahoma City, OK. He is married, has two children, and resides in Evergreen, CO.

Nomination of Frederic N. Andre To Be a Member of the Interstate Commerce Commission

August 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frederic N. Andre to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission for a term expiring December 31, 1992. This is a reappointment.

Since 1982 Mr. Andre has been a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington, DC. Prior to this he

was a consultant in Paoli, IN, 1977–1982.

Mr. Andre graduated from Calvin College (A.B., 1955), Stanford Business School (M.B.A., 1962), and Valparaiso School of Law (J.D., 1970). He was born June 25, 1933, in Grand Rapids, MI. Mr. Andre currently resides in Arlington, VA.

Nomination of Jeffrey M. Samuels To Be an Assistant Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks

August 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jeffrey M. Samuels to be

an Assistant Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks at the Department of Com-

merce. He would succeed Margaret Muth Laurence.

Since 1982 Mr. Samuels has been managing editor for the Patent, Trademark & Copyright Journal at the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc. Prior to this he was legal editor for the Patent, Trademark & Copyright

Journal, 1976–1982.

Mr. Samuels graduated from Colgate University (B.A., 1972) and Albany Law School (J.D., 1975). He was born May 8, 1950, in Brooklyn, NY. Mr. Samuels is married, has two children, and resides in Great Falls, VA.

Nomination of William Schneider, Jr., To Be a Member of the General Advisory Committee of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Designation as Chairman

August 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Schneider, Jr., to be a member of the General Advisory Committee of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. He would succeed Colin Spencer Gray. Upon confirmation he will be designated Chairman.

Since 1986 Mr. Schneider has been managing director of International Planning Services, Inc., in Arlington, VA. Prior to this, he served as Under Secretary of Coordinating Security Assistance Programs at the Department of State, 1982–1986; Asso-

ciate Director for National Security and International Affairs at the Office of Management and Budget, 1981–1982; and a staff associate of the subcommittee on Defense of the Committee on Appropriations in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1977–1981.

Mr. Schneider graduated from Villanova University (B.S., 1963) and New York University (Ph.D., 1968). He was born November 20, 1941, in Rockville Centre, NY. Mr. Schneider is married and resides in Rockville Centre, NY.

Remarks at a White House Meeting With the House of Representatives Republican Task Force on Welfare Reform

August 6, 1987

Well, we better get down to business here. I'd like to thank all of you, first of all, for coming down on what turned out to be very short notice. But there's a lot of pressing business before we all leave Washington, and one of the major issues is certainly welfare reform.

As I said last year in the State of the Union Address, the principal issue in any welfare reform proposal is whether or not it'll help people become self-sufficient and lead a full life or keep them in a state of dependency. I feel strongly that we're on the right track in proposing the Low-Income Opportunity Act, which would

allow States to test new ideas for reducing dependency. We also believe in the need to reform work requirements and to provide training and education, a greater opportunity through work. The GROW program would allow us to do that.

I know that all of you've been under some pressure to sign on the so-called welfare reform bills that would increase benefits and make welfare more attractive. And I commend you for your willingness to follow a responsible path to prevent increased dependency. And, Bob, I understand that your task force has worked diligently with members of the administration

to come up with a proposal that we can all work together on. And, Hank, I'm most appreciative of what you offered as an alternative.

Note: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his closing remarks, he referred to Representatives Robert H. Michel of Illinois and Hank Brown of Colorado.

Nomination of William Caldwell Harrop To Be United States Ambassador to Zaire

August 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Caldwell Harrop, of New Jersey, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, as Ambassador to the Republic of Zaire. He succeeds Brandon Hambright Grove, Jr.

Mr. Harrop was a teacher at Deerfield Academy in Deerfield, MA, 1950-1951. He joined the Foreign Service in 1954, and his first assignment was vice consul, visa officer, in Palermo, Italy. In 1955-1958, he was third secretary, commercial officer at the U.S. Embassy in Rome, Italy. He then returned to Washington, first as a personnel assignments officer, 1959-1961; followed as desk officer in the Bureau of European Affairs (EURATOM), 1961-1962; and then was economic officer in the Bureau of African Affairs (Congo-Zaire desk). Mr. Harrop was assigned to the U.S. Embassy in Brussels, Belgium, in 1963 as First Secretary, economic officer, and served there until his assignment as consul and principal officer in Lubumbashi, Zaire. From 1968 to 1969, he took a year's training in the Mid-Career Program at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. Mr. Harrop became Director of the Office of Research and

Analysis for Africa, 1969-1971. Thereafter he was chairman of the American Foreign Service Association for a year. From 1972 to 1973, he was a member of the policy planning and coordination staff in the Department of State. He was assigned deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Canberra, Australia, 1973-1975. He was appointed as Ambassador to Guinea in 1975 and served until 1977, when he became Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for African Affairs. In 1980 he was named Ambassador to Kenya and served concurrently as Ambassador to Seychelles. In 1983 Mr. Harrop was appointed Inspector General of the Department of State and Foreign Service. He served in that capacity until 1986, when he became Program Inspector General of the Department. Since 1986 he has been Director of Policy and Program Review.

Mr. Harrop was born February 19, 1929, in Baltimore, MD. He graduated from Harvard University (B.A., 1950) and attended the University of Missouri, 1953-1954, and Princeton University, 1968-1969. Mr. Harrop served in the United States Marine Corps, 1951-1952, and is articulate in French and Italian. He is married, has four sons, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Nomination of William Henry Houston III for the Rank of Ambassador While Serving as United States Negotiator on Textile Matters

August 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate William Henry Houston

III, of Mississippi, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as United

States Negotiator on Textile Matters in the Office of the United States Trade Representative.

Mr. Houston began his career as a salesman for Cook and Co. in Memphis, TN, 1959–1960. From there he went with Staple Cotton Co-op Association in Greenwood, MS, until 1962, when he became administrative assistant to the president of L.T. Barringer and Co. in Memphis, TN, 1962–1974. From 1969 to 1985, he was engaged in farming operations in Tunica, MS. In 1986 he became a research consultant with Sparks Commodities in Memphis and was

then appointed Deputy Assistant Secretary for Textiles and Apparel at the Department of Commerce. Since early this year, Mr. Houston has been United States Negotiator on Textile Matters in the Office of the Trade Representative.

Mr. Houston was born July 7, 1934, in Memphis, TN. He graduated from Washington and Lee University (B.A., 1956) and the University of Mississippi (M.B.A., 1959). Mr. Houston served in the United States Army, 1956–1957. He is married, has two sons, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Nomination of Francis H. Fay To Be a Member of the Marine Mammal Commission

August 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Francis H. Fay to be a member of the Marine Mammal Commission for the term expiring May 13, 1988. He would succeed William Evans.

Since 1983 Mr. Fay has been a professor of marine science at the Institute of Marine Science, University of Alaska, in Fairbanks, AK. Prior to this he was an associate profes-

sor at the University of Alaska, 1974–1983.

Mr. Fay graduated from the University of New Hampshire, Durham (B.S., 1950), the University of Massachusetts, Amherst (M.S., 1952), and the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada (Ph.D., 1955). He was born November 18, 1927, in Melrose, MA. Mr. Fay is married, has two children, and resides in Fairbanks, AK.

Nomination of Wesley V. Hull To Be a Member of the Mississippi River Commission

August 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Rear Adm. Wesley V. Hull to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission. He would succeed John D. Bossler.

Since 1986 Admiral Hull has been the Director of Charting and Geodetic Services at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in Rockville, MD. Prior to

this he served as director of the Atlantic Marine Center National Ocean Service, 1983–1986.

Admiral Hull graduated from Oklahoma State University (B.S., 1958) and Cornell University (M.S., 1966). He was born March 16, 1937, in Oswalt, OK. Admiral Hull is married, has two children, and resides in Olney, MD.

Nomination of Thomas G. Pownall To Be a Member of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation

August 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Thomas G. Pownall to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation for a term of 2 years. This is a new position.

Mr. Pownall is currently chairman and chief executive officer of the Martin Marietta Corp. in Bethesda, MD. He became the corporation's president and chief operating

officer in September 1977. He became chief executive officer in April 1982 and was elected chairman in January 1983. Mr. Pownall joined the company in 1963.

Mr. Pownall graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy (B.A., 1946). He served in the U.S. Navy in 1946. Mr. Pownall was born January 20, 1922, in Cumberland, MD. He is married, has two children, and resides in Bethesda.

Appointment of Two United States Representatives on the South Pacific Commission

August 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be the Representative and the Alternate Representative of the United States of America on the South Pacific Commission for terms of 2 years:

Representative:

John Henry Felix, of Hawaii. He would succeed Ann E. Stanley. Since 1970 Mr. Felix has been the president of Borthwick Memorial Services in Honolulu, HI. He was president of La Ronde Restaurants, Inc., in Honolulu, from 1962 to 1985. Mr. Felix graduated from San Mateo College (A.A., 1950), California Western University (B.B.A./M.B.A.), and Walden University (Ph.D.,

1975). He served in the U.S. Army, from 1952 to 1954. Mr. Felix was born June 14, 1930, in Honolulu, HI. He is married, has five children, and resides in Honolulu, HI.

Alternate Representative:

Bradford M. Freeman, of California. This is a re-appointment. Since 1983 Mr. Freeman has been a partner of Riordan Freeman & Spogli in Los Angeles, CA. Prior to this he served as managing director and board member of Dean Witter Reynolds, Inc. Mr. Freeman graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1964) and Harvard Business School (M.B.A., 1966). He served in the National Guard from 1967 to 1973. Mr. Freeman was born March 11, 1942, in Fargo, ND. He resides in Los Angeles.

Statement on the Senate Confirmation of David S. Ruder as Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission

August 6, 1987

The Senate's confirmation today of David S. Ruder, whom I have appointed as Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, puts one of the most knowledgeable securities law experts in the country at

the helm of this important agency. David Ruder is the right man at the right time for this key post.

The budget I submitted to the Congress contains a request for increased funding for

SEC enforcement work. I know that Chairman Ruder shares my view that continued vigilant efforts to enforce the securities antifraud laws are necessary to combat insider trading and maintain investor confidence in the Nation's securities markets. Under his leadership, we can expect the Commission will continue with that essential role. I am also confident that Chairman Ruder will continue the efforts of the Commission to minimize the regulatory burden of the securities laws, ensuring that America's capital markets are the most efficient

and competitive in the world.

David Ruder's more than 25 years' experience in securities regulation and corporation finance assures the SEC of a steady hand as it continues its work of facilitating and improving the operation of our capital markets. We are fortunate that such a distinguished securities regulation expert—whose career as law school dean, educator, lawyer in private practice, lecturer, and author has for so long been devoted to this field—is now willing to serve his nation in this essential leadership role for which he is so well qualified.

Remarks to Reporters on Unemployment and the Economy *August 7, 1987*

I know you all think here this morning I'm here to talk about the unemployment rate—I am, and to make a general point about the economy, as well. Total employment rose in July by 472,000, and to make a general point—well, and unemployment fell by 36,000. And that means the unemployment rate went down another tenth of a point, to 5.9 percent, breaking for the first time in 8 years the 6 percent mark. And I think it's particularly important to point out that this breakthrough of the 6 percent mark does not occur in a hyperinflated economy as it did in 1979 but is based instead on sound growth and steady, long-term job creation.

Now, the below-6-percent figure is remarkable news. I think all of you can recall there were those who said that low rates of unemployment coupled with low rates of inflation were simply unattainable. In addition, this is another record for the total number of people employed in this country, again pointing to a solid start for the economy in the third quarter, all of which goes to the larger point that I want to make today. Yesterday in this room, the Chairman of our Council of Economic Advisers, Beryl Sprinkel, went through with you the economic statistics for this year and the revised numbers for the past 3 years.

As Chairman Sprinkel said, these figures

indicate that the economy is performing well at 1987 and performed even better than thought during the preceding 3 years. Our trade balance is better. Employment is growing, and unemployment falling. And after a temporary increase earlier this year, inflation is returning to the 4 percent range that we've seen during most of this expansion. All of this is excellent news for the American economy and for the American people.

The days of economic stagnation are not a distant memory to the American people. They're vitally aware of the importance of maintaining America's prosperity and never again returning to the days of high inflation, climbing interest rates, growing unemployment, and no growth. And that's why it was the right decision to take to the country the message I have during the past 6 months: that deficit spending, tax increases, and protectionism threaten our hard-won prosperity.

I believe this is a message the American people are responding to. I believe they want to check the tendency to overspend and overtax, and I believe that, as they see continued economic growth in the months and years ahead, the American people will support our efforts through the Economic Bill of Rights to institutionalize sound growth and economic reform and to pre-

vent the excesses of big government that jeopardize prosperity.

And now, having said that, I'm not going to take any questions, and I'm going to stop interrupting Marlin's news briefing here.

Note: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. In his closing remarks, he referred to Marlin Fitzwater, Assistant to the President for Press Relations.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Soviet-United States Fishery Agreement

August 7, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 (Public Law 94-265; 16 U.S.C. 1801 *et seq.*), I transmit herewith an agreement effected by exchange of notes of June 29 and July 24, 1987, extending for the period of one year from December 31, 1987, until December 31, 1988, the Governing International Fishery Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed at Washington on November 26, 1976. The exchange of notes, together with the present Agreement, constitutes a Governing International Fishery Agreement within the requirements of Section 201(c) of the Act.

This Agreement is one of a series negotiated in accordance with the Act and has been extended for periods of between one year and 18 months since July 1982. The extension of the Agreement would ensure the continuation of mutually beneficial joint ventures between the U.S. and Soviet fishing industries in the U.S. exclusive economic zone. Unless the Agreement is extended, these operations will cease, causing significant financial hardship to U.S. fishermen.

I recommend that the Congress give favorable consideration to this extension at an early date.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
August 7, 1987.

Remarks to Reporters on Covert Action Procedural Reforms

August 7, 1987

The President. I'm gratified we meet today in the spirit of bipartisan cooperation and agreement about new procedures that govern the approval and notification to Congress concerning sensitive intelligence activities. I know the letter that I'm giving to each of you reflects serious work and intense work by you and my senior advisers, and I'm most grateful for your efforts.

The measure of agreement that's reflected in my letter demonstrates the vital importance that I attach to cooperation between the Congress and the executive branch in the intelligence area. And on this,

I know we all agree. And I firmly believe that the new procedures we're putting in place will strengthen that cooperation and facilitate the work of your committee in fulfilling its important responsibilities. The procedures address legitimate areas of concern to the Congress and the Executive, and they have my full support. And so saying, I shall deliver the mail.

[At this point, the President handed letters to Senator David L. Boren, chairman, and Senator William S. Cohen, vice chairman, of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, which expressed his support for the

new procedures.]

Reporter. Does this mean you're going to notify of all covert actions before they take place, and on a faster basis than you have in the past?

The President. Well, they're going to have a press conference back up on the Hill there, and they'll respond there as to all this means.

Q. Well, is this an outgrowth of your big mistakes in the Iran scandal—in not notify-

ing them about the weapons?

The President. Well, I haven't called them mistakes yet. [*Laughter*] But we have to depart.

Q. —the need for Congress to pass any legislation?

The President. You were informed, I know, no questions. So, you'll have at them later on.

Note: The President spoke at 2:40 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House.

Letter to the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on Covert Action Procedural Reforms August 7, 1987

Dear Chairman Boren: (Dear Vice Chairman Cohen:)

In my March 31, 1987, message to Congress, I reported on those steps I had taken and intended to take to implement the recommendations of the President's Special Review Board. These included a comprehensive review of Executive branch procedures concerning presidential approval and notification to Congress of covert action programs—or so-called special activities. In my message, I noted that the reforms and changes I had made and would make “are evidence of my determination to return to proper procedures including consultation with the Congress.”

In this regard, Frank Carlucci has presented to me the suggestions developed by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence for improving these procedures. I welcome these constructive suggestions for the development of a more positive partnership between the intelligence committees and the Executive branch.

Greater cooperation in this critical area will be of substantial benefit to our country, and I pledge to work with you and the members of the two committees to achieve it. We all benefit when we have an opportunity to confer in advance about important decisions affecting our national security.

Specifically, I want to express my support for the following key concepts recommend-

ed by the Committee:

1. Except in cases of extreme emergency, all national security “Findings” should be in writing. If an oral directive is necessary, a record should be made contemporaneously and the Finding reduced to writing and signed by the President as soon as possible, but in no event more than two working days thereafter. All Findings will be made available to members of the National Security Council (NSC).

2. No Finding should retroactively authorize or sanction a special activity.

3. If the President directs any agency or persons outside of the CIA or traditional intelligence agencies to conduct a special activity, all applicable procedures for approval of a Finding and notification to Congress shall apply to such agency or persons.

4. The intelligence committees should be appropriately informed of participation of any government agencies, private parties, or other countries involved in assisting with special activities.

5. There should be a regular and periodic review of all ongoing special activities both by the intelligence committees and by the NSC. This review should be made to determine whether each such activity is continuing to serve the purpose for which it was instituted. Findings should terminate or “sunset” at periodic intervals unless the President, by appropriate action, continues

them in force.

6. I believe we cannot conduct an effective program of special activities without the cooperation and support of Congress. Effective consultation with the intelligence committees is essential, and I am determined to ensure that these committees can discharge their statutory responsibilities in this area. In all but the most exceptional circumstances, timely notification to Congress under Section 501(b) of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, will not be delayed beyond two working days of the initiation of a special activity. While I believe that the current statutory framework is adequate, new Executive branch procedures nevertheless are desirable to ensure that the spirit of that framework is fully implemented. Accordingly, I have directed

my staff to draft for my signature executive documents to implement appropriately the principles set forth in this letter.

While the President must retain the flexibility as Commander in Chief and Chief Executive to exercise those constitutional authorities necessary to safeguard the nation and its citizens, maximum consultation and notification is and will be the firm policy of this Administration.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Senator David L. Boren, chairman, and Senator William S. Cohen, vice chairman, of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. The originals were not available for verification of the contents of these letters.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on Covert Action Procedural Reforms

August 7, 1987

The President today met with Senator David L. Boren and Senator William Cohen, chairman and vice chairman, respectively, of the Select Senate Committee on Intelligence (SSCI), to indicate his agreement to new procedures concerning the approval, review, and notification to Congress of covert action programs.

The principles outlined in the President's letter to the chairman and vice chairman of the SSCI were developed over a period of intensive and fruitful consultations between the White House and the SSCI. They evidence a desire for close cooperation between the President and Congress with re-

spect to these very sensitive and important programs. The President responded to a letter to national security adviser Frank Carlucci from Senators Boren and Cohen on behalf of the SSCI. The measure of agreement reflected in the President's letter demonstrates the vital importance he attaches to cooperation between the Congress and the executive branch in the intelligence area. On this there is agreement. The new procedures we are putting in place will strengthen that cooperation, and facilitate the work of the committee in fulfilling its important responsibilities.

Proclamation 5690—Amending the Generalized System of Preferences

August 7, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

1. Pursuant to section 502 (a) and (c) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the Trade Act) (19 U.S.C. 2462 (a) and (c)), and having due regard for the eligibility criteria set forth therein, I have determined that it is appropriate to designate Greenland as a beneficiary developing country for purposes of the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP).

2. Previously, under the terms of section 504 (a) and (c) of the Trade Act, as amended (19 U.S.C. 2464 (a) and (c)), I determined that it was appropriate to provide for the termination of GSP benefits for imports from Mexico under Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) (19 U.S.C. 1202) item 470.85, effective July 1, 1985. In light of revised statistics made available to me by the Bureau of Census, I have determined that such benefits for such tariff item should not have been terminated. Accordingly, I have determined that imports from Mexico under TSUS item 470.85 during the period from July 1, 1985, through June 30, 1986, inclusive, should have been afforded the preferential tariff treatment provided under the GSP.

3. Section 604 of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2483) directs the President to embody in the TSUS the substance of relevant provisions of statutes affecting import treatment, and actions thereunder.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States of America, including but not limited to sections 502, 504, and 604 of the Trade Act, do proclaim that:

(1) General headnote 3(e)(v)(A) to the TSUS, listing those countries whose products are eligible for benefits of the GSP, is modified by inserting in alphabetical order in the list of non-independent countries and territories "Greenland".

(2) In order to afford benefits of the GSP to certain products of Mexico during the period from July 1, 1985, through June 30, 1986—

(a) TSUS item 470.85 is modified by deleting "A*" and by inserting in lieu thereof "A"; and

(b) General headnote 3(c)(iii) to the TSUS (later redesignated as general headnote 3(e)(v)(D)), listing those articles that are eligible for benefits of the GSP when imported from all designated beneficiary countries except those listed opposite those articles, is modified by deleting "470.85 . . . Mexico".

(3)(a) Annex III to Executive Order 12519 of June 13, 1985, listing articles that are eligible for benefits of the GSP when imported from all designated beneficiary countries except those specified in general headnote 3(c)(iii) to the TSUS, is amended by striking TSUS item "470.85".

(4) Annex IV to Proclamation 5365 of September 5, 1985, is superseded to the extent inconsistent with this Proclamation.

(5) (a) The amendments made by paragraph (1) of this Proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles both: (i) imported on or after January 1, 1976, and (ii) entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after the date of the signing of this Proclamation.

(b) The remaining amendments made by this Proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles both: (i) imported on or after January 1, 1976, and (ii) entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after July 1, 1985, and before the close of June 30, 1986.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 7 day of Aug., in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:19 a.m., August 10, 1987]

Radio Address to the Nation on the 26th Anniversary of the Berlin Wall

August 8, 1987

My fellow Americans:

This week the world will mark a dark anniversary. Twenty-six years ago on Thursday, at one minute after midnight, thousands of East German troops marched out of their barracks and, in the dead of night and backed by Soviet forces, built the Berlin Wall. Today's Berlin Wall is very different from the crude strip of barbed wire that the people of Berlin woke up to the following morning 26 years ago. Changes have included the addition of guard towers, tank stops, razor-sharp metal fences, floodlights, ditches, and dog runs. The wall itself is now 12 feet high, concrete, and painted white so that anyone climbing it will make an easy target.

Yet over the years, one thing hasn't changed. It is this: Although the wall surrounds West Berlin, it is not West Berliners who are its prisoners. As one West German newspaper put it the morning after the wall went up: "Yesterday, East Berlin was officially transformed into one immense concentration camp." But it takes more than walls and guns to imprison the human spirit. In the last 26 years, almost 5,000 people have broken through this barrier and fled to freedom. Some tunneled under the wall. Some rigged ropes and pulleys to glide over it. Some ran trucks through checkpoints. Some simply ran on foot across what officials in the Soviet bloc call a "modern border" and the people of Berlin call the "death strip." At least 74 men and women have died in that race for freedom.

In June, on my way home from the economic summit in Venice, I visited Berlin and saw the wall once again. And I saw, as I have before, that people have put up small crosses on the free side of the wall—memorials to those who were killed trying to get over. On one side, the "death strip;" on the other, memorials to those who fell crossing

it. No place on Earth can you see more clearly the contrast between the prison that is communism and the spirit of liberty that lives in all of humanity.

In recent months, we've heard a great deal from the Soviet world about something called *glasnost*. *Glasnost* is a Russian word that, we're told, means openness. But does it mean genuine openness to speak, to write, to travel, even to buy and sell? Or is it more of a publicity show? As I said in Berlin in June, the way for the Soviets to demonstrate their dedication to true openness is to tear down the wall. That's not all they could do. At the end of World War II, the Soviets promised free elections in Eastern Europe. Openness should mean fulfilling that promise. Openness should also mean freeing political prisoners, refuseniks, and other prisoners of conscience. It should mean an end to Soviet imperialism, whether it's in Eastern Europe, Afghanistan, Angola, Cuba, or Nicaragua. It should, in short, mean openness in all the nations subject to Soviet domination.

In Berlin this June, I said that we in the United States were ready to join with the Soviets in bringing true openness to that divided city. I suggested starting discussions on four proposals. The proposals were: first, to look for ways to expand commercial air access to Berlin so that one day it might be the hub of central European air traffic; second, to bring more international meetings and conferences to Berlin—for example, United Nations meetings; third, I encouraged a program of exchanges so that young East and West Berliners could more easily visit and come to know one another; and fourth, I proposed holding, in some future year, the Olympic games in Berlin.

Together all of these proposals would bring a new openness into the lives not only of Berliners but of people throughout East-

ern Europe and the Soviet Union as well. We should keep in mind how important this is for each of us, as Americans, as a people who want peace among nations. Because of our renewed strength, we've made great progress in the last several years toward peace, particularly in the area of arms reduction talks with the Soviet Union. But encouraging though this has been, we should not let ourselves forget the warning of the Czech dissident writer Vaclav Havel, who some time ago cautioned us that: "Respect for human rights is the fundamental condition and the sole genuine guarantee of

true peace. A lasting peace," he said, "can only be the work of free people."

So, on this 20th [26th] anniversary of the Berlin Wall, let us resolve to do all we can to hasten the day when the wall is down and Berlin has become a symbol not of confrontation but of cooperation among the peoples of Europe and of the entire world.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Statement on the Central American Peace Agreement

August 8, 1987

I welcome this commitment to peace and democracy by the five Central American Presidents, and I hope it will lead to peace in Central America and democracy in Nicaragua. The agreement makes clear that there is much work to be done by the parties involved. The United States will be as helpful as possible, consistent with our interests and the interests of the Nicaraguan resistance—who have already stated their readiness to take part in genuine negotiations for peace and democracy in Nicaragua.

We will study the agreement carefully with an eye to what the United States can contribute to the search for freedom and peace. The agreement emphasizes reconciliation, democracy, and full respect for political and civil rights. We are encouraged by that emphasis. The promise of this agreement can only be realized in its implementation. We look forward to the day when the commitments made in this agreement are a part of everyday life in Central America.

Appointment of Mary Jo Arndt as a Member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships

August 8, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Mary Jo Arndt to be a member of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships in recognition of her devotion and excellence in service to the Government. She would succeed LeGree Silva Daniels.

Since 1959 she has been administrator of the Lombard Veterinary Hospital. Mrs. Arndt is also a member of the board of overseers, Illinois Institute of Technology;

the third vice president of the National Federation of Republican Women, 1986–1987; and Republican State committeewoman, Sixth Congressional District, 1982 to the present.

Mrs. Arndt graduated from Northern Illinois University (B.S., 1955). She was born September 18, 1933, in Chicago, IL. Mrs. Arndt is married, has three children, and resides in Lombard, IL.

Statement on Signing Competitive Equality Banking Act of 1987 *August 10, 1987*

I am today signing H.R. 27, the Competitive Equality Banking Act of 1987, which recapitalizes the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC) and makes a number of other changes in the Federal regulation of banking. From the outset, our guiding principle in working with the Congress on this bill has been to avoid a taxpayer bailout—as was the case in both Ohio and Maryland—for an industry that has the wherewithal to help itself. This legislation vindicates that principle. The Congress is clearly on notice that industry resources are to be relied upon to finance the FSLIC operations, now and in the future.

I am signing this bill with the understanding that all of the provisions in titles III and IV are to be viewed collectively as working to protect both depositors and the insurance fund itself. For example, provisions relating to exit fees and the moratorium on leaving the FSLIC should not be interpreted in such a way as to undermine the FSLIC's rebuilding efforts. Unfortunately, while certain provisions of the bill should help the FSLIC sell large failing savings and loans to a variety of companies and draw needed capital to the industry, other provisions of title I may still handicap the FSLIC's ability to find purchasers for savings and loans in financial trouble. Counterproductive restrictions should not be imposed on potential acquirers of ailing savings and loans at a time when the FSLIC needs to attract new sources of private capital to offset its limited resources. I urge the Congress to revisit this issue now that the development of comprehensive financial reform is at the top of the legislative agenda.

I am also opposed to the several extraneous protectionist provisions that were added to this legislation. These provisions will deny consumers the services of new limited-purpose banks. They will also place significant operating restrictions on recent acquirers of limited-purpose banks and impose a retrogressive moratorium on the ability of Federal bank regulators to author-

ize new real estate, securities, and insurance products and services to consumers until March 1, 1988. My willingness to sign this bill is based in part upon its statement of congressional intent not to renew or extend the moratorium on the granting of needed new authorities for banks beyond March 1, 1988, whether or not subsequent legislation is passed by the Congress. It is also my clear understanding that this legislation will not impede the ability of Federal banking agencies to authorize banks and bank holding companies to conduct banking activities permitted under current law.

Certain other provisions of this legislation stand in the way of promoting competition, lowering costs, and increasing efficiencies in the delivery of financial services. While it is entirely appropriate to safeguard against conflicts of interest and to require arms-length transactions among affiliates, restrictions on the merchandising of consumer services and artificial limits on economic growth are unwarranted. These new anti-consumer and anticompetitive provisions could hold back a vital service industry at a time when competition in the international capital markets increasingly challenges United States financial institutions, and they should be repealed.

Section 505 of this legislation exempts the Federal financial regulatory agencies from the apportionment requirements of the Antideficiency Act. The apportionment authority is, however, a critical tool assuring that all executive branch agencies remain accountable to the President for their financial operations. I am signing this legislation with the firm understanding that notwithstanding the provisions of section 505, the President retains his inherent supervisory authority under article II of the Constitution to ensure that all executive branch agencies are spending appropriated funds in accordance with law.

Section 103 of the legislation temporarily extends the 1933 Glass-Steagall Act restrictions on securities activities to State-chartered, nonmember banks for the first time,

without any showing of public benefit. I note that this intrusion upon the longstanding authority of States to determine the proper activities for financial institutions under their supervision is inconsistent with other provisions of the bill, such as section 201(e) upholding State authority to regulate the insurance activities of State-chartered banks.

This legislation, while accomplishing the necessary recapitalization of the FSLIC without increasing the budget deficit, goes

well beyond that central purpose and raises a number of issues that require further congressional attention. I look forward, therefore, to the comprehensive financial reform legislation that the Congress has pledged to present to me early next year.

Note: The President signed the legislation in a ceremony at 3 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. H.R. 27, approved August 10, was assigned Public Law No. 100-86.

Remarks Announcing the Nomination of C. William Verity, Jr., To Be Secretary of Commerce

August 10, 1987

The President. I am pleased to announce my intention to nominate C. William Verity, Jr., as Secretary of Commerce. Bill, who retired as chairman of Armco, Incorporated, in 1982, has long been active in public service. He's served as the Chairman of my Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives, which produced an outstanding report on creative ways for the private sector to supplement governmental efforts in meeting basic human needs. He has continued as a leader in that area.

I know that Bill, like his predecessor, Malcolm Baldrige, understands the importance of expanding international markets, maintaining our competitiveness, and enhancing our export capability. He also supports ongoing efforts to keep vital technology from falling into the hands of our adversaries. His extensive experience in business and overseas trade makes him eminently qualified to assume control of the Department of Commerce in these critical times.

Before his untimely death, Mac Baldrige served as a principal architect of American international economic policy. He had a vision not only for dealing with immediate issues but for the future of the world economy, as well. I expect Bill Verity will continue that vital role. I know he shares my commitment to free and fair trade and supports our efforts to prevent any move toward protectionism that would bring immediate

retaliation and reverse the recent progress we've made in correcting the trade imbalance.

I appreciate Bill's willingness to assume this vital position. Mac's boots will be tough to fill, but I have every confidence that Bill will ably pursue the policies this administration has developed over the past 6½ years. And I urge that the Senate, when it returns from the August recess, quickly confirm Bill Verity as Secretary of Commerce.

Bill?

Mr. Verity. Thank you, Mr. President, and thank you for giving me this opportunity to do this very challenging job. I've been so impressed with what's happened in this country over the last 6½ years, where there's been a redirection of effort towards making this country more competitive. It's been under your leadership, Mr. President, and also Mac Baldrige, who was very instrumental in trying to get American industry to modernize itself. And that is beginning to show up.

I'm just happy to have this opportunity at what I think is an historic time in international trade with a trade bill going through the various Houses. I want to make it clear, Mr. President, that all the specifics that you mentioned, I endorse. And I'm looking forward to trying to help you in the job of making this country more competitive.

Q. We understand you do want the Sovi-

ets to have technology. The President said you were against giving any such technology to your adversaries.

Mr. Verity. It was suggested, and I agree, that as far as any specific questions, I think I should answer the Senate first, if they would confirm me. And I think to answer

any specific questions until then would be very unwise.

Note: The President spoke to reporters at 3:30 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Nomination of C. William Verity, Jr., To Be Secretary of Commerce *August 10, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate C. William Verity, Jr., of Middletown, OH, to be Secretary of Commerce.

Mr. Verity retired in 1982 as chairman of the board of Armco, Inc., in Middletown, OH. He joined the company in 1940 and was elected president and chief executive officer in 1965 and chairman of the board in 1971. In 1981 he was appointed to serve as Chairman of the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives (PSI). In 1983

he was appointed to be a member of PSI's Advisory Council and since 1985 has served on PSI's Board of Advisors. Mr. Verity was chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 1980-1981.

Mr. Verity graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1939). He served in the U.S. Navy, 1942-1946. Mr. Verity was born January 26, 1917, in Middletown, OH. Mr. Verity is married, has three children, and resides in Middletown, OH.

Proclamation 5691—National Civil Rights Day, 1987 *August 10, 1987*

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

As he journeyed to Washington, D.C., to assume the Presidency in 1861, Abraham Lincoln captured the essence of the American dream in a speech at Philadelphia's Independence Hall, the site where our Founders gathered 200 years ago to frame the Constitution whose bicentennial we now celebrate. Exercising his unique genius for profound thought in plain language, Lincoln said that "The great principle or idea" assuring our permanence as a nation is its promise "that all should have an equal chance."

The struggle to see that promise fulfilled has continued in our own era and, through the civil rights movement, has inspired new Federal laws that seek to guarantee that

"equal chance" by prohibiting discrimination against any citizen on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity, age, or handicap. We can be proud of the progress we have made in securing the civil rights of all Americans. Racial segregation has been proscribed. Employment discrimination is barred. Federal statutes now outlaw housing bias, safeguard every citizen's precious right to vote, and require that people with disabilities be provided accessibility and be treated without discrimination. The misguided few who use force or violence to interfere with others' enjoyment of their civil rights face swift and sure criminal prosecution.

Despite these steps forward, much still remains to be done to make Lincoln's promise a reality and to fulfill the dream shared by leaders like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Susan B. Anthony, and Mary

McLeod Bethune. The example of these Americans, and of so many other brave men and women, reminds us of the tasks that belong to each of us as citizens of this great Nation. We must work to see the civil rights laws strongly enforced and to ensure that every branch of government—at every level—renders justice to individuals without regard to race, sex, color, religion, nationality, or condition of handicap. In this way, we can move toward the day when the rights of every human being to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” are secured forever.

The Congress, by Public Law 99-482, has designated August 12, 1987, as “National Civil Rights Day” and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event. Twenty-four years ago this month, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. led a march in Washington, D.C. to demonstrate the need for civil

rights legislation. On this occasion let us pay tribute to his memory and to the memory of all those who fought for justice and equal opportunity before the law.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim August 12, 1987, as National Civil Rights Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:18 a.m., August 11, 1987]

Proclamation 5692—National Neighborhood Crime Watch Day, 1987

August 10, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Crime prevention is at the top of our Nation’s public policy agenda for the simple reason that crime is still all too commonplace. Each year in America millions of our citizens face the stark reality of crime, suffering losses of property and injuries to personal health that exact from them and from all of us a terrible cost. Although new laws, more aggressive prosecution, swifter and more certain punishment, and programs to aid innocent victims are doing much to deter crime and to redress the harm it causes, our citizens continue to find new ways to work with law enforcement officials to prevent crime before it happens.

Passivity in the fight against crime is now passe. Across the Nation law-abiding citizens are banding together and, in close cooperation with the appropriate agencies of

government, they are taking the initiative to protect themselves, their loved ones, and their neighborhoods. The effectiveness of this form of deterrence against crime has been proven in community after community, and it all boils down to one guiding principle—neighbors looking out for neighbors.

Twenty-two million American households were touched by crime last year—a staggering figure, but still the lowest in a decade. The decline that has taken place is certainly due in part to greater public awareness of crime and increased citizen participation in crime prevention activities. The statistics represent improved safeguarding of homes and property, but their real significance is the improved security and well-being of our people—the core values any society is constituted to protect.

We must do all we can to make more citizens aware of the importance of community crime watch programs and the impact they as individuals can have on the detec-

tion, reporting, discouragement, and solution of crimes. On August 11, 1987, a "National Night Out" campaign will be conducted to call attention to the importance of these programs. All Americans are urged to participate that evening by spending the hour between 8:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. on the lawns, porches, or steps in front of their homes, thereby emphasizing that looking out for one's neighbors is still the most effective form of crime prevention.

Participation in this nationwide event will also demonstrate the value and effectiveness of police and community cooperation in crime prevention. It will generate support for the worthwhile campaign the National Crime Prevention Council is conducting through its Crime Prevention Coalition. This Coalition, composed of organizations representing law enforcement, business, labor, minorities, the elderly, and various public interest groups, seeks to promote citizen involvement in crime watch activities and, through public service advertising and publications, provides information on how citizens can better protect themselves.

The Coalition's campaign features the trench-coated, floppy-eared dog, McGruff, popularized on radio and television and in newspapers and magazines. His message is basic and direct: We can all "Take a Bite Out of Crime" by playing a role in neighborhood block watches, citizen patrols,

escort services for the elderly and the vulnerable, and similar activities and by taking a few simple precautions.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 121, has designated August 11, 1987, as "National Neighborhood Crime Watch Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim August 11, 1987, as National Neighborhood Crime Watch Day. I call upon the people of the United States to spend the period from 8:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. on that date with their neighbors in front of their homes to demonstrate support for community crime watch programs and to signal to criminals that neighborhoods are joining together to fight crime.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:36 p.m., August 11, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 11.

Nomination of Robert Maxwell Pringle To Be United States Ambassador to Mali

August 11, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert Maxwell Pringle, of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, as Ambassador to the Republic of Mali. He succeeds Robert J. Ryan, Jr.

Mr. Pringle was a photographer with Luther Gulick Camps in South Casco, ME, in 1958. He then worked as a freelance reporter, 1960-1961, before joining the Pat Munroe News Bureau in Washington, DC, as a reporter, 1961-1962. From 1962 to

1967, he did graduate study at Cornell University. Mr. Pringle joined the Foreign Service in 1967 and first served as a staff assistant in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. From 1970 to 1974, he served as political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, followed as political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Manila, Philippines, 1974-1977. Mr. Pringle was a Rockefeller Foundation international relations fellow and director of an Indonesia-Philippine project, Carnegie Endowment for Interna-

tional Peace, 1977–1979. He returned to Washington in 1979 for economic training at the Foreign Service Institute, before joining the economic policy staff in the Bureau of African Affairs, 1979–1983. From 1983 to 1985, he served as deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, and since 1985 has been deputy chief of mission at Port Moresby, Papua

New Guinea.

Mr. Pringle graduated from Harvard College (B.A., 1958) and Cornell University (Ph.D., 1967). He served in the U.S. Army, 1958–1960. He is articulate in Indonesian, French, and Melanesian Pidgin. Mr. Pringle was born November 12, 1936, in New York, NY. He is married, has two children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of David H. Shinn To Be United States Ambassador to Burkina Faso

August 11, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate David H. Shinn, of Washington, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, as Ambassador to Burkina Faso. He succeeds Leonardo Neher.

Mr. Shinn worked summers while in college for the U.S. Forest Service at Naches Ranger Station, Naches, WA, 1958–1961. He then worked in the promotion department of the Washington Post in 1962. Mr. Shinn joined the Foreign Service in 1964 and first served as a junior officer trainee at the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon, 1964–1966. He took Swahili language training at the Foreign Service Institute in Washington, DC, 1966–1967, before his assignment as political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, Kenya, 1967–1968. In 1969 Mr. Shinn returned to the Department of State, first serving as Ethiopia-Somalia desk officer and then Uganda-Tanzania desk officer, 1969–1972. In 1972 he became political of-

ficer at the U.S. Embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where he served until 1974, when he became deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Nouakchott, Mauritania, until 1976. Mr. Shinn was then detailed to the mayor's office in Seattle, WA, for a year. From 1978 to 1981, he was Deputy Coordinator for the State and Local Government Liaison Office in the Department of State. Mr. Shinn then became deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Yaounde, Cameroon, 1981–1983, followed as deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, 1983–1986. Since 1986 he has been a member of the Senior Seminar.

Mr. Shinn graduated from Yakima Valley College (A.A., 1960) and George Washington University (B.A., 1963; M.A., 1964; Ph.D., 1980). He was born June 9, 1940, in Yakima, WA. He is articulate in French and Swahili. Mr. Shinn is married, has two sons, and resides in Fairfax, VA.

Statement on the Death of Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle

August 11, 1987

Nancy and I were deeply saddened to learn of the death of Patrick Cardinal O'Boyle. We send our heartfelt sympathy to his family and to all the people of the Washington Archdiocese, where he served so faithfully and so well for more than a quar-

ter century. Like the great Irish saint for whom he was named, the patron of the New York Cathedral where he was ordained a priest of God in 1921, Patrick Aloysius O'Boyle perceived for himself a clear mission in life—to do God's will, because

“Nothing is impossible to God.”

As the first Roman Catholic Archbishop of the Washington Archdiocese, Cardinal O’Boyle took the motto, “Remain firm in the faith.” He remained true to that motto throughout his long life of service, and with all of his wit, gentility, and wisdom, it is perhaps for the firmness of his moral leadership that he will best be remembered. Cardinal O’Boyle never ceased to champion the rights and the dignity of all human life, and he never hesitated to take action in its defense. A staunch opponent of racism, he led the way to desegregation of our nation’s schools by integrating the Catholic schools of Washington half a decade before the U.S. Supreme Court ruled segregation unconsti-

tutional. In an early pastoral letter, he wrote: “Those who deny a neighbor, solely on the basis of race, the opportunity to buy a house, or to enjoy equal educational and job opportunities, are in effect denying those rights to Christ Himself.”

The life of Patrick Cardinal O’Boyle paralleled the course of this century and epitomized the finest qualities of a turbulent era in the life of America and of the world. A son of immigrants, he became a true father, teacher, and exemplar to his flock and to generations of American Catholics. All Americans rejoice in his contributions, and we will forever honor this great man who served his God and his country with a profound and abiding love.

Appointment of Four Members of the National Council on Vocational Education

August 11, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the National Council on Vocational Education:

For a term expiring January 17, 1989:

Sally J. Novetzke, of Iowa. She would succeed Jose C. Nunez. Mrs. Novetzke attended Carlton College in Northfield, MN, 1950–1952. She was born January 12, 1932, in Stillwater, MN. Mrs. Novetzke is married, has four children, and resides in Cedar Rapids, IA.

For terms expiring January 17, 1990:

Pier A. Gherini, Jr., of California. This is a reappointment. Since 1984 Mr. Gherini has been executive vice president of Westpac Shelter Corp. in Santa Barbara, CA. Prior to this he was president of Cow Hollow Investment Co.

in San Francisco, 1980–1984. Mr. Gherini graduated from the University of San Francisco (B.A., 1965). He was born December 28, 1942, in Pecos, TX. Mr. Gherini resides in Santa Barbara, CA.

William C. Hayes, of California. This is a reappointment. Mr. Hayes is president of Windsor Financial Corp. in Encino, CA, 1971 to the present. He graduated from Brigham Young University (B.S., 1963). Mr. Hayes was born July 25, 1941, in Englewood, CA. He is married, has three children, and resides in Woodland Hills, CA.

Christine Valmy, of New York. This is a reappointment. Since 1965 Ms. Valmy has been president of Christine Valmy, Inc., in New York, NY. She was born October 25, 1926, in Bucharest, Romania. Ms. Valmy is married and resides in New York, NY.

Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for Alan Greenspan as Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System August 11, 1987

The President. Today it's my pleasure to welcome Alan Greenspan back to official service to his country. I say official service because even in private life, Alan Greenspan has again and again devoted his time and talents to public service: Chairman of President Ford's Council of Economic Advisors; member of three Presidential commissions, including the Greenspan commission; frequent witness before congressional committees; guest lecturer at New York University; member of the board of overseers of the Hoover Institution—and the list goes on and on.

Now, in becoming Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan is making perhaps the most dramatic personal sacrifice of his career, taking his name down from the door of Townsend-Greenspan, the firm he guided as president and chairman for nearly 30 years. Alan, I suppose it would have been only natural for you to have had some second thoughts as you packed up your boxes last week. [Laughter] But knowing you, I don't think you did. No, knowing you, I have a feeling that your thoughts had already turned to the great role in American life that you take up today.

Since its creation in 1913, the Federal Reserve System, with its Board of Governors, has become one of the central institutions of our government. Charged with maintaining the soundness of the banking system, the Fed helps to make possible the many millions of financial transactions that take place in America every day, from the purchase of stocks and bonds on Wall Street to the purchase of groceries on Main Street.

But perhaps the Fed is best known for its conduct of monetary policy—managing the rate of growth in the supply of money. How the Fed performs this job directly affects vital economic factors: inflation, interest rates, the overall rate of economic expansion itself. Under the chairmanship of Paul Volcker, the Fed has used its monetary policy to overcome the rampant inflation that had grown up during the late 1970's.

“What we're aiming for,” Chairman Volcker once said, “is a situation in which people can proceed about their business without worrying about what prices are going to do.” And once this situation had been achieved, Chairman Volcker argued, confidence in the economy would return and economic growth would once again begin to take place. “With budgetary and monetary discipline,” Chairman Volcker added, “the process could be sustained for years.”

Well, as we all know, economic growth has taken place, and it has been sustained. The economic expansion is now just 2 months short of becoming the longest peacetime economic expansion in American history. For some 5 years now, inflation has stayed well below the rates of the late 1970's, with interest rates coming down sharply as well. We've seen a burst of new business formations, a virtual riot of new technologies, and the creation of over 13½ million new jobs.

And I know that Governor Martha Seger, who has done some briefings for us here at the White House, reported after consultations with foreign bankers and businessmen during her recent European trip that today confidence in the American economy is firmly established abroad, and this represents a source of stability for the entire world economy. I want to express my gratitude to Paul Volcker for the part he played in these accomplishments. And I want to restate my confidence in Alan Greenspan to carry these accomplishments still further, all the while maintaining the Fed's traditional independence.

Here in our own country, Chairman Greenspan will bring all his skill to bear upon the task of promoting our continued economic growth while keeping inflation low. And this is a point that's important to note: Today, keeping down inflation and sustaining economic growth is not an either-or proposition. Today, low inflation and economic growth can and must go

hand in hand.

Abroad, Chairman Greenspan will have to work closely with the heads of foreign central banks. With the entire globe becoming a single and highly competitive marketplace, Chairman Greenspan will play an important role in seeking solutions to the problems of developing countries and the massive debt some of them have accumulated. He'll work to ensure an open and fair trading system among all nations. And he will be deeply involved in the restructuring and modernization of the American banking system to keep our own capital markets competitive with others around the world.

These past 6½ years—6½ years of sound policies in the public sector and technological breakthroughs in the private—have produced such a dramatic change in America, perhaps most remarkably among our young people. In the words of author George Gilder: "The future looks more open and promising to young Americans than it did before, for the simple reason that it *is* more open and promising. There's been a convergence of policy and technology that has changed the spirit of America."

Well, Alan, I guess that's the fundamental reason why I'm so happy that when I asked you to become Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, you said yes. You're an economist's economist, one of the most widely respected men in your field. But you know that economics is more than numbers, that there are crucial intangibles, as well—intangibles like hope, a willingness to work, and, yes, faith in the future of this great and good land.

And now, the Vice President will swear Alan Greenspan in as the 13th Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

[At this point, Chairman Greenspan was sworn in.]

Chairman Greenspan. Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, and everyone out there, all my friends: Little more than 2 months ago,

in the White House press room down the hall, the President announced that he was nominating me to replace Paul Volcker. At that time, I indicated to the President, and today I repeat, how much I appreciate his confidence in me to act as a replacement for Paul, whose career at the Fed has been one with few parallels in the history of this nation's public service. Since the nomination, I've received innumerable best wishes from friends, new and old, from all over the world. I'm particularly saddened, however, that Dr. Arthur F. Burns, former Council of Economics and Federal Reserve Board Chairman and my mentor for 35 years, through graduate school and thereafter, is not with us today.

I would particularly like to thank the staff of the Federal Reserve, who, along with Paul, have been exceptionally gracious with their time and efforts to bring me up to speed for this extraordinary challenge. I also wish to thank the Senate Banking Committee and the Senate as a whole, who confirmed my nomination. Perhaps I should also thank in advance the creators of all those events that will make the next 4 years easygoing: inflation which always stays put, the stock market which is always a bull, a dollar which is always stable, interest rates which stay low, and employment which stays high. But most assuredly, I would be thankful to those who have the capability of repealing the laws of arithmetic, which would make all of the foregoing possible. [Laughter]

Thank you very much.

The President. Congratulations, Alan Greenspan. And I know that your faith in America will strengthen our own. And now, I believe there are probably some refreshments down in the State Dining Room, and the meeting can get social.

Note: The President spoke at 3:19 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Appointment of Maurice A. Kremer as United States Representative on the Kansas-Nebraska Big Blue River Compact Administration *August 11, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint Maurice A. Kremer to be United States Representative on the Kansas-Nebraska Big Blue River Compact Administration. He would succeed John C. Peterson.

Mr. Kremer is a retired farmer and livestock breeder. He is also a former partner of the Kremer Construction Co. in Aurora,

NE. He served as a State senator in Omaha, NE, from 1963 to 1982.

Mr. Kremer graduated from the farm operators' course at the College of Agriculture in Lincoln, NE. He was born August 31, 1907, in Milford, NE. Mr. Kremer is married, has four children, and resides in Aurora, NE.

Appointment of Armando Valladares as United States Representative on the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations Economic and Social Council *August 11, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint Armando Valladares to be Representative of the United States on the Human Rights Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. He would succeed E. Robert Wallach.

Mr. Valladares is currently president of the European Coalition for Human Rights in Cuba. He spent 22 years as a political prisoner in Cuba. He is author of several books, among them: "From My Wheel-

chair" and "Against All Hope." He was adopted by Amnesty International as a prisoner of conscience.

Mr. Valladares graduated from the Instituto de Segunda Ensenanza de Marianao, Havana, Cuba (B.A., 1954). He was born May 30, 1937, in Pinar Del Rio, Cuba. Mr. Valladares is married and resides in Madrid, Spain. He became a naturalized United States citizen in January 1987.

Executive Order 12605—Navy and Marine Corps Reserve Officer Promotions *August 12, 1987*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, and in order to delegate certain functions concerning the promotion of commissioned officers of the Naval Reserve and the Marine Corps Reserve, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The function vested in the

President by Section 5898(b) of Title 10 of the United States Code to approve, modify, or disapprove the report of a Naval Reserve or Marine Corps Reserve selection board is delegated to the Secretary of Defense. Nothing in this Section shall be deemed to delegate the authority vested in the President by Section 5898(c) of Title 10 of the United States Code to remove a name from a selection board report.

Sec. 2. The function delegated to the Secretary of Defense by this Order may be redelegated to the Deputy Secretary of Defense, any of the Assistant Secretaries of Defense, and the Secretary of the Navy who may further subdelegate such authority to subordinates who are appointed to their office by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

Sec. 3. With respect to the functions delegated by this Order, all prior actions taken

for or on behalf of the President that would have been valid if taken pursuant to this Order are ratified.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
August 12, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:15 p.m., August 12, 1987]

Memorandum on Leadership of the Combined Federal Campaign August 12, 1987

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

We see the promise of our great Nation exemplified in our Constitution whose bicentennial we celebrate this year. The 1987-88 Combined Federal Campaign gives us the opportunity to help others achieve the full promise of America through our voluntary giving. It is important that each of us take visible leadership roles in the Campaigns in our agencies.

Secretary of Health and Human Services Otis R. Bowen has agreed to serve as Chairman of the 1987-88 Combined Federal Campaign of the National Capital Area. I am asking that you support Secretary Bowen by personally serving as Chairman of the Campaign in your agency and ap-

pointing a top official as your Vice Chairman. Please advise Secretary Bowen of your willingness to serve and the name of the person you designate.

The single most important ingredient in making the Combined Federal Campaign a success is the active involvement of top leadership. Consequently, your personal interest, visible support, and participation are essential. Thousands of Federal employees participate, but many others remain on the sidelines. Make a special effort to encourage all of your employees, both in the Washington area and in all the CFC locations worldwide, to support the Campaign.

With your leadership, we can make this fall's campaign a resounding success.

RONALD REAGAN

Memorandum Urging Support of the Combined Federal Campaign August 12, 1987

Memorandum for All Federal Civilian Employees and Military Personnel

The promise of America is contained in our Constitution whose bicentennial we celebrate this year. Let us take the opportunity provided by the 1987-88 Combined Federal Campaign to help all Americans participate in our Nation's promise.

Your history of increasing generosity over

nearly three decades of voluntary giving demonstrates your continuing concern for the needy in the United States and around the world.

You have a record of unselfishness and concern for others that is unsurpassed. I am proud of you all. I am confident that your outstanding past performance will continue in this year's Campaign. While the decision to give is personal and voluntary, I encour-

age each of you to join me in wholeheartedly supporting the 1987-88 Combined Federal Campaign.

RONALD REAGAN

Address to the Nation on the Iran Arms and *Contra* Aid Controversy and Administration Goals August 12, 1987

My fellow Americans:

I've said on several occasions that I wouldn't comment about the recent congressional hearings on the Iran-*contra* matter until the hearings were over. Well, that time has come, so tonight I want to talk about some of the lessons we've learned. But rest assured, that's not my sole subject this evening. I also want to talk about the future and getting on with things, because the people's business is waiting.

These past 9 months have been confusing and painful ones for the country. I know you have doubts in your own minds about what happened in this whole episode. What I hope is not in doubt, however, is my commitment to the investigations themselves. So far, we've had four investigations—by the Justice Department, the Tower board, the Independent Counsel, and the Congress. I requested three of those investigations, and I endorsed and cooperated fully with the fourth—the congressional hearings—supplying over 250,000 pages of White House documents, including parts of my own private diaries.

Once I realized I hadn't been fully informed, I sought to find the answers. Some of the answers I don't like. As the Tower board reported, and as I said last March, our original initiative rapidly got all tangled up in the sale of arms, and the sale of arms got tangled up with hostages. Secretary Shultz and Secretary Weinberger both predicted that the American people would immediately assume this whole plan was an arms-for-hostages deal and nothing more. Well, unfortunately, their predictions were right. As I said to you in March, I let my preoccupation with the hostages intrude into areas where it didn't belong. The image—the reality—of Americans in chains, deprived of their freedom and families so

far from home, burdened my thoughts. And this was a mistake.

My fellow Americans, I've thought long and often about how to explain to you what I intended to accomplish, but I respect you too much to make excuses. The fact of the matter is that there's nothing I can say that will make the situation right. I was stubborn in my pursuit of a policy that went astray.

The other major issue of the hearings, of course, was the diversion of funds to the Nicaraguan *contras*. Colonel North and Admiral Poindexter believed they were doing what I would have wanted done—keeping the democratic resistance alive in Nicaragua. I believed then and I believe now in preventing the Soviets from establishing a beachhead in Central America. Since I have been so closely associated with the cause of the *contras*, the big question during the hearings was whether I knew of the diversion. I was aware the resistance was receiving funds directly from third countries and from private efforts, and I endorsed those endeavors wholeheartedly; but—let me put this in capital letters—I did not know about the diversion of funds. Indeed, I didn't know there were excess funds.

Yet the buck does not stop with Admiral Poindexter, as he stated in his testimony; it stops with me. I am the one who is ultimately accountable to the American people. The admiral testified that he wanted to protect me; yet no President should ever be protected from the truth. No operation is so secret that it must be kept from the Commander in Chief. I had the right, the obligation, to make my own decision. I heard someone the other day ask why I wasn't outraged. Well, at times, I've been mad as a hornet. Anyone would be—just look at the damage that's been done and the time

that's been lost. But I've always found that the best therapy for outrage and anger is action.

I've tried to take steps so that what we've been through can't happen again, either in this administration or future ones. But I remember very well what the Tower board said last February when it issued this report. It said the failure was more in people than in process. We can build in every precaution known to the world. We can design that best system ever devised by man. But in the end, people are going to have to run it. And we will never be free of human hopes, weaknesses, and enthusiasms.

Let me tell you what I've done to change both the system and the people who operate it. First of all, I've brought in a new and knowledgeable team. I have a new National Security Adviser, a new Director of the CIA, a new Chief of Staff here at the White House. And I've told them that I must be informed and informed fully. In addition, I adopted the Tower board's model of how the NSC process and staff should work, and I prohibited any operational role by the NSC staff in covert activities.

The report I ordered reviewing our nation's covert operations has been completed. There were no surprises. Some operations were continued, and some were eliminated because they'd outlived their usefulness. I am also adopting new, tighter procedures on consulting with and notifying the Congress on future covert action findings. We will still pursue covert operations when appropriate, but each operation must be legal, and it must meet a specific policy objective.

The problem goes deeper, however, than policies and personnel. Probably the biggest lesson we can draw from the hearings is that the executive and legislative branches of government need to regain trust in each other. We've seen the results of that mistrust in the form of lies, leaks, divisions, and mistakes. We need to find a way to cooperate while realizing foreign policy can't be run by committee. And I believe there's now the growing sense that we can accomplish more by cooperating. And in the end, this may be the eventual blessing in disguise to come out of the Iran-*contra* mess.

But now let me turn to the other subject

I promised to discuss this evening—the future. There are now 17 months left in this administration, and I want them to be prosperous, productive ones for the American people. When you first elected me to this office, you elected me to pursue a new, different direction for America. When you elected me the second time, you reaffirmed your desire to continue that course. My hopes for this country are as fervent today as they were in 1981. Up until the morning I leave this house, I intend to do what you sent me here to do—lead the Nation toward the goals we agreed on when you elected me. Let me tell you where I'm going to put my heart and my energies for the remainder of my term.

For my entire political life, I've spoken about the need for the Supreme Court to interpret the law, not make it. During my Presidency, I've proudly appointed two new justices who understand that important principle—Justice Sandra Day O'Connor and Justice Antonin Scalia. I've now nominated a third—Judge Robert Bork. When I named him to the U.S. Court of Appeals, the American Bar Association gave Judge Bork, who is a brilliant scholar and jurist, its very highest rating. As a member of that court, Judge Bork has written more than a hundred majority opinions and joined in another 300. The Supreme Court has never reversed a single one of these 400 opinions.

His nomination is being opposed by some because he practices judicial restraint. Now, that means he won't put their opinions ahead of the law; he won't put his own opinions ahead of the law. And that's the way it should be. Judge Bork would be an important intellectual addition to the Court, and I will fight for him because I believe in what he stands for. As soon as the Senate returns from its recess next month, it should consider Judge Bork's qualifications and then vote yes or no, up or down. This nation and its citizens deserve a full bench with nine Justices when the Court convenes in October.

In the months ahead, I also hope to reach an agreement, a comprehensive and verifiable agreement, with the Soviet Union on reducing nuclear arms. We're making real progress on the global elimination of an

entire class of nuclear weapons—the U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range, or INF, missiles. I first proposed this idea to the Soviets back in 1981. They weren't too keen on it and, in fact, walked out of the negotiations at one point. But we kept at it. Until recently, the Soviet Union had insisted on the right to retain some of its INF missiles. But in mid-July, General Secretary Gorbachev announced that he was prepared to drop this demand. That was welcome news, indeed.

We've come this far because in 1980 you gave me a mandate to rebuild our military. I've done that. And today we're seeing the results. The Soviets are now negotiating with us because we're negotiating from strength. This would be an historic agreement. Previous arms control agreements merely put a ceiling on weapons and even allowed for increases; this agreement would reduce the number of nuclear weapons. I am optimistic that we'll soon witness a first in world history—the sight of two countries actually destroying nuclear weapons in their arsenals. And imagine where that might lead.

We're also ready to move ahead on a START agreement that would cut intercontinental nuclear forces by 50 percent, thereby eliminating thousands of nuclear missiles. I urge the Soviets to move ahead with us. And I say to General Secretary Gorbachev, both our nations could begin a new relationship by signing comprehensive agreements to reduce nuclear and conventional weapons.

What we seek in our relationship with the Soviet Union is peace and stability. That is also what we seek in the Persian Gulf, and the Middle East more generally. And bringing stability to this troubled region remains one of the most important goals of my Presidency.

Over the next 17 months, I'll also be advocating an Economic Bill of Rights for our citizens. I believe the American people have a right to expect the Nation's budget to be handled responsibly. Yet chaos reigns in the budgetary process. For the past several months, there's been much debate about getting our fiscal house in order, but the result once again has been inaction. The congressional budget process is neither reli-

able nor credible; in short, it needs to be fixed. We must face reality: The only force strong enough to stop this nation's massive runaway budget is the Constitution. Only the Constitution—the document from which all government power flows, the document that provides our moral authority as a nation—only the Constitution can compel responsibility.

We desperately need the power of a constitutional amendment to help us balance the budget. Over 70 percent of the American people want such an amendment. They want the Federal Government to have what 44 State governments already have—discipline. To get things moving, I am proposing tonight: If Congress agrees to schedule an up-or-down vote this year on our balanced budget amendment, then I will agree to negotiate on every spending item in the budget. If the Congress continues to oppose the wishes of the people by avoiding a vote on our balanced budget amendment, the call for a constitutional convention will grow louder. The prospect for a constitutional convention is only two States away from approval, and one way or another, the will of the people always prevails.

And there's another area that will occupy my time and my heart: the cause of democracy. There are Americans still burning for freedom: Central Americans, the people of Nicaragua. Over the last 10 years, democrats have been emerging all over the world. In Central and South America alone, 10 countries have been added to the ranks. The question is: Will Nicaragua ever be added to this honor roll? As you know, I am totally committed to the democratic resistance—the freedom fighters—and their pursuit of democracy in Nicaragua. Recently there's been important progress on the diplomatic front, both here in Washington and in the region itself.

My administration and the leadership of Congress have put forth a bipartisan initiative proposing concrete steps that can bring an end to the conflict there. Our key point was that the Communist regime in Nicaragua should do what it formally pledged to do in 1979—respect the Nicaraguan people's basic rights of free speech, free press, free elections, and religious liberty. Instead,

those who govern in Nicaragua chose to turn their country over to the Soviet Union to be a base for Communist expansion on the American mainland.

The need for democracy in Nicaragua was also emphasized in the agreement signed by the five Central American presidents in Guatemala last Friday. We welcome this development and pledge our support to democracy and those fighting for freedom. We have always been willing to talk; we have never been willing to abandon those who are fighting for democracy and freedom. I'm especially pleased that in the United States diplomatic initiative, we once again have the beginnings, however uncertain, of a bipartisan foreign policy. The recent hearings emphasized the need for such bipartisanship, and I hope this cautious start will grow and blossom.

These are among the goals for the remainder of my term as President. I believe they're the kinds of goals that will advance the security and prosperity and future of our people. I urge the Congress to be as thorough and energetic in pursuing these ends as it was in pursuing the recent investigation.

My fellow Americans, I have a year and a half before I have to clean out this desk. I'm not about to let the dust and cobwebs settle on the furniture in this office or on me. I have things I intend to do, and with your help, we can do them.

Good night, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 8 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Remarks to Civic and Community Leaders in North Platte, Nebraska

August 13, 1987

The President. Well, thank you, Virginia, and thank you all very much. Governor Orr, Senator Karnes, Representatives Smith and Daub, and Ambassador Yeutter and the Long family—our host here—and ladies and gentlemen, it's great to be in North Platte. And it's great for this old horse cavalryman to be in a place with the smell of hay and horses. [Laughter]

Speaking of horses reminds me of a story. When you're my age, everything reminds you of a story. [Laughter] Seems that this fellow was a great racing fan and was planning to go to the races on the weekend. And then for 3 nights straight, he dreamed of the number five. So, when he got to the track, he took that program, and he went right to the fifth race and looked down to the fifth horse, and there it was, and the horse was named "5 by 5." So, he saved his bundle till that race, and he bet it all on that race. And sure enough, the horse came in fifth. [Laughter] But that story has a moral: It's that those people who think that the race is over and are counting out this

administration better hold onto their bets, because we're going into the home stretch, and they better believe we'll make a fast finish.

There are many items on our agenda, but there are a few that are especially important ones that I'd like to talk to you about today. First, I want to talk to you about how we lock in the gains that we've made these last 6½ years and how we make sure we never return to the days of high taxes and stagflation.

The good news about our economy today is impressive. What the Europeans have called the American miracle—it keeps on keeping on. Well, nearly 13,500,000 jobs have been created since the expansion began, and that averages out to 240,000 new jobs in this country a month. Unemployment is down to 5.9 percent, the lowest since 1979. And I understand Nebraska's doing even better than that. Employment—the percentage of all Americans over the age of 16—is the highest in U.S. history. Perhaps you didn't know—I didn't for a

long time—that the employment pool on which they base the statistics is considered to be everyone in the United States, male and female, from the age 16 up. And that's the potential employment pool. Well, today 62 percent of all the Americans in that pool are employed, the highest, as I say, in U.S. history. Poverty's falling, median family income is up, and almost 11 percent that—it's up between 1982 and 1986.

The gross national product numbers for the last 3 years have just been revised upward, showing that our economic expansion has been even stronger than we previously thought. But what about the future? The stock market just this week broke another record, and the leading economic indicators are rising, forecasting growth and good times ahead.

Well, that's good news, certainly. And now for the bad. Unfortunately, there's one economic indicator that couldn't be worse. It's so bad, in fact, it threatens to undo all our economic progress and plunge America back into the malaise days of the 1970's. I'm talking about those in Washington who don't want to discipline themselves. And with present company excepted, Congress wants to spend first and pay later by increasing everyone's taxes.

Now, I have this hunch that most Americans don't agree with all those people who think your taxes are too low; in fact, maybe they think just the opposite. I don't know about you, but I thought all this tax hike business was settled in the election of 1984. The American people sent a message loud and clear, but I guess Washington just doesn't hear. And that's why we have to send another message—one that can't be ignored. And that's why I've promised to spend not just the remainder of my Presidency but the rest of my public life campaigning for an Economic Bill of Rights that will once and for all secure our economic freedoms.

Once and for all, we want a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. And once and for all, we want a line-item veto, just like your Governor, Kay Orr, and most Governors have, so that we can cut the fat off budget appropriations. And once and for all, we want a truth-in-spending provision, so that anyone who proposes a

new program or new spending bills tells the American people exactly how it's going to be paid for. If it's coming out of your pockets, you have a right to know. Once and for all, we're going to require more than a mere majority to pass a tax hike. I don't see anything wrong with having to take either a 60 percent or a two-thirds vote in order to raise your taxes. And we're going to make it darn near impossible, if we can, to raise your taxes.

When I signed our tax reform into law, I said that the past two decades have witnessed an expansion of many of our civil rights but that our economic liberties have been too often neglected, even abused. Well, it's time that abuse stopped. And that's what this Economic Bill of Rights is designed to do—to give our economic rights the same guarantees, the same constitutional protections as our other civil rights. This country was built free and strong not only because individuals were free to speak their minds but also because they were free to prosper. For too long, we forgot that. Let's never let government again take away our freedom to prosper.

Now, I know I read in the paper that there are some advertisements that have started appearing and are going to appear after I leave here and that are going to tell you that who am I to talk about things like this, because I'm responsible for the deficit. Well, could I give you just a little lesson in civics and politics? The President can't spend a nickel; only Congress can appropriate money to be spent. And there are some things I think you should know. The President is required to submit a budget every year. I have never had one of my budgets approved by Congress since I've been there. And if they had passed the budget I first proposed for 1982, the cumulative deficits from there through 1986 would have been \$207 billion less than they were.

As a matter of fact, the Congress has been very good about cutting some spending. In our efforts to try and refurbish the military, which was so bad that when I became President, on any given day, 50 percent of our military aircraft could not take off for lack of spare parts or fuel; 50 percent of our Navy couldn't leave port for

lack of crew or spare parts—so, we set out to refurbish the military and give ourselves some strength. Well, more about that maybe later. But this is the one place that in the years that I have submitted the military budgets, through 1986 the Congress has cut the budgets that I presented for the military by \$125 billion. Now, you'd think that that shows that they really are trying to save some money. They added \$250 billion to the cost of the domestic programs that I had asked for. So, it didn't exactly come out as a savings. It's just where they were going to spend the money.

There's another cloud on the economic horizon. It's the protectionists who tell us that the way to bring down the trade deficit is to raise barriers of our own. Well, they now have their hands on versions of the trade bill which so distort the procompetitive legislation which I asked for in the State of the Union Message as to be virtually unrecognizable and dangerous—dangerous because it threatens to tear down all the good work we've done to open foreign markets to U.S. goods and farm produce and will seriously set back progress in the new GATT round of trade negotiations. Believe me, I would like to sign sound trade legislation, but I will not sign bills that close down markets and shut off expanded job opportunities here in our own country.

On the subject of economic good news, let me just say, too, that it's the best news possible, that the picture's beginning to brighten for agriculture here in America's heartland. Land values have stabilized, crop prices are firming, and export markets are expanding. Now, that doesn't mean the road ahead will be easy, but it does mean that we're on the right road, traveling in the right direction.

And while I'm here in Nebraska, I want to thank one person especially. As a member of the National Advisory Council on Rural Development, her advice to both me and Secretary [of Agriculture] Lyng has been absolutely essential. And I'm talking about your great Governor, Kay Orr.

It's clear now that it was right to reject the false solutions offered by some in Congress that would have gotten government even more involved in farm policies, priced our farm commodities out of world markets,

and driven thousands of small agriculture suppliers out of business. But we're not stopping here; we're pushing more aggressively than ever to open foreign markets to American farmers. And recently we set forth a bold new initiative that could revolutionize American agriculture and that of the entire free world, the most ambitious proposal for world agricultural reform ever offered. We're calling for a total phaseout of all policies that distort trade in agriculture by the end of the century. Over a 10-year period, we want to see all of our major trading partners opening the borders, tearing down barriers, and ending the export subsidies for agricultural goods. If we're successful, agriculture throughout the Western World will be set free from political controls and interference. I happen to believe that when it comes to farming the decision-making shouldn't be in the hands of the politicians, academics, and bureaucrats; it should be in the hands of the farmers.

Now, in the month ahead, I also hope—or in the months ahead—an agreement can be reached with the Soviet Union on reducing nuclear arms. We're making real progress on the global elimination of an entire class of nuclear weapons—the land-based intermediate-range, or INF, missiles of both longer and shorter range. We've come this far because you gave me a mandate, as I said earlier, to rebuild our military strength. And today we're seeing the results of that resolve. I'm optimistic that soon we'll witness a first in world history—a U.S.-Soviet agreement bringing about the actual destruction of nuclear weapons. And just think where that could lead.

Now, before I go, there's one more issue I'd like to talk to you about today. No other issue could be more pressing. I'm talking about the nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. [*Applause*] Bless you, and thank you. He's a jurist of outstanding intellect and unrivaled qualifications, a brilliant legal scholar, and a premier constitutional authority. For 15 years, he served as a distinguished professor of law at Yale Law School. When I appointed Judge Bork to the second highest court of the land, the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, the Ameri-

can Bar Association gave him its highest rating: "exceptionally well-qualified." Not a single Senator voted against his nomination; he was unanimously confirmed by the U.S. Senate.

Judge Bork's record as an appellate judge could hardly be more impressive. Not a single one of his more than 100 majority opinions has ever been reversed by the Supreme Court. In 94 percent of the cases he's heard, he has been in the majority with his fellow judges of the District of Columbia Circuit. The New York Times has called him "a legal scholar of distinction and principle." I don't think any unbiased observer could disagree with that. Fortunately, most Americans, and virtually all of the Senators who will vote on Judge Bork's confirmation, have made it clear they recognize the need to focus on qualifications and to act quickly to give us once again a nine-member Supreme Court.

You know, when he retired, Justice Powell said that it wasn't fair to the Supreme Court, or to the parties with cases before it, for the Court to operate at less than full strength. Well, since last June, that's just what's happened. The approval process for Judge Bork's nomination is already the longest in 25 years. During this hot Washington summer, law clerks for the remaining eight justices are poring over hundreds of petitions for Supreme Court review. Although their work has increased to near breakpoint, the Court is now operating shorthanded. Of course, the delays and the added burdens that have already occurred can't be undone, but what can be done is completing the confirmation process well before the Supreme Court begins its October term. The American people want to see a full complement of nine judges on the bench when the Supreme Court reconvenes.

Now, let me say just one final word on this subject. Judge Bork is a fine man, a very fair man, and a model of judicial temperament. He's a credit to the bench and to the bar—and I mean the legal bar. [Laughter] And I know that he will be a credit to his nation in his service on the Supreme Court.

Well, I'll be going soon to the rodeo grounds for the rally, and you can bet I'll

have more to say there, and on the same subjects. But in the meantime, I want to thank all of you very much.

And I just can't resist without just passing on a little story again to you. I have a new hobby. I have been accumulating stories that are told by the citizens of the Soviet Union among themselves, which reveal, number one, that they have a great sense of humor, but number two, that they've got a pretty cynical viewpoint of their system. Now, I don't know whether you know this, but in the Soviet Union, a citizen wants to buy an automobile, the waiting time is 10 years. But he has to go and go through all the process and the departments and sign the papers and everything and then put down the money for a car that he's not going to get for 10 years. And the story that they're telling about this is the fellow that went through all of this and finally made the final signature, put down the money, and then the man behind the counter said, "Now, come back in 10 years and get your car." And he said, "Morning or afternoon?" [Laughter] And the man behind the counter said, "Well, what difference does it make 10 years from now?" "Well," he said, "the plumber's coming in the morning." [Laughter]

Well, thank you all very much. God bless you all.

Mr. Long. From myself and the Long family and the State of Nebraska.

The President. Thank you very much.

Mr. Long. This kind of represents our part of the country.

The President. It sure does. And that's the man who performed where I'm going. Oh, thank you. Oh, I had the pleasure of seeing some of Mr. Long's artistic work in the log cabin here just before we came out to lunch, and I can't tell you how honored I am and how very grateful I am to have this magnificent bronze. And I'm on my way to the ranch in California, and there it will be. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 12:55 p.m. following a luncheon at the Ted Long ranch. In his opening remarks, he referred to Gov. Kay Orr, Senator David K. Karnes, Representatives Virginia Smith and Hal Daub,

and United States Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter. Ted Long gave the President a bronze sculpture of Buffalo Bill Cody.

Remarks to Citizens in North Platte, Nebraska August 13, 1987

The President. Thank you, Governor Orr. Thank you all very much. Senator Karnes, Representatives Smith and Daub, Ambassador Yeutter, Mr. Mayor, reverend clergy, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen: It is great to be here in North Platte. I was here some years ago—I was looking for a job. [Laughter] I can't tell you how good it feels to be out of Washington and back in the heartland of America. Just a while back, we flew in on Air Force One. When the pilot told me we were flying over Lincoln County and then pointed out the Republican River, I knew I'd feel right at home here. [Laughter]

I feel even more at home here in Buffalo Bill Cody's rodeo grounds. Like Cody, I was born in a small town, moved out West, served in the Army horse cavalry reserve, and then went into showbiz. [Laughter] Now, there are a lot of people—kind of thinking they're disparaging in doing it—call me, today, a cowboy. You know, I've never understood what's so bad about being a cowboy. I'm proud of my spurs. I've often said there's nothing better for the inside of a man than the outside of a horse. [Laughter]

And while we're here, I want to say just a few words about another man who would have felt right at home in this ring—the Secretary of Commerce, and my friend, Mac Baldrige. As you may know, he was from Omaha, and the lessons he learned as a young boy in Nebraska stayed with him. He spent his life working for his country and being a cowboy. And who could ask for a better life than that? When I called him—I'd never met him—but when I called him to ask him to be Secretary of Commerce, I got his wife, and she said he couldn't come to the phone—he was busy in a calf roping contest. [Laughter] And I knew right then I'd picked the right guy.

I've come to North Platte today because I've got a very important message, a message that I know the people of this State carry in their hearts. It's about America's future, and I've come to say that it can be as big and wide open as the horizon over the Nebraska farmland, as independent as the Nebraska rancher, as resilient as the Nebraska farmer. And nothing gives me greater confidence in America's future than the young people of today. [Applause] God bless them, they're the best darn bunch of kids this country's ever had. I figured there must be a few of them here today. [Laughter] Are there any Bulldogs in the audience? [Applause] And how about Cornhuskers? [Applause] Well, before I left the White House this morning, Nancy asked me to pass along a special message to all you young people: If someone offers you drugs, just say no.

Getting on with the business of America's future—that's what we're here for today—some of you may have seen me on television last night in an address to the Nation. My first priority was always to get the facts before the American people. And that's why I requested three of the investigations and endorsed and fully cooperated with the fourth, the congressional hearings. When the Tower commission completed its review last February, I made a report to the American people, but waited until Congress finished its work before speaking out once again, and that was last night. But now it's time to get down to the real business at hand—to move forward with America.

Now, I think a first order of business is peace and democracy in Central America. And last week I joined with bipartisan leaders in Congress in calling for an end to the fighting, and a commitment to democratic reforms by the Sandinista Communist government in Nicaragua. Peace and democra-

cy—the two are inseparable. And if any one of you think maybe I'm going too far in referring to the Sandinista government as Communist, well, I've got some Nicaraguan stamps in my desk drawer in Washington—they carry the picture of Nikolai Lenin.

The aspirations for democracy, promised by the Sandinistas in 1979—the commitment to free speech, free press, freedom of religion, free elections, all civil rights—must be fulfilled. What this all means is that the leaders of the Central American democracies, the Republicans and Democrats in Congress, and my administration all agree—the key to peace in that region is genuine democracy in Nicaragua. Now, this country stands ready to work with those in Central America who seek peace, but it must be consistent with the interests of the United States and it must be consistent with the interests of those who are fighting for freedom in Nicaragua. Peace negotiations with Nicaragua's democratic neighbors will begin to reduce and balance the standing armies in the region. In this context of freedom, demilitarization, and civil rights—and only in this context—a real election campaign, with real, meaningful elections, can take place. We're going the extra mile with this plan, real negotiations with a firm timetable. And all we're saying is give democracy a chance in Central America.

But now, looking to the homefront, we've got a lot of business to take care of. There are only 17 months left in this administration. Some people say that makes me a lameduck and I should sit back and enjoy myself. Well, I've never seen a happy lameduck. [Laughter] The way I see it, back in 1984, you hired me for 4 more years with no time off for good behavior.

Audience. Four more years!

The President. Besides, we've accomplished a number of things in the past 6 years, and I'd like to see them pinned down and made permanent. That's at the top of our agenda, to lock in and cement the economic progress we've made in the last 6 years.

I pledge to you: I'm not leaving office until your paycheck is, once and for all, safe from those who want to tax it and spend it into oblivion. For too long, the advocates of big government have been treating your

paycheck, your savings, even your pensions, like they're government property. And they act as if they're being generous when they let you keep a little of it. Well, those days are over. In America, government is the servant, not the master, and we intend to keep it that way.

One of my favorite songs, a few years back, went, "Sure could use a little good news today." Well, today, I think we have some economic good news in America. I'm not surprised if you haven't heard much about it. I figure our economic program was working when they stopped calling it Reaganomics. [Laughter] But now the news is so good and has gone on so long, they don't report it at all anymore.

For example, the percentage of Americans employed is the highest in history. Sixty-two percent of everyone 16 years of age or older, all the way up, are employed. Just last week, unemployment dropped to 5.9 percent, the lowest level since 1979. And I don't know what it would be if the statisticians counted the near half a million military based outside the U.S., and counted them as employed—which they are. They've got jobs, but they aren't counted when we start figuring out these statistics.

And these aren't the inflationary jobs of 1979 destined to burst with the inflationary bubble. These are jobs in a strong, growing, low-inflation economy. In fact, recent revisions of the gross national product figures show that our economic expansion is stronger than anybody thought. Come October, this expansion, if it is continued till then, will be the longest in America's peacetime history. That gives us only 3 more months to go till we break the record. So, what do you say? Let's go for the gold!

Now, something else is also setting records. Strong, continuous, low-inflationary growth has meant that not only are more Americans working than ever before but their paychecks are growing, too. American family incomes increased for the fourth year in a row, while the poverty rate continues its decline below its level in 1981. Meanwhile, the stock market reached another record high last week and the leading economic indicators are rising, pointing to good times ahead.

Now, that's the good news. The bad news is that there are still those who say that the way to bring down deficit spending is by raising your taxes.

Audience. Boo-o-o!

The President. Now, I must have promised a hundred times to veto any tax hike that comes across my desk, and that promise still stands. But, you know, there are some of those people in Congress, present company excepted, but some of those others that are back there that keep calling for more taxes. And I thought I was the one that needed a hearing aid. *[Laughter]*

Let me tell you a little more good news. You know, when we first started our economic program, we said that tax cuts would be so good for the economy. They'd produce so much growth that revenues would actually increase, even at the lower tax rates. Well, our critics thought that was crazy. But lo and behold, in 1984, the first complete year that our tax cut program was in place, revenues increased about 11 percent. And they've kept right on increasing. Counting estimated revenues for this year, that adds up to an increase of revenue at the lower tax rates of over 40 percent. But still, some aren't satisfied. So, they want to raise your taxes again and throw America back into the days of stagnation—or stagflation, I should say—and decline.

Well, the American people made their views on taxes well known in 1984. But since some in Washington still haven't gotten the message, let's let them hear it again loud and clear. Do we want to go back to the days of high taxes and big spending?

Audience. No!

The President. Do you want to go back to the bad old days of high inflation and low growth?

Audience. No!

The President. Or do you want to lower taxes, eliminate the deficit, and balance the budget once and for all? *[Applause]* After hearing you, I'm ashamed to ask this next one. Do you want to keep America number one into the 21st century? *[Applause]* I thought you might say that. I'm just going to say something here because I have read since I got here this morning that there are some advertisements being taken out in

papers, on radio, and on television that tell you that I am responsible for the deficit.

Audience. No!

The President. Well, I just finished talking about why they're basing that. They think the only way to balance the budget and end the deficit is to raise your taxes. I say the way to end the deficit is to lower their spending. When you see those commercials, or hear them, about me and the deficit, may I just tell you that every year the law requires I send a budget to the Congress. And not one year since I've been there has Congress adopted my budget. They have cut, yes. They've cut defense every year. They've cut it a total of \$125 billion over what I asked for. But they added \$250 billion to the domestic programs over what I asked for. So, somebody's off base with their commercials.

But you know, we've still got a lot of work to do. We have to institutionalize the gains that we've made, so no one can take them away again. And that's why I stood on the steps of the Jefferson Memorial and announced our call last month for an Economic Bill of Rights to be added to the Constitution, so that the American people will finally have permanent protection from the always growing and always greedy demands of big government.

And the first thing it would require is that the Federal Government do what every American family has to do—balance its budget. And let me repeat what I said last night: If the Congress continues to refuse to vote on our balanced budget amendment, the call for a constitutional convention will grow louder and louder. And, one way or the other, the will of the people always prevails. Now, the Congress could eliminate that long, lengthy, and time-consuming operation of a constitutional convention by simply passing an amendment that says the Government, from here on—well, we're going to take a few years to have to get down there—but then keep balancing the budget.

And second, to make sure that the balanced budget amendment isn't simply used as a lever to raise your taxes, we would require that more than a majority must vote to pass a tax hike. On the theory that

it should be as difficult for Congress to raise taxes as it is painful for you to pay them. So, let's look at instead of 50 percent plus one being able to raise the taxes, maybe 60 percent or even two-thirds should have to vote in order to take such a drastic action.

And then, third—it would give the President the same tool your great Governor, Kay Orr, and 42 other Governors use to keep spending under control—a line-item veto. I had it as Governor of California and, believe me, I miss it. That way we can cut away the fat and leave the meat intact.

Now, some provisions would strengthen something our forefathers took for granted—property rights. Others would require truth-in-spending, every piece of legislation would come with a pricetag and an explanation of how it's going to be paid for. This just isn't some economic package we're talking about. It's an insurance policy for America's future that can open the door wide to a generation of prosperity, hope, and opportunity. It's also about our basic principles: individual rights and limited government—in a word, freedom. And that's why I promise you that I'm going to continue fighting for this. Not just for the remainder of my Presidency but for the rest of my public life, I'm going to be campaigning for these things.

You know, I'm going to stick something in here that wasn't in my prepared remarks. There were some of you down here in front—and it was very flattering, indeed—who were chanting: Four more years! Well, that can't happen with the amendment to the Constitution, and no President in office can ask to change it. But a President out of office can. And you know something? I think we all ought to give some thought—by what right did we tell the people of this democracy—place a limit on how many times they could vote for someone if they wanted to vote for them? [Applause]

I'm told that during World War II the people of North Platte set up a canteen for the soldiers riding past on the railroad cars on their way to the war. And the Government didn't ask them to do it; they just took it on themselves. And in those years—1941 to 1946—they took in 8 million soldiers, gave them food and shelter and a warm

welcome. That's the spirit of this great country of ours, independent and full of heart. And that's a spirit that we've got to keep burning ever brightly, shining from these prairies, from the mountain majesties, from our cities and towns. Shining for all the world to see: a people as good and generous as they are free.

And you young people who are here, let me tell you a little true incident. A scholar from our country recently took a trip to the Soviet Union. He happens to be able to speak Russian fluently. In the taxi that was taking him to the airport in this country—a young fellow—and in conversation with him discovered that the taxi driver was a student, working his way through school. And he asked him what did he want to be? And the young fellow said, "I haven't decided yet." Well, by coincidence, he got another young fellow driving the cab in Moscow. And he got in conversation with him, in Russian, and found out that he was a student and working at the same time. And he said, "What do you want to be?" Just remember this difference between two countries. This young man said, "They haven't told me yet." That's the difference.

I told a little while ago some of your fellow Nebraskans a little story. I collect stories now that I can find out and actually prove are told in the Soviet Union by Soviet citizens about their system. And it reveals they've got a great sense of humor, and also they're a little bit cynical about the way things are over there. And I'm going to tell you just one little one. This is told by the Russians: They say, "How do you tell a Communist?" And they say, "Well, someone that reads Marx and Lenin." And the second question is: "Well, how do you tell a non-Communist? Someone who understands Marx and Lenin."

Well, I just hate to do this, but I've got a long way yet to go, all the way to the coast. So, thank you all, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:50 p.m. at the Buffalo Bill Wild West Arena. In his opening remarks, he referred to Gov. Kay Orr, Senator David K. Karnes, Representatives Virginia Smith and Hal Daub, United States Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter,

Mayor James Kirkman, and the late Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige. Fol-

lowing his remarks, the President traveled to Point Mugu Naval Air Station, CA.

Proclamation 5693—National Child Support Enforcement Month, 1987

August 13, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Over 15 million children in the United States live in households with only one parent present. Only about one-third receive child support payments, and many do not receive the full amount that is owed them. American children are being deprived of billions of dollars in support each year, leading to a reduced standard of living and, with tragic frequency, debilitating poverty.

Although the Congress and the Executive branch have designed programs to help nurture children and protect them from poverty, the ultimate responsibility for the care of children belongs with their parents. Ensuring that parents provide for their children is an important goal for our Nation. As I have said, the family is the most basic support system there is, and the most fundamental duty of a parent is to provide financial support to his or her children.

In 1984, the Congress strengthened the Federal-State child support system and improved incentives for State governments to implement effective practices to alleviate the financial distress of children. Dedicated cooperation among family support enforcement personnel, the judiciary, and the legal community has led to greater success in lo-

cating absent parents, establishing paternity, and, ultimately, collecting child support. Nonetheless, much remains to be done to foster a nationwide conviction that child support represents not only a legal responsibility but a profound ethical obligation of parents and an urgent moral right of children.

The Congress, by House Joint Resolution 313, has designated the month of August 1987 as "National Child Support Enforcement Month" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in its observance.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the month of August 1987 as National Child Support Enforcement Month, and I call upon all government agencies and the people of the United States to observe this month with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:05 a.m., August 14, 1987]

Proclamation 5694—Citizenship Day and Constitution Week, 1987 August 13, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Every year for more than three decades, we Americans have celebrated our constitutional rights and responsibilities as citizens of the United States through the observance of Citizenship Day and Constitution Week. In 1987 this traditional celebration takes on special significance, as September 17 marks the 200th anniversary of the signing of our Constitution.

In anticipation of this occasion, the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution will conduct a special observance on September 16, 1987, entitled "A Celebration of Citizenship." On this date, millions of students will reflect upon the blessings of liberty bestowed by our Constitution. Parents and adults can join them in paying tribute to the Framers of the Constitution and in gratefully recalling the privileges and duties secured by our Constitution. At 1:00 p.m., E.D.T., a national and international radio and television broadcast will unite all Americans in a recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance. The broadcast will include a reading of the Preamble to our Constitution. It is my hope that all Americans will take advantage of this opportunity to gain new insight into the precious principles of our governing document.

Those principles have stood the tests of time and turmoil. In 1787, we were a Nation of some four million people, living in 13 sovereign States, aligned along the eastern seaboard. The States were "united" in name only, barely held together by the Articles of Confederation, an agreement of mutual interest among the 13 original colonies drafted during the Revolutionary War. Once the common enemy was defeated, the general confederation began to unravel. Many of the States had their own army, printed their own currency, and charged tariffs to other States for using their ports and roads.

A convention was called in Philadelphia

in May 1787 for the sole purpose of making the Articles of Confederation "adequate to the exigencies of Government and preservation of the Union." Many of the Nation's leaders feared that unless a stronger national government was created, the country would founder, leading to the formation of independent republics or the reaccession of foreign powers. Despite the long odds against success, the Framers were able, through numerous compromises, to fashion a blueprint for a new Nation. In this peaceful revolution, the States transformed their loose political alliance into a Federal union under the first written national Constitution in history. Today, 200 years later, that Constitution is the oldest written instrument of democratic rule in the world still in use, and it continues to proclaim and to shape a peaceful revolution toward freedom and prosperity for all mankind.

The Congress, by joint resolution of February 29, 1952 (36 U.S.C. 153), designated September 17 as "Citizenship Day" in commemoration of the signing of the Constitution and in recognition of all who, by coming of age or by naturalization, have attained the status of citizenship, and authorized the President to issue annually a proclamation calling upon officials of the government to display the flag on all government buildings on that day. Also, by joint resolution of August 2, 1956 (36 U.S.C. 159), the Congress designated the week beginning September 17 and ending September 23 of each year as "Constitution Week" in recognition of the historic importance of the Constitution and the significant role it plays in our lives today.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim September 17, 1987, as Citizenship Day and call upon appropriate government officials to display the flag of the United States on all government buildings. I urge Federal, State, and local officials, as well as leaders of civic, educational, and religious organizations, to conduct ceremonies and programs that day to com-

memorate the occasion.

Furthermore, I proclaim the week beginning September 17 and ending September 23, 1987, as Constitution Week, and I urge all Americans to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities in their schools, churches, and other suitable places.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirteenth day of August, in

the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:06 a.m., August 14, 1987*]

Appointment of Mark D. Weinberg as Special Assistant to the President and Assistant Press Secretary

August 13, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Mark D. Weinberg to be Special Assistant to the President and Assistant Press Secretary.

Mr. Weinberg has served as Assistant Press Secretary since the beginning of the administration. Prior to this he served in

the office of the President-elect from November 1980 to January 1981.

Mr. Weinberg attended George Washington University, 1975–1980. He was born April 26, 1957, and is a native of Cleveland, OH. Mr. Weinberg currently resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Don W. Wilson To Be Archivist of the United States

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Don W. Wilson to be Archivist of the United States, National Archives and Records Administration. This is a new position.

Since 1981 Mr. Wilson has been director of the Gerald R. Ford Library and Museum in Grand Rapids, MI. He has also been an adjunct professor in the department of history at the University of Michigan since 1982. Prior to this, he was associate director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin,

1978–1981; and deputy director of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library in Abilene, KS, 1974–1978. Prior to this, he was a historian at the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, 1969–1974.

Mr. Wilson graduated from Washburn University (B.A., 1964) and the University of Cincinnati (M.A., 1965; Ph.D., 1972). He was born December 17, 1942, in Clay Center, KS. Mr. Wilson is married, has four children, and resides in East Grand Rapids, MI.

Nomination of Bill K. Perrin To Be United States Ambassador to Cyprus

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Bill K. Perrin, of Texas, as Ambassador to the Republic of Cyprus. He succeeds Richard Wood Boehm.

After attending Oklahoma State University, Mr. Perrin was a produce clerk with Safeway Foods in Oklahoma City, OK, 1958–1959. He became co-owner of Perrin Real Estate in Covington, Oklahoma City, 1959–1960. This was followed by co-manager of Humpty-Dumpty Supermarket in Oklahoma City, 1960–1963. Mr. Perrin was a sales representative for Kraft Foods in Oklahoma City, 1963–1966, and then co-owner of Perrin International Corp. in Brownsville, TX, 1966–1969. He was in

sales with Lever Brothers in Houston for a year before becoming co-owner of the FGC Corp. (boat manufacturing) in Brownsville, 1972–1974. From 1977 to 1981, he was co-owner of Dollar Rent-a-Car RGV in Brownsville. Mr. Perrin joined the United States Peace Corps in 1983 and first served as a Director in Belize. From 1984 to 1985, he served as a Director for the Eastern Caribbean and since 1985 has been Regional Director for Africa in Washington, DC.

Mr. Perrin attended Oklahoma State University. He was born February 18, 1938. Mr. Perrin is married, has one child, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of James H. Burnley IV as a Member of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint James H. Burnley IV to be a member of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States for a term of 3 years. He would succeed Mark S. Fowler.

Since 1983 Mr. Burnley has served as Deputy Secretary at the United States De-

partment of Transportation. Prior to this he served as General Counsel at the Department of Transportation.

He graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1970) and Harvard University (J.D., 1973). Mr. Burnley was born July 30, 1948, in High Point, NC. He is married, has two children, and resides in Falls Church, VA.

Nomination of Marjorie B. Kampelman To Be a Member of the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Marjorie B. Kampelman to be a member of the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba for a term of 1 year. This is a new position.

Mrs. Kampelman is actively involved in

the arts and community and civic efforts. She graduated from Roosevelt University (B.A., 1945). Mrs. Kampelman was born November 3, 1922, in Chicago, IL. She is married to Max Kampelman, has five children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of James S. Dwight, Jr., as a Member of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint James S. Dwight, Jr., to be a member of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations for a term of 2 years. This is a reappointment.

Since 1975 Mr. Dwight has been a partner with Deloitte, Haskins & Sells in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as Ad-

ministrator of the Social Rehabilitation Service at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1973-1975.

Mr. Dwight graduated from the University of South Carolina (B.S., 1956). He was born March 9, 1934, in Pasadena, CA. Mr. Dwight is married, has four children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Appointment of Linda Wachner as a Member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Linda Wachner to be a member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations for a term of 2 years. This is a reappointment.

Mrs. Wachner is currently president of

Warnaco, Inc., in New York, NY. She graduated from the University of Buffalo (B.S., 1966). Mrs. Wachner was born February 3, 1946, in New York, NY, and currently resides in New York City.

Appointment of Two Members of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education for terms expiring July 10, 1990:

Carol Bendrick Alessio, of California. She would succeed Joseph Ben Trujillo. Mrs. Alessio is active in both civics and community affairs and was Bahia Hotel convention coordinator in San Diego, CA, 1969-1977. She graduated from Santa Barbara City College (A.A., 1965) and

attended the University of California at Santa Barbara. Mrs. Alessio was born May 28, 1944, in Canton, IL. She is married, has two children, and resides in San Diego, CA.

Mae M. Duggan, of Missouri. This is a reappointment. Since 1980 Mrs. Duggan has been executive director of the Thomas J. White Foundation in St. Louis, MO. She graduated from Harris Teachers College (B.S., 1941). Mrs. Duggan was born May 20, 1919, in St. Louis, MO. She is married, has five children, and resides in St. Louis, MO.

Nomination of Donna Hill Oliver To Be a Member of the Commission on Presidential Scholars

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Donna Hill Oliver to be a member of the Commission on Presidential Scholars during her tenure as National Teacher of the Year. She would succeed Guy Rice Doud.

Mrs. Oliver is currently National Teacher of the Year and is with the Burlington city school district in Burlington, NC. She

served as the North Carolina Teacher of the Year from 1986 to 1987.

Mrs. Oliver graduated from Elon College (A.B., 1972) and the University of North Carolina, Greensboro (M.Ed., 1978). She was born January 15, 1950, in Durham, NC. She is married, has one child, and resides in Graham, NC.

Appointment of William R. Hoover as a Member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint William R. Hoover to be a member of the President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee. He would succeed Dale F. Pilz.

Mr. Hoover is currently the president and chairman of the board of Computer Sci-

ences Corp. in El Segundo, CA. He graduated from the University of Utah (B.S., 1952; M.S., 1954). Mr. Hoover was born January 2, 1930, in Bingham, UT. He is married, has five children, and resides in Rancho Palos Verdes, CA.

Appointment of Julius Berman as a Member of the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Julius Berman to be a member of the Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad for a term of 2 years. This is a new position.

Since 1960 Mr. Berman has been a partner with Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays &

Handler, a law firm in New York, NY. He graduated from Yeshiva University (B.A., 1956) and New York University (LL.B., 1960). He was born on August 2, 1935, in Dukst, Poland. He is married, has three children, and currently resides in Forest Hills, NY.

Nomination of Tom C. Korologos To Be a Member of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Tom C. Korologos to be a member of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy for a term expiring July 1, 1990. This is a reappointment.

Since 1985 Mr. Korologos has been president of Timmons and Co., Inc. Prior to this he was vice president and director of legislative affairs of Timmons and Co., Inc.,

1975–1985. Prior to this he served 4 years in the White House as Deputy Assistant to the President for Senate Relations.

Mr. Korologos graduated from the University of Utah (B.A., 1956) and Columbia University School of Journalism (M.A., 1958). He was born April 6, 1933, in Salt Lake City, UT. Mr. Korologos is married, has three children, and resides in Great Falls, VA.

Nomination of Two Members of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences, and Designation of the Chairman

August 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences, Department of Defense, for terms expiring May 1, 1993:

David I. Olch, of California. This is a reappointment. Upon confirmation, he will be designated Chairman. Dr. Olch attended Williams College, Ohio State University, and the University of Ohio (M.D., 1950). He was born November

12, 1925, in Dayton, OH. Dr. Olch has five children and resides in Los Angeles, CA.

T. Burton Smith, Jr., of California. Dr. Smith would succeed James F.X. O'Rourke. Dr. Smith served as Physician to the President from January 1985 to January 1987. He graduated from the University of California (B.S., 1937) and the University of Southern California (M.D., 1942). He was born August 26, 1915, in Hermosa Beach, CA. Dr. Smith is married, has four children, and resides in Los Angeles, CA.

Radio Address to the Nation on Administration Goals

August 15, 1987

My fellow Americans:

Wednesday evening I spoke to you from the Oval Office, and I'd like to take a moment today to discuss with you the importance of the message I delivered. After many weeks, the Iran-*contra* hearings are over. The issues involved have been examined from every angle and in every light. The mistakes that were made have been dealt with. Now it's time for Americans to

come together and move our nation forward.

Here at home, there's the urgent need to put the Federal budget process in order, bringing runaway Federal spending under control and achieving further reductions in the Federal deficit. Delay after delay, missed deadline after missed deadline—the entire budget process is so chaotic it is providing a cover for those in Congress whose

aim is to shift resources from the people's interest to the special interests. Not one appropriations bill has been passed by the Congress for the fiscal year which begins in less than 60 days. And just consider what this budget process produces. There's the Federal program that will spend millions to help build luxury hotels, restaurants, and condominiums. That's right—fancy condominiums. If Congress is serious about getting back down to work, serious about promoting our nation's economic growth, then Congress should pass a responsible budget that is credible and enforceable. The time has come to enact a line-item veto and a balanced budget amendment.

My nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court comes at the top of our nation's domestic agenda. Judge Bork is a distinguished judge and a man of great intellect and broad experience. Like me, Judge Bork believes in judicial restraint: that courts should interpret the law and that judges should not substitute their own personal views for those of legislators whose responsibility it is to make the laws. The former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Warren Burger, has said that he could not recall a nominee better qualified than Judge Bork. Just 5 years ago, the Senate voted unanimously to confirm him as a judge on our nation's second highest court. I believe the Senate should now move expeditiously to confirm him as a Justice on the Supreme Court.

Abroad, our nation's business is no less pressing. We're pursuing intensive negotiations with the Soviet Union on arms control that actually hold out the hope of cutting both sides' nuclear arsenals. In the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, generally bringing about stability and a lasting peace remains one of the most important goals of my Presidency. If we're going to make progress toward peace, we cannot permit extremists to set the agenda or coerce their neighbors. We have to show that efforts of intimidation, like Iranian threats against Kuwait and other nonbelligerent states in the Gulf, do not work. We're a tolerant people, but we do not bow to intimidation, and we've consistently throughout our his-

tory been willing to defend ourselves. Our tolerance should not be mistaken for a lack of resolve. We will stand by the security commitments we've made to our friends in the Gulf and elsewhere in the region. Of course, we strongly favor the peaceful resolution of conflicts. We will continue our diplomatic efforts in the U.N. and elsewhere to diffuse tensions and pursue a prompt negotiated settlement to the Iran-Iraq war, and we will press our efforts to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, recognizing that stalemate will strengthen those very forces most opposed to peace.

Permit me now to turn to Nicaragua, where we're engaged in a crucial effort to promote human freedom. Last week our administration proposed a timetable for negotiations to bring peace to Nicaragua by opening the country to democracy. Just days later, the leaders of five Central American countries themselves put forward a plan for peace and democracy in Nicaragua. This plan differs from our own in certain regards, but it's important to understand that both insist upon opening Nicaragua to genuine democracy. We welcome the Central American initiative and are willing to work with our Central American friends as they perfect and implement it, consistent with our national interests and our commitment to those fighting for freedom in Nicaragua. Our support for the freedom fighters should continue until a satisfactory peace plan is in place, a cease-fire has occurred, and a verifiable process of democratization is underway. The principles that Speaker Wright and I agreed to are valid principles that we hope will assist our friends in Central America as they pursue the twin goals of peace and democracy in the region.

Well, enough talk, enough delay. In Central America, the Middle East, and, yes, here at home, the time has come to move forward.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:06 a.m. from his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA.

Interview With Hugh Sidey of Time Magazine August 12, 1987

Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy

Q. Number one, thanks a lot. I wanted to just talk today, if I could, about more of your personal feelings through a very tough time in your Presidency, and you know, this is kind of a demarcation point. How do you feel about it? Was this an embattled time especially, or—

The President. Well, naturally it wasn't the happiest of times, and sometimes I'd get annoyed at the interference with what I thought was getting on with the things that should be done. But, Hugh, I have to tell you, I never felt too upset, because I knew I'd told the truth and that the truth would have to come out—and did.

Q. But how did you keep smiling, because a lot of people wouldn't believe you still? A lot of people question, you know, whether the—or at least think that you haven't told everything, according to the polls.

The President. Yes, I did. And what used to make me smile a little bit was the fact that I was the first one to tell them about such things as that there was extra money and so forth. And good Lord, I appointed the first commission, and it came in long before this one started with a lot of the information that was new to me and that I had to hear for the first time.

Q. This was a pretty heavy siege, though. How did you keep your optimism? It was pretty sustained throughout that period.

The President. Well, as I say, I just had faith in the truth.

Q. I see. How tough was it, though, to see those close to you affected by this—Mrs. Reagan or children or old colleagues?

The President. Well, I think that those that were close around me kind of took their cue from me. But I did hear from a great many friends who expressed, again, their faith and trust, and that was very pleasant.

Q. Was there a low point in this 8 months or so?

The President. No.

Q. Anything make you angry? I kept reading these stories about sometimes you

got sore, here and there, at what people said.

The President. Yes, sometimes, and sometimes I got a little angry before all of this in finding out when I learned of things that I had not been told.

Q. Was there a period of discouragement at all?

The President. No.

Q. Never got down that far?

The President. Nope.

Q. You had every faith you were going to come out in the end?

The President. Yes.

Q. Do you think it's over with pretty much now?

The President. I think it is as far as the audience is concerned.

Q. Yes. A number of people have said that the thing that bothers you—friends have told me that—were these polls that said the people thought that you were holding back. Now, can you recover that? Do you fully expect to restore the credibility?

The President. Yes. Naturally no one's going to be overjoyed at seeing a poll that finds that people thought you weren't telling the truth. But then one other poll asked an added question, and that was a question of the people who said that they thought I wasn't telling the truth. They asked them, well, you know, what did they think about that? And the overwhelming majority of them thought, well, of course, there are always going to be things that a President shouldn't tell. And it threw a whole different aspect then on that first question and the answers to it.

Q. I see, yes. Did you end this period at all—or how did you feel about the group of men that were involved in this that had been on your staff? How do you end this period now with your feelings about North and Poindexter and McFarlane?

The President. Well, I heard them out. I can understand why they did what they did and what their motives were, and certainly they weren't bad motives. And I'm just sorry that it turned out that way. The truth

that I told the first time, once [Attorney General] Ed Meese came in here and said there was a piece of paper that indicated there was more money than the purchase price of the weapons and that somehow that money was in a Swiss bank account and so forth—now, all I fall back on is: I am the one who went on the air and told the people that and told the press that in the press room, and that I had appointed a commission to find out what there was to know about this.

Q. What was your big mistake, or was there one in all of this? Do you pinpoint something you shouldn't have done or should have done that you didn't do?

The President. Well, you see, in a covert operation like that—and the covert operation was a response by us to an appeal from this other group of individuals who wanted to discuss better relations with our country. And it had to be covert for their safety, because contrary to what some of the people have said, I was not doing business with the [Ayatollah] Khomeini. In fact, quite the contrary; these were people that were anticipating another government to follow him. And if you'll remember, at that particular time, almost every day there were reports of his failing health and that his days were very numbered and so forth. And they wanted to talk about a better relation than we have with the present government.

Q. How'd you get through those days when the hearings started, Mr. President? Did you read the papers as normal? Did you follow it closely in the papers?

The President. Actually, I didn't change my pattern or my schedule much at all. Occasionally, I might have a few minutes and step into the next room and turn on the TV just to see who was on and so forth. And I didn't have to depend on the press. Our legal counsel kept me informed with a summary.

Q. So, you had internal information—

The President. Yes.

Q. —as well. Did you give up any reading at all? Did you try to avoid it at all, or was it just—

The President. No, no.

Q. I see. But you watched a little of it. Did you talk it over with Mrs. Reagan? Did

she—

The President. Oh, yes. We used to—

Q. —she kept an eye on it?

The President. Well, she probably didn't watch any more than I did.

Q. I see. But you felt current throughout the time? You felt you knew what was—

The President. Yes.

Q. —what was happening? Yes. What is your feeling in general? Is this sort of thing inevitable in this office at some time or another in the Presidency? I've been through seven Presidents, and it seems to me every administration, at one time or another, has—

The President. —has an investigation by the Congress of the President.

Q. Well, something goes sour, you know, or something goes off. What's your broad view of it? Is it—

The President. Well, Hugh, actually, all that I remember is, you know, for a half a century now, with only an exception of a few years, the Congress, both Houses, have been of one party. And I think if you check back, every President of the opposite party has been investigated for something or other. But I don't recall any investigations of the Presidents when the Presidents and the Legislature were of the same party.

Q. Yes, I see. Well, what you're suggesting, if I'm correct, is that there's a lot of politics in this. The Presidential election have much to do with it?

The President. Well, I'm not going to comment on that.

Q. You're not going to comment?

The President. No.

Q. You're going to stay out of that, I see.

The President. Maybe I shouldn't have said what I just said.

Q. Well, now, did you keep a diary throughout this time? Do you have some private thoughts?

The President. Well, I've kept a diary from the first day here. And actually, Hugh, the reason for that was one thing I learned after the 8 years as Governor—that the schedules are such and the succession of things and the meetings—that getting out of that 8-year experience as Governor, I suddenly realized that memory—well, there were things that I could remember, but I

couldn't tell you whether they were in the first or the second term. And then I realized there were a lot of things that I just could not, if I had to, recall, and it was a very busy 8 years there. And so, when faced with this job, Nancy and I both said this time—

Q. You're going to keep that record, huh?

The President. —let's keep a record so that that won't happen.

Q. Through this particular stressful period, then, you've kept pretty good notes on—

The President. As a matter of fact, I made some of those diary notes available to the investigators.

Q. Yes, I knew that. Somebody told me you also kept your regular meetings with Edmund Morris [President's biographer]. He's working on the book.

The President. Yes.

Q. So that there is that. Any surprises when that comes out?

The President. I don't think so. Well, not to me.

Q. Oh, I see. I see, you know that. Did you expect when you became President, having seen, of course, what happened to Lyndon Johnson and Nixon and Truman and all of them, as you mentioned before, did you expect that anything like this would happen, that there would be an episode in your Presidency? Were you prepared for that possibility, I guess is what I'm saying.

The President. Well, Hugh, I think after the 8 years as Governor, also, you know that there's always a target painted on the Chief Executive's door. No, the big surprise, however, was exactly what we said. First of all, my reaction when our covert operation was exposed by that leak in Beirut and our press immediately went up with it, my reaction there—it was just one of—and I voiced it to the press at every opportunity, and then it was echoed by David Jacobsen, the hostage that came home at about the same time—and that was, please, you can get some people killed by talking about this and asking about it. And I had in mind the people we were dealing with as well as our own hostages, because when Jacobsen came out, the word we had was that there were going to be a couple more in just a few days. And that was all that was on my mind.

Well, then when—as I say, Ed Meese was the one who saw that one paper that indicated that there was somehow more money and in a Swiss bank account—this was just the biggest surprise in the world, because we hadn't set out to trade hostages for—or arms for hostages, even though I always feel a great responsibility to do everything possible to get back the hostages, except ransom. And I knew that the arms we sold were priced at \$12 million, and we got our \$12 million. That had come back before the exposure and all. And it was just such a surprise that first—well, the very next morning—he agreed with me that we had to make this known. And we called in the joint leadership of the Congress, both Houses and both parties, and told them. And then I went immediately into the press room and then, as you know, a short time later, went on the air.

Q. One of the points in this whole thing, Mr. President, was the failure or the fact that you didn't just summon Oliver North and say, you know, lay this all out for me. Was there some reason or some—

The President. Well, whether our thinking was right or wrong at that point—and we were all agreed here that with this now exposed and my not having been told that they just had to leave the National Security Council, they could not continue. So, I thought of that before I thought any questions or anything, and I think they both felt the same way.

Q. And it got swept up in all the litigation or the process there.

The President. Yes.

Q. I see. But finally, how do you think history will deal with this, looking down the road? Do you think it's going to fade away in the minds of people the next few years or—

The President. Well, it is my hope that, once everything is settled and known, history will deal with it as the big investigation that finally discovered the President was telling the truth from the very beginning.

Q. I see. And will you still be in office when that's established, do you think?

The President. Well, I would like to see it established very quickly.

Q. I see. Is it getting tougher, in your

judgment—now you've been here 7 years—tougher to run this place in this city? You invented the term "inside the beltway," which implies a certain environment that doesn't reflect national sentiment. Has that become increasingly difficult to work in?

The President. Well, I don't know whether it's any different than it's been for anyone else. I do know that for years back there has been a kind of friction between the executive branch and the Legislature and an attempt to erode the powers of the President, and—

Q. Has that gotten worse?

The President. I don't really know, because I came here with minus some powers that previously Presidents had had. Naturally, seeing it from the Executive Office side, I believe what's being attempted is a mistake. I think there are some things that just can't be run by a committee of 535 people. And when you stop to think back over history, we have been in my lifetime—well, in the lifetime of the nation, I should say—five declared wars. But history will reveal that Presidents have sent military forces of the United States into action 125 times, and without it being a declared war, and on the assumption of the executive branch that it was essential for the security of the United States to do that.

Q. Your feeling then is that in all the actions you took, to the extent you knew anyway, was perfectly legal.

The President. Yes.

Q. There wasn't any problem with the War Powers Act or your authority or any of that?

The President. No.

Q. I see. Going back to that one question, you do not see then any evil men involved in this on our side? I'm talking about your NSC, White House—nobody that you would point to as a culprit or somebody—

The President. Well, this would get me into trying to comment on all that took place in these hearings and all, and I can't say that, not having seen them any more than that and getting summaries of them of the day that—I just don't think that I should risk making such an assertion—

Q. Yes, okay.

The President. —of all of the people that have been mentioned in the hearings.

Q. It's getting a rather lengthy roster, I guess.

The President. Yes.

Q. Take it from the other side then: Who was the most help throughout this period for you in terms of morale and guidance? Because, you know, it had to be somewhat of a burden added on to the normal job.

The President. Well, you mean outside of my wife.

Q. Number one—she was, huh? Yes.

The President. Yes. But, no, from the very beginning, not only the people here in the White House and some outside but also friends and supporters that have gone out of their way from the very beginning to express their confidence in me—and it was very heartwarming.

Q. Now, how does your wife buck you up? How did Mrs. Reagan—

The President. Well, because—

Q. —get you through those days?

The President. —she knew I'd told the truth, too.

The President's Health

Q. I see, I see. Well, you answered that. A lot of comment, Mr. President, that you seem older and look older—how do you feel? I read the Wall Street Journal this morning. I suppose you did, too—a long piece about it.

The President. No, I haven't read the Journal this morning.

Q. Whoops—a summary.

The President. Which—

Mr. Fitzwater. We'll have to get a copy of that. I didn't read it all.

The President. Is there something in there about that?

Q. Well, it had that piece in column eight saying, you know, the President seemed to be losing steam and this, you know. It was one of those ambiguous pieces, to be true. But anyway, a lot of comment on the feeling that you are slowing down in these last months, not only because of the burden, but just because you're just older.

The President. I don't know about any slowing down. I do know that the—other than my nose—the last operation that I had I did without anesthetic, and got up off the table and went upstairs and put on my

ranch clothes and went to Camp David—it was a Friday—

Q. Oh, yes.

The President. —and finished the day with a swim there and the next day with a horseback ride. And some doctors seem to be a little surprised that I could have done that. They didn't think it was ordinary. But, no, I feel just fine. And I haven't slowed down any; the pace is the same. And every night the schedule for the next day and the homework for the next day arrives, and that's my bedtime reading and so forth and—

Administration Goals

Q. Well, the other part of that theory is that your friends said that you were going to be more combative than normal in these last 18 months.

The President. Well, that would have been true even without this other thing. And that has to be, because I think we've accomplished a great many things in these 6½ years. I think the fact that we're within 2 months of having the longest expansion period in the Nation's history—economic expansion and all—but I think there are things that I will regret all my life if we don't get them pinned down. Well, for one thing, the great problem that from the very beginning that has faced us—the deficit—that I had thought at one time we could get balanced. But that was during the campaign, and I had had a group of economists who were working on the plan that we followed. But no one's ever asked me, so I'll tell you. Before the election, those economists came to me and told me that the deterioration had now been so much greater than when they made their study that, no, there was no way that we were going to, in a few years, be able to balance the budget. But we put the plan into effect anyway, aimed at whenever it can happen.

But now with this deficit spending and our Economic Bill of Rights, as we call it—that is based on some things that are just essential, and that is a balanced budget amendment. And it's a strange thing. When I heard some of the Congressmen talking about their obligation to the people and to do what the people want—the polls show that 80 percent of the people want a bal-

anced budget amendment to the Constitution.

Q. I see that. The new figures have come out on that, yes.

The President. And also what 43 Governors have and what I had as Governor—and that is the right of line-item veto. I think those are essential tools. I would like to see those in place and a program in place. Well, the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings program is dedicated to this also—that is aiming at a point down here where the budget will be balanced and from then on have to stay balanced. Having had that in our Constitution—I think about 44 States have that in their State constitutions; we had it in California. And I have to tell you, it is a guarantee when you know that as executive officer you are responsible that, when you come to the end of the budget year, the revenues have to have matched the outgo.

And of course, the answer to those people who think that, well, then let's just raise the revenues—well, we've done that a few times, and if you want to look back in history, virtually every tax increase has led to lower revenues when the rates were higher because of the lack of incentive and the search by people to find tax shelters and so forth. And since our tax cuts have gone into effect, the revenues now are bigger.

And to those liberal-minded individuals who always want to aim at the top earners and say, "Make them pay the heaviest load"—they do pay the heaviest load. And the truth of the matter is, the top earners today are paying a higher percentage of the total tax than they were before, even though their rates have been reduced. Now, that means that there is the proof that those people who are in brackets where they look for tax shelters and so forth, or didn't earn extra money because it wasn't worth it, now with a lower tax rate, the incentive is there for them to produce more, and as a result, they do pay a higher tax even though it's at a lower rate.

Q. One more—

Mr. Kuhn. Mr. President, you're three minutes late for your final appointment over in the Residence.

The President. Oh.

The President's Careers

Q. One more question here. You've had five careers: as a kid, as a sportscaster, as a movie actor, as a Governor and a President. Which has been the most fun?

The President. Well, I have to tell you something, I have been blessed; I've enjoyed every one of them. I am still very proud of seven summers as a lifeguard.

Q. I see, that ranks right up there.

The President. Yes, I had a log with 77 notches in it for the—pulled out.

Q. I see.

The President. But then, sports announcing—I thought that was my career. And yet I had always—going through school, high school and college—I'd always, in addition to athletics, I'd always been involved in the dramatic clubs and that sort of thing and the class plays. And when, out of the blue, literally, came an opportunity to switch from sports announcing to acting—and I loved that.

And all I can tell you is I fought like a tiger against ever running for office. I thought that was for someone else, that I would do what I had done for other candidates, like my speeches for Barry Goldwater, that I would campaign for others. And when I was beset in 1965 by this group that insisted that I had to seek the governorship against the incumbent Governor then because the party was divided and all, I fought like a tiger not to. And finally, I couldn't sleep nights, and Nancy and I said yes. But then, I have to tell you, we'd only been there a few months and one night we looked at each other, sitting in the living room in Sacramento, and said this makes everything else we've ever done look as dull as dishwater.

Q. So, you went the distance?

The President. Yes.

The President's Future Plans

Q. Now, what are you going to do when you get out?

The President. Well, a lot more ranching than I get to do now. And I anticipate that; I look forward to that. But I have a hunch I will be back in the mashed-potato circuit, campaigning for things I believe in and people I believe in.

Q. What are you going to do on this vaca-

tion, Mr. President? You going to do some fence—paper cutting and—

The President. Well, there will be some more pruning. And the pruning is also accompanied by—out of it getting firewood, because there are two fireplaces, which is our only heat. And you'd be surprised at the extent of the woodpiles that we have there and yet how fast they go when you're there for several days in the cooler season and you have fires going in both fireplaces all day long. We'll be doing that, but every morning, we'll be riding.

Q. I see. I was up at Ralph Regula's office the other day, and he has pictures of you you sent to him making a fence out of telephone poles. Do you still do that?

The President. Well, did he explain to you why he's got the pictures?

Q. Yes.

The President. Because he's got some property and wanted a fence. And I tried to give him all the directions and write the directions that I could, and then I did—or sent him pictures to show him.

Q. That's pretty good. Yes, you're running behind, I guess.

The President. Okay.

Q. Thank you. Well, you're on tonight. Have you got any butterflies? Are you up to this one?

The President. Well, I'll be sitting at the same desk so I can always duck.

Q. You've done that before?

The President. Yes.

Q. That's great.

The President. And I'm glad you got around to some of the future here, because that's what I'd expected to talk about, was what we are going to do for the next 17 months.

Note: The interview began at 4:06 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. The transcript was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 17. Marlin Fitzwater was Assistant to the President for Press Relations, and James F. Kuhn was Special Assistant to the President. Oliver North was a former member of the National Security Council staff, and John M. Poindexter and Robert C. McFarlane were former Assistants to the President for Na-

tional Security Affairs. At the end of the interview, Mr. Sidey referred to the President's August 12 address to the Nation.

Appointment of Claire Margaret O'Donnell as Special Assistant to the President for White House Operations

August 18, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Claire Margaret O'Donnell to be Special Assistant to the President for White House Operations.

Since February 1985 Miss O'Donnell has served as Executive Assistant to the Deputy Assistant to the President for Management and Administration. Previously she was the Administrative Assistant to the Assistant to

the President for Presidential Personnel from 1981 to 1985. Prior to joining the Reagan administration, Miss O'Donnell worked on the Reagan-Bush campaign in the treasurer's office.

Miss O'Donnell received her bachelor of arts degree from Trinity College in 1980. She was born on September 28, 1958, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Katherine Dillon Ladd as Special Assistant to the President and Director of the White House Secretariat

August 18, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Katherine Dillon Ladd to be Special Assistant to the President and Director of the White House Secretariat.

Since October 1985 Miss Ladd has worked in the Office of the Staff Secretary as Executive Assistant. Previously she worked as research assistant for the Senate Finance Committee majority staff (1981-

1983) and as research associate for health policy at Government Research Corp. (1983-1985).

Miss Ladd graduated from Gettysburg College (B.A., 1980) and American University (M.P.A., 1985). She was born November 30, 1958, in Chevy Chase, MD. Miss Ladd resides in Silver Spring, MD.

Appointment of Two Members of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education

August 18, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education for terms expiring July 10, 1990:

Julia G. Fernald, of New Jersey. This is a reappointment. Since 1983 Mrs. Fernald has been chairman of the board of the William Paterson

College of New Jersey Foundation in Wayne, NJ. Prior to this she served as chairman of the board of trustees of the William Paterson College of New Jersey, 1980-1982. Mrs. Fernald graduated from Syracuse University (B.A., 1949). She was born November 5, 1927, in Washington, DC. Mrs. Fernald is married, has three children, and resides in Upper Montclair, NJ.

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Patricia D. O'Donnell, of California. She will succeed B.L. Chain. Mrs. O'Donnell was a teacher at the Wilton Elementary School in Los Angeles, CA, 1960–1962. She has participated in numerous charitable activities. Mrs. O'Donnell

graduated from the University of Southern California (B.S., 1960). She was born December 22, 1938, in Evanston, IL. Mrs. O'Donnell is married, has three children, and resides in Newport Beach, CA.

Nomination of Two United States Representatives to the 42d Session of the United Nations General Assembly
August 18, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be Representatives of the United States of America to the 42d Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Pearl Bailey, of Arizona. Ms. Bailey is an entertainer with the William Morris Agency, Inc., in New York, NY. She graduated from Georgetown University (B.A., 1986). Ms. Bailey was born March 29, 1918, in Newport News, VA. She is married and resides in Lake Havasu

City, AZ.

Doug Bereuter, of Nebraska. Mr. Bereuter is currently a Member of the United States House of Representatives. Prior to this he served as a member of the Nebraska State Legislature, 1975–1978. Mr. Bereuter graduated from the University of Nebraska (B.A., 1961) and Harvard University (M.P.A., 1973). He was born October 6, 1939, in York, NE. Mr. Bereuter is married, has two children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Statement on Signing the National Park Airspace Management Bill
August 18, 1987

I have signed H.R. 921, which calls for the cooperative efforts of the Secretary of the Interior and the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) to specify compatible aviation uses over our national parks. In its report on H.R. 921, the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation recognized, however, the potential problems of an agency other than the FAA developing airspace regulations and expressed concern that the plenary authority of the FAA over airspace management not be diminished or diffused. Accordingly, it urged cooperative efforts between the Secretary of the Interior and the Administrator of the FAA in the devel-

opment of airspace use recommendations for the Grand Canyon.

Because I share the committee's concern, I am directing that the Secretary of the Interior, in developing his recommendations for aviation uses over the Grand Canyon, take into consideration, to the extent permitted by law, the views of the Administrator of the FAA. This will not only assure a cooperative effort but should facilitate the timely adoption of the recommendations by the FAA.

Note: H.R. 921, approved August 18, was assigned Public Law No. 100-91.

Appointment of B. Jay Cooper as Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary

August 19, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of B. Jay Cooper to be Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary, effective September 8, 1987.

Mr. Cooper has been Director of Public Affairs and Press Secretary at the Department of Commerce since September 1983. He first came to the Commerce Department as the Secretary's speechwriter in March 1981. Previously Mr. Cooper was an editor for the Waterbury (Connecticut) Republican-American newspapers. He had served as a reporter for those papers for

about 10 years and also wrote a weekly political column. During a leave of absence from the newspapers in 1980, he served as communications director for the Connecticut Reagan-Bush campaign. While at the Waterbury newspapers, he won several awards, including the UPI New England Community Service Award.

He majored in journalism at Northeastern University in Boston, earning a bachelor's degree in 1973. Mr. Cooper was born in Waterbury, CT, on June 9, 1950. He lives in Arlington, VA, and has three daughters.

Statement on Signing the Excellence in Minority Health Education and Care Act

August 19, 1987

I am pleased to sign S. 769, the Excellence in Minority Health Education and Care Act. This legislation continues support for four educational institutions that serve predominantly black health-professions students. These schools have made tremendous contributions to our health-care system through the training of black health-care professionals.

Meharry Medical School in Nashville, TN, has trained 40 percent of all black physicians practicing today, while Meharry's School of Dentistry has graduated 50 percent of all black dentists. The Xavier University College of Pharmacy in New Orleans, LA, has provided 25 percent of all black pharmacists, and the Tuskegee Veterinary School in Tuskegee, AL, 75 percent of all black veterinarians.

This legislation supplements the continuing efforts of my administration to increase

the educational opportunities for minority students. In 1986, 27 Federal agencies and departments invested more than \$600 million in our nation's historically black colleges, much of it in the form of research grants and projects. Next year the National Science Foundation will fund comprehensive projects to improve the teaching of science and engineering to precollege and undergraduate students in minority schools.

As I said at the Tuskegee commencement last May, the history of this country is replete with the contributions of black physicians, scientists, physicists, and mathematicians. It is crucial that more young black Americans follow in their path. America must not be denied the benefits of the creativity and talents of all its citizens.

Note: S. 769, approved August 18, was assigned Public Law No. 100-97.

Statement on Signing the Bill Amending the Bankruptcy Code *August 19, 1987*

I am signing S. 1577, a bill "To extend certain protections under title 11 of the United States Code, the Bankruptcy Code." In so doing, I reaffirm the statement I issued on May 15, 1987, when I signed S. 903, the prior extension of this temporary legislation. I understand that the permanent

legislation that the Congress is presently considering does not contain the unconstitutional nonuniform provision found in the temporary bills.

Note: S. 1577, approved August 18, was assigned Public Law No. 100-99.

Appointment of James E. Stratten To Be a Member of the National Afro-American History and Culture Commission *August 20, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint James E. Stratten to be a member of the National Afro-American History and Culture Commission for a term expiring January 18, 1991. This is a reappointment.

Since 1977 Mr. Stratten has been director of the Time Savings and Loan Association in San Francisco, CA. Prior to this he served

as a member of the board of the California Youth Authority, 1967-1979.

Mr. Stratten graduated from Talladega College (B.A., 1936) and Columbia University (M.A., 1939). He was born November 20, 1913, in Cedartown, GA. Mr. Stratten has three children and resides in Rancho Murieta, CA.

Appointment of Rebecca Gernhardt Range as Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Public Liaison *August 20, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint Rebecca Gernhardt Range to be Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Public Liaison. She would succeed Mari Maseng.

Since 1985 Ms. Range has been serving as an Assistant Secretary for Governmental Affairs at the U.S. Department of Transportation. Prior to this, she was Counselor to the Secretary of Transportation, 1984-1985, and Deputy Assistant Secretary for Governmen-

tal Affairs, Department of Transportation, 1983-1984. Ms. Range served as chief of staff, legislative assistant, and staff assistant for Senator Ted Stevens, 1977-1983.

Ms. Range graduated from DePauw University (B.A., 1976) and Catholic University, Columbus School of Law (J.D., 1981). She is a member of the District of Columbia and American Bar Associations. She was born October 23, 1954, in Mansfield, OH. She is married and resides in Washington, DC.

Proclamation 5695—National P.O.W./M.I.A. Recognition Day, 1987 August 21, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Perhaps no American could cherish our country's liberty more dearly than those who have defended it and in doing so have paid the price of capture and imprisonment. We take solemn inspiration and resolve from the sacrifices of brave Americans who have endured captivity for their allegiance to our beloved land and our ideals. Their dignity, faith, and valor remind us of the allegiance we owe our Nation and its defenders.

We also take inspiration from the courage of the families of those who remain missing or unaccounted for. The fortitude they display in the face of uncertainty is heroic, like the acts of those whose fates they seek to learn. We as a Nation will not rest in our efforts to secure the release of any U.S. personnel who may still be held against their will, to obtain the fullest possible accounting of those still missing, to repatriate all recoverable American remains, and to relieve the suffering of the families.

The P.O.W./M.I.A. issue will continue to be a matter of the highest national priority until it is resolved. To symbolize our national commitment, the P.O.W./M.I.A. Flag will fly over the White House, the Departments of State and Defense, the Veterans Administration, and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on September 18, 1987. It will also fly over the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on

Memorial Day and Veterans Day.

To recognize the special debt of gratitude all Americans owe to those who sacrificed their freedom in the service of our country and to reaffirm our commitment to their courageous families, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 49, has designated September 18, 1987, as "National POW/MIA Recognition Day" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this occasion.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Friday, September 18, 1987, as National P.O.W./M.I.A. Recognition Day. I call upon all Americans to join in honoring all former American prisoners of war, those still missing, and their families who have made extraordinary sacrifices on behalf of our country. I also call upon State and local officials and private organizations to observe this day with every appropriate ceremony and activity.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-first day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:45 a.m., August 24, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 22.

Radio Address to the Nation on Fiscal Integrity and Efficiency in the Federal Government

August 22, 1987

My fellow Americans:

Throughout the history of our Republic, many a candidate has promised that if elected he would clean up the mess in Washington. Well, when I got to Washing-

ton 6½ years ago, I found the mess still here. Our Federal Government was weighted down with waste, victimized by fraud, and out of step with modern management techniques. We started on day one to set

things right. To begin with, we brought in topnotch inspectors general for Federal departments and agencies, who were instructed not only to be tough on waste, fraud, and abuse but, as my Press Secretary Jim Brady put it, to be as mean as junkyard dogs. In March of 1981, a Council on Integrity and Efficiency composed of these inspectors general was established to ensure that our cleanup operation left no stone unturned. Over the years, you've probably heard snippets on the news about outrageously expensive wrenches purchased by the military and other stories concerning government waste. More often than not, what you've been hearing are success stories—stories of waste or fraud uncovered and corrected.

In the last few years, we've made enormous strides in our efforts to ensure that you get the maximum benefit out of every tax dollar you send to Washington. Already, over \$90 billion had been put to better use since we took office. And I fully expect this trend to continue. Just this week, I signed H.R. 1444, which will improve the Government's tools for weeding out fraud and abuse in the Medicare and Medicaid programs. Furthermore, through Reform '88—my governmentwide management improvement program—efficient new business techniques have been put in place. This includes a new comprehensive cash management system that now oversees the Federal Government's \$1.8 trillion annual cash flow. By relying on the existing private sector banking structure, the new system has reduced cost from 1983 through 1986 by \$2.3 billion. We've also reduced the Federal publication inventory by one-fourth, at a savings of \$35 million. And by using private travel companies, the Federal Government has saved \$762 million in its annual travel budget. And the list goes on.

We've also turned up the heat on those who have the means but refuse to pay their debts to the Federal Government. Over at the Department of Education, for example, we found that many individuals—some in high-paying jobs—simply ignored pleas that they repay their long-overdue student loans. Our efforts to crack down have paid

off. Collections of loans have almost quadrupled since 1981, from \$80 million to over \$300 million last year. Last month, Budget Director Jim Miller announced that the entire Federal Government will be accelerating the drive to collect the delinquent \$68.3 billion it's owed.

But piece-by-piece change is not enough. In 1982 we established a commission headed by Peter Grace—one of the country's most prominent businessmen—to set down a long-term strategy for streamlining our government. Mr. Grace put together a team of experts and went through our Federal Government from top to bottom. Their report is now the basis for ongoing reform that should save tens of billions of dollars over the next decade. The recommendations include everything from stepped-up privatization of Federal services to the reform of our budget system. Building on this success, Peter Grace and a group of dedicated business leaders are now forming the United States taxpayers commission to keep the focus on reducing costs rather than raising taxes. I expect they'll bring renewed interest to streamline Federal operations and to ensure that you, the American people, are getting all the government you're paying for.

Getting the waste out of government, of course, requires not just a commitment from the executive branch but also from Congress. Unfortunately, expenses, special interest provisions, are often added to needed legislation. We can no longer afford this costly all-or-nothing way of doing business. The President should be able to cut the fat yet keep the meat of spending bills that reach his desk. The tool needed to cut that fat is the line-item veto. Congress has the power to enact this needed reform right now. I hope you agree with me it's time every elected official be part of our effort to protect the take-home pay of the American people by getting waste out of government.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:06 a.m. from his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA.

White House Statement on the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Improvement Act of 1987

August 22, 1987

The President has signed H.R. 812, the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Improvement Act of 1987, which establishes an awards program that will provide special recognition for companies demonstrating high achievement in improving the quality of their goods or services. Improved quality enhances productivity, lowers costs, and increases profitability. These components are essential to the well-being of the Nation's economy and its ability to compete effectively.

The President felt this award should be named for the late Secretary of Commerce, Malcolm Baldrige. As Secretary of Commerce and as a successful businessman, he practiced the kind of management the award will promote: close attention to the needs of the customer and emphasis on delivering quality products and services.

Note: H.R. 812, approved August 20, was assigned Public Law No. 100-107.

Statement on Signing the Federal Triangle Development Act

August 22, 1987

I have signed S. 1550, the Federal Triangle Development Act. This legislation will permit completion of the development of the Federal Triangle in the District of Columbia through the construction of a building that will serve as Federal office space as well as house an international cultural and trade center. The largest component will be used by Federal agencies, thereby allowing the Federal Government to vacate a substantial amount of costly leased space in the District of Columbia. Other space will be devoted to a new international cultural and trade center.

Completion of this project will achieve a number of important goals, including: providing high-quality, economical space for Federal employees; consolidating agencies that need to be located in downtown Washington, DC; advancing efforts to reduce Federal office space requirements; and furthering the trade, economic, and diplomatic interests of the United States. The General Services Administration, the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, and a newly established International Cultural and Trade Center Commission will be responsible for the construction and management of the new building. I am confident

that this project will be a noteworthy component of the revitalization of Pennsylvania Avenue in the District of Columbia, which is becoming one of the finest examples of the effectiveness of public-private partnership in the renewal of American cities.

In approving this bill, however, I note that it contains a clearly unconstitutional provision as well as one other provision that warrants interpretation. The unconstitutional provision of the bill is section 5(a)(1), which provides that the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation may not select a private developer until its plans have been approved by the Committee on Environment and Public Works of the Senate and the Committee on Public Works and Transportation of the House of Representatives. Under the landmark decision of *INS v. Chadha*, 462 U.S. 919, 952 (1983), this congressional approval mechanism clearly is unconstitutional, because the Congress may not make decisions that have "the purpose and effect of altering the legal rights, duties, and relations of persons . . . outside the Legislative branch" through procedures that bypass the constitutional requirements for valid legislative action.

I am signing this bill in spite of its consti-

tutional defect so as not to delay further the development of the Federal Triangle property. I do so because I am confident that section 5(a) is severable from the remainder of the act. In *Alaska Airlines v. Brock*, No. 85-920 (March 25, 1987), the Supreme Court held that an unconstitutional legislative veto provision was severable from the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978, because the Congress would have enacted the statute even without the objectionable provision. It appears that section 5(a), like the legislative veto provision considered in *Alaska Airlines, supra*, is not "so controversial or so broad that Congress would have been unwilling to make the delegation without a strong oversight mechanism." *Id.* at 7.

Section 4 of the act strictly limits the manner in which the Federal Triangle property may be developed and sets forth numerous items that must be included in the proposal. Moreover, nothing in the legislative history of S. 1550 suggests that the Congress was particularly concerned about the congressional approval mechanism. Accordingly, I am directing that all Federal agencies comply with all the provisions of

S. 1550 except the congressional approval mechanism. The Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation should submit its development plan to the specified congressional committees for their review but should not await their approval before selecting a private developer.

A second provision of the Federal Triangle Development Act also warrants brief discussion. Section 7 of the act provides that one of the members of the newly established International Cultural and Trade Commission is to be the mayor of the District of Columbia. Only officers of the United States, appointed pursuant to article II, section 2, clause 2 of the Constitution, are empowered to exercise significant authority under the laws of the United States. Therefore, I do not understand the act to authorize the mayor to vote on any Commission matter that would bind the United States. The mayor, of course, may attend all meetings of the Commission and vote on all Commission actions that do not bind the United States or third parties in any way.

Note: S. 1550, approved August 21, was assigned Public Law No. 100-113.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater Announcing the Formation of the Interagency Task Force on Adoption

August 24, 1987

The President announced today the formation of an interagency task force on adoption. He asked the task force to report to him, through the Domestic Policy Council, by November 22, with specific recommendations on how adoption can be encouraged.

The President said: "Americans are a warmhearted, caring people, and for years American couples have reached out to embrace children who otherwise would grow up without a stable family life. We must expand and broaden our efforts to make sure that America's familyless children are adopted. We must do all we can to remove obstacles that prevent qualified adoptive

parents from accepting these children into their homes."

The task force will identify and categorize Federal and State laws on adoption, analyze current Federal adoption policies, and prepare recommendations for the President on the following:

- whether Federal legislation should be proposed or supported;
- identifying regulatory changes that could be made to encourage and support adoption;
- identifying State or local actions that could be taken to encourage and support adoption of both infants and "spe-

cial needs” children;

- other activities that could be undertaken to educate the American people about all aspects of adoption and its benefits.

The task force will report its recommendations to the President through the Domestic and Economic Policy Council process. Members of the task force include:

Mary Gall, Counselor to the Director of the Office of Personnel Management, Chairperson;

Richard Abell, Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Justice Programs, Department of Justice;

Stephen J. Entin, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Policy, Department of the Treasury;

Dodie Livingston, Commissioner, Children, Youth, and Families, Department of Health and Human Services;

Barbara S. Pope, Deputy Assistant Secretary of

Defense for Family Services, Education, and Safety, Department of Defense;

John Bode, Assistant Secretary for Food and Consumer Services, Department of Agriculture;

Michael Baroody, Assistant Secretary for Policy, Department of Labor;

Wendy Gramm, Administrator for Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget;

Gary Bauer, Assistant to the President for Policy Development, the White House;

Robert W. Sweet, Jr., Deputy Executive Secretary for the Domestic Policy Council, the White House;

Mary Rose, Deputy Under Secretary for Management, Department of Education;

Juanita Duggan, Assistant Director for Legislative Affairs, ACTION; and

Delores Martin, Senior Policy Analyst, Welfare Reform Office, the White House.

Appointment of Gordon G. Riggle as Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Administration

August 24, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Gordon G. Riggle to be Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Administration.

Since July 1984 Mr. Riggle has served on the Senate Armed Services Committee as a professional staff member on the Sea Power and Force Projection Subcommittee. Previously Mr. Riggle was a captain in the U.S. Navy. His tours of duty included commanding officer on the U.S.S. *Kinkaid*, 1980–1983; Military Assistant to the Under Secre-

tary of Defense (Policy), 1979; and three tours in Vietnam, 1964–1969.

Mr. Riggle graduated from Lafayette College (B.A., 1963) and the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University (M.P.A., 1977). He also graduated from the United States Naval War College and the Sloane School of Management, MIT program for senior executives. Mr. Riggle was born March 7, 1941, in Portsmouth, VA. He currently resides in Falls Church, VA.

Address to the People of Nicaragua on the Central American Peace Plan

August 22, 1987

The four Presidents of democratic Central America sat down with the Communist ruler of Nicaragua in Guatemala to negotiate a peace plan for Central America. They emerged from this summit meeting with an

agreement for regional peace based on promises of democracy. This peace plan calls for sweeping political and social change to take place in Nicaragua.

In the upcoming weeks, our hopes will be

measured against reality, and promises will be measured against deeds. The signing of the Guatemalan peace plan was an important act of faith. But our faith must be tempered by realism, because faith without realism will not end in peace but in disillusionment and a permanent Communist rule that will threaten the other emerging democracies in Central America.

The Sandinistas promised to respect your rights when they signed this peace plan—rights that they have denied you for the last 8 years. They promised to respect your rights of free speech and free association. They promised political, religious, and press freedom. They promised access for all political parties and currents of opinion to the means of communication. They promised to lift the state of emergency. They promised free elections. The Sandinistas now have promised you democracy with the world as witness. Like you, I hope that they keep this promise. But like you, I also know that the civil war in Nicaragua began when the Sandinistas promised you democracy but failed to meet their commitment. This struggle will end when that promise is fulfilled.

Under the terms of the Guatemalan plan, there must be democracy in Nicaragua in order for the fighting to stop. This is called simultaneity. By accepting the Guatemalan plan, it means that the Sandinistas have agreed that the repression must stop at the same time that the fighting stops. The Sandinistas have told us this before, and no one

believes the Sandinistas anymore. Simultaneity must mean freedom up front, or no deal.

We will be helping the democratic leaders of Central America and your countrymen inside Nicaragua as they seek a diplomatic solution to the war that has befallen your country, but we will remain firm in our policy. Our objective remains the same: peace and democracy in Nicaragua. Your commitment to freedom and democracy has created political movement and hope for liberation. For this, the people of Nicaragua and the people of Central America owe you a list of gratitude. I know your deepest wish is to return home to a free Nicaragua. Your struggle has, and always will have, our support, because our goal is the same: democracy.

Until the people of Nicaragua are guaranteed basic liberties, I know you will keep on with the struggle, and the United States will be with you. The journey's end is *Nicaragua libre* [a free Nicaragua]. We must not stop until we reach that goal.

Note: The President's address was prerecorded on August 22 at his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA, for broadcast on Radio Liberación on August 24 and 25. The address was broadcast twice: first in English, then in English with a simultaneous translation into Spanish. Radio Liberación is owned and operated by the Nicaraguan democratic resistance. The address was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 25.

Statement on the Death of Bayard Rustin

August 25, 1987

We mourn the loss of Bayard Rustin, a great leader in the struggle for civil rights in the United States and for human rights throughout the world. He will be sorely missed by all those who shared his commitment to the twin causes of peace and freedom.

As few men have, Mr. Rustin understood that the struggle for the two is inseparable;

either we achieve them both or neither. Mr. Rustin held to this belief all his adult life. This took great physical, intellectual, and, most of all, moral courage. He was denounced by former friends, because he never gave up his conviction that minorities in America could and would succeed based on their individual merit. But Mr. Rustin never gave an inch. Though a pacifist, he

was a fighter to the finish. That is why over the course of his life he won the undying love of all who cherish freedom.

Remarks on Soviet-United States Relations at the Town Hall of California Meeting in Los Angeles August 26, 1987

Before we begin, I hope you'll forgive me for saying that it's good to be back in California. Actually, I didn't realize how completely I made the transition from Washington until I got on a helicopter yesterday and told the pilot, Giddyup! [*Laughter*] But here I am—delighted to be here. And I'm grateful for this opportunity to address the Town Hall of California meeting and for the chance to be heard at the Chautauqua conference in New York, where citizens of the United States and the Soviet Union are meeting together. East coast or west coast, our purpose is the same: to promote freer and more open communications between the peoples of all nations and to advance together the cause of peace and world freedom.

In February of 1945, as he first began meeting with Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta, much the same purpose preoccupied Winston Churchill. He felt a great sense of urgency and said to his daughter, "I do not suppose that at any moment in history has the agony of the world been so great or widespread. Tonight the Sun goes down on more suffering than ever before in the world." It was not just the misery of World War II that appalled him. Churchill said he also harbored a great fear that "new struggles may arise out of those that we are successfully ending." About the great powers meeting in Yalta, he added: "If we quarrel, our children are undone."

But we know now the great powers did agree at Yalta. Difficult issues were raised and resolved; agreements were reached. In a narrow sense, the summit conference was successful; the meeting produced tangible diplomatic results. And among these was an endorsement of the rights upheld in the Atlantic Charter, rights that would "afford assurance that all men in all the lands may

live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." And so, too, the right of self-determination of Eastern European nations like Poland were—at least on paper—guaranteed. But in a matter of months, Churchill's worst fears were realized: The Yalta guarantees of freedom and human rights in Eastern Europe became undone. And as democracy died in Poland, the era of allied cooperation ended. What followed is known to us now as the postwar era, a time of tense exchanges and often dangerous confrontations between East and West, our "long twilight struggle," as President Kennedy called it. And so, 40 years ago, far from ending the world strife and human suffering that so haunted Churchill, the great powers embarked on an era of cold war conflict.

Perceiving a grave threat to our own security and the freedom of our allies in Western Europe, the people of the United States put in place the major elements of America's bipartisan foreign policy for the next four decades. In 1947 the Marshall plan began the reconstruction of Europe. In 1947 the Truman doctrine supported the independence of Greece and Turkey and established the principle of assistance to nations struggling for democracy and against the imposition of totalitarian rule.

In the 40 years since—for 8 American administrations and 20 Congresses—the basis of America's foreign policy principles held firm: opposition to totalitarianism, the advocacy of democratic reform and human rights, and the promotion of worldwide prosperity and freedom, all on the foundation of a strong defense and resolute commitment to allies and friends. When this administration took office, our own sense of these longstanding goals was keen, but we were also aware that much needed to be done to restore their vigor and vibrancy.

The structure and purpose of American foreign policy had decayed in the 1970's. But as we worked to restore the traditionally upright and forceful posture of the United States in the world and reinvigorate a foreign policy that had maintained allied security for 40 years, we also sought to break out of the stalemate of the cold war, to push forward with new initiatives that might help the world evolve beyond the postwar era.

We sought more than a shaky world peace atop the volcano of potential nuclear destruction; we sought something beyond accepted spheres of influence and tense standoffs between the totalitarian and the democratic worlds. In short, we sought ways to dispel rather than to live with the two great darkening clouds of the postwar era: the danger of nuclear holocaust and the expansion of totalitarian rule. In dealing with the nuclear threat, the United States said it would no longer pursue merely arms control—the management, limitation, or controlled growth of existing arsenals. The United States, together with our NATO allies, would seek instead deep verifiable reductions in these arsenals—arms reduction, not just arms control. We sought to do it by moving beyond the status quo, a mere *modus vivendi*, in the arms race.

In addition to opening negotiations to reduce arms in several categories, we did something even more revolutionary in order to end nuclear fear. We launched a new program of research into defensive means of preventing ballistic missile attack. And by doing so, we attempted to maintain deterrence while seeking to move away from the concept of mutual assured destruction—to render it obsolete, to take the advantage out of building more and more offensive missiles and more and more warheads, at last to remove from the world the specter of military powers holding each other hostage to nuclear retaliation. In short, we sought to establish the feasibility of a defensive shield that would render the use of ballistic missiles fruitless.

This was the meaning of our decision to move forward with SDI, and I believe it was the right decision at the right time. But while we sought arms reduction and defensive deterrence, we never lost sight of the

fact that nations do not disagree because they are armed; they are armed because they disagree on very important matters of human life and liberty. The fundamental differences between totalitarian and democratic rule remained. We could not gloss over them, nor could we be content anymore with accepted spheres of influence, a world only half free. And that is why we sought to advance the cause of personal freedom wherever opportunities existed to do so. Sometimes this meant support for liberalization; sometimes, support for liberation.

In regional conflicts, for example, we elaborated a new policy of helping democratic insurgents in their battle to bring self-determination and human rights to their own countries. This doctrine was first spelled out in our decision to assist the people of Afghanistan in their fight against Soviet invasion and occupation. It was also part of our decision to assist the people of Nicaragua in their battle to restore the integrity of their 1979 revolution and make that government keep its promise of democratic rule. Our current efforts in Angola in support of freedom fighters constitute the most recent extension of this policy.

In the area of human rights, our challenges to the Soviet Union became direct. We observed with Andrei Sakharov that true peace in the world could come only when governments observed and recognized the human rights of their citizens. Similarly, in our bilateral relationships—cultural and political exchanges, for example—we sought from the Soviets a new willingness to open this process up to larger and more diverse groups.

And finally, undergirding all of this was our commitment to public candor about the nature of totalitarian rule and about the ultimate objective of United States foreign policy: peace, yes; but world freedom, as well. We refused to believe that it was somehow an act of belligerence to proclaim publicly the crucial moral distinctions between democracy and totalitarianism.

And in my address to the British Parliament in 1982, when I noted the peaceful extension of human liberty was the ultimate goal of American foreign policy, I also

pointed out that history's momentum resided instead with the cause of democracy and world freedom. And I offered hope that the increasing failure of statist economies would lead to demands for political change. I asked, in short, for a "crusade for freedom" that would spread democracy and promote democratic institutions throughout the world.

As I've said before, we believe that such public affirmations were not only necessary for the protection and extension of freedom but, far from adding to world tensions, crucial to reducing them and helping the pursuit of peace. Public candor and realism about and with the Soviets have helped the peace process. They were a signal to our Soviet counterparts that any compulsion to exploit Western illusions must be resisted, because such illusions no longer exist.

Our foreign policy, then, has been an attempt both to reassert the traditional elements of America's postwar strategy while at the same time moving beyond the doctrines of mutual assured destruction or containment. Our goal has been to break the deadlock of the past, to seek a forward strategy—a forward strategy for world peace, a forward strategy for world freedom. We have not forsaken deterrence or containment, but working with our allies, we've sought something even beyond these doctrines. We have sought the elimination of the threat of nuclear weapons and an end to the threat of totalitarianism. Today we see this strategy—a strategy of hope—at work. We're moving toward reductions in nuclear arms. SDI is now underway. Our offer to share the benefits of strategic defense remains open to all, including the Soviet Union.

In regional conflicts like Afghanistan and Central America, the Soviet Union and its clients have, thus far, shown all too little real willingness to move toward peace with real self-determination for the people. But the forces of freedom grow steadily in strength, and they put ever greater pressure on the forces of totalitarianism. The paths to peace with freedom are open if Moscow decides to stop imposing its self-styled revolutions. In another area, we found a parallel interest with the Soviet Union in a political end to the Iran-Iraq

war. We hope we can build together on this despite our differences. And finally, in the Soviet Union itself, we see movement toward more openness, possibly even progress towards respect for human rights and economic reform.

And all of these developments weigh on our minds. We ponder their meaning; we ask ourselves: Are we entering a truly new phase in East-West relations? Is far-reaching, enduring change in the postwar stand-off now possible? Do we have at last the chance envisioned by Churchill to end the agony of the 20th century?

Surely, these are our hopes, but let honesty compel us to acknowledge we have fears and deep concerns, as well. And while we acknowledge the interesting changes in the Soviet Union, we know, too, that any Western standard for democracy is still a very distant one for the Soviets.

We know what real democracy constitutes; we understand its implications. It means the rule of law for the leaders as well as the people. It involves limitations on the power of the state over the people. It means orderly debate and meaningful votes. It means liberation of the captive people from the thralls of a ruling elite that presumes to know the people's good better than the people. So, while there's hope today, there's also uncertainty. And that's why we know we must deal with the Soviet Union as it has been and as it is, and not as we would hope it to be. And yet we cannot rest with this. The opportunity before us is too great to let pass by. And that's why in the past year we've challenged the Soviets with our own expectations—ways of showing us and the world their seriousness about fundamental improvements. It's why we have set down guideposts and pointers towards a better relationship with the Soviet Union.

For 2 years we've been asking the Soviets to join in discussing a cooperative approach toward a transition to defensive deterrence that threatens no one. In April of 1987, we asked that a date be set this year for rapid and complete withdrawal from Afghanistan; in June, that the Soviets join us in alleviating the divisions of Berlin and begin with the dismantling of the Berlin wall; in July,

that the Soviets move toward self-determination in East Europe and rescind the Brezhnev doctrine. Of course, these are significant democratic steps, but steps such as these are required for a fundamental improvement in relations between East and West.

Well, today, I want to propose another step that Soviet leaders could take, a realistic step that would greatly help our efforts to reduce arms. We're near an historic agreement that could eliminate a whole class of missiles. If it is signed, we shall rely not on trust but on the evidence of our own eyes that it is being implemented. As the Russians themselves say, *dovorey no provorey*—trust but verify. And that we shall do. But effective verification requires more than unilateral technical means. Even on-site inspection is not a panacea, especially as we address the ambitious agenda of arms reduction ahead. We need to seek compliance with existing agreements, all too often violated by the U.S.S.R. We also need to see more openness, a departure from the habits of secrecy that have so long applied to Soviet military affairs.

I say to the Soviet leadership: It's time to show some *glasnost* in your military affairs. First, publish a valid budget of your military expenditures, just as we do. Second, reveal to the Soviet people and the world the size and composition of the Soviet Armed Forces. Third, open for debate in your Supreme Soviet the big issues of military policy and weapons, just as we do. These steps would contribute to greater understanding between us and also to the good sense of your own decisions on the grave matter of armaments and military posture.

The immediate agenda of arms reduction is clear. We can wrap up an agreement on intermediate-range nuclear missiles promptly. There are still issues to be worked out. Our delegation in Geneva has already pointed the way to simplifying verification requirements now that we've agreed to the total elimination of U.S. and Soviet INF missiles. We have also repeatedly pointed out that the last-minute demand by the Soviets concerning West German Pershing 1-A missiles was without foundation. Well, earlier today Chancellor Kohl removed even this artificial obstacle from consideration.

We are therefore hopeful that the Soviet Union will demonstrate that there is substance behind the rhetoric they have repeated so often of late: that they genuinely want a stabilizing INF agreement. And if so, they'll move to meet our proposals constructively rather than erect [erect] additional barriers to agreement. We also need to move ahead rapidly on the goal Mr. Gorbachev and I agreed to at Reykjavik last fall, a 50-percent reduction in strategic nuclear forces. These would be great achievements.

Let me pause and make note of something that will advance the cause of all these negotiations. I think it is vital that Western reporters and editors keep the real record of these negotiations in mind. I note, for example, that the other day the Economist ran a kind of believe-it-or-not type item in which it reminded its readership that it had been the United States that first proposed the zero option in the INF negotiations and first proposed the 50-percent reductions in strategic weapons. I would simply say that as soon as the Soviets realize that attempts to manipulate the media of [on] these negotiations will not work, the better the chances are of treaty documents eventually getting signed.

So, too, as most of you know, we have pursued our four-part agenda with the Soviets of human rights, arms reductions, resolution of regional conflicts, and bilateral issues. All parts must advance if the relationship as a whole is to advance. Let me stress the serious concern about Soviet actions in one of these areas: regional conflicts. The fact remains that in Afghanistan Soviet occupation forces are still waging a war of indiscriminate bombing and civilian massacre against a Moslem people whose only crime is to love their country and their faith. In Central America, Soviet-bloc arms deliveries have been speeding up during the past year, increasing by more than 100 percent. So, while talking about reforms at home, the Soviet Union has stepped up its efforts to impose a failed system on others. I stress that speaking up about such actions is a matter of conscience to the West and that Soviet actions in these areas are being viewed with the utmost concern. And I

cannot overemphasize this point.

But let me again note that the progress we've seen in East-West relations flows from the new strength and resolution that we have brought to American foreign policy and from the boldness of our initiatives for peace. We are also seeing a Soviet leadership that appears more willing to address the problems that have divided East and West so long and to seek agreements based on mutual benefit.

Perhaps the final measure of this new resolve can be found in the growth of democracy throughout the world. Only a decade ago, democracy was under attack throughout Latin America. Today more than 90 percent of Latin Americans live in nations that are now democratic or headed decisively in that direction. A recent U.N. General Assembly session on Africa called for more personal freedom and a reduction of government power in order to spur economic progress. We have also seen dramatic democratic gains in the past few years in nations like the Philippines and South Korea. Even places like China have shown an openness toward economic reform. And above all, the old solutions of the 20th century for the world's woes—solutions calling for more and more state power concentrated in the hands of smaller and smaller elites—have come under fire everywhere, especially among the intellectuals. The new idea of a nexus between economic and political freedom as the principal vehicle of social progress is catching on.

In looking back over these 6½ years, then, I cannot help but reflect on the most dramatic change to my own eyes: the exciting new prospects for the democratic cause. A feeling of energy and hope prevails. Statism has lost the intellectuals, and everywhere one turns, nations and people are seeking the fulfillment of their age-old aspirations for self-government and self-determination. Perhaps, then, we may finally progress beyond the postwar standoff and fulfill the promises made at Yalta but never acted upon. Perhaps it's not too much to ask for initial steps toward democratic rule and free elections. And I hope to address this matter more fully before the United Nations General Assembly.

Yes, we may, then, live at the moment

Churchill once anticipated: a moment when the world would have a chance to redeem the opportunity it missed four decades ago—a chance for the “broad sunlit uplands” of freedom, a chance to end the terrible agony of the 20th century and the twin threats of nuclear war and totalitarian ideology, a chance, above all, to see humanity live and prosper under that form of government that Churchill called the worst form of government except, as he said, for all the others: democracy. This is the opportunity before us. It's one we must seize now for ourselves and future generations.

I've been greatly honored to be invited to be here today and to address you. I have been a member of Town Hall for 20 years—started when I was just a kid. [Laughter] But I'm also aware that this is the 50th anniversary of Town Hall. So, happy birthday to Town Hall! And thank all of you, and God bless you all.

[At this point, Stender Sweeney, chairman of the Town Hall of California board of governors, gave the President a plaque and scroll designating him as the honorary founder of the Town Hall American Heritage Endowment.]

Well, I am most grateful and most honored. And I thank you, Mr. Sweeney. As I told you, I've been a member of Town Hall for many years, and I know that your impartial programs set a fine example for our youth. I'm thrilled that you are involving young people in this important Town Hall tradition. And if I could say something to you about it—talk about being deserving—the thing I'm the most proud of and all that goes with this job I have is when I have an opportunity to visit those young men and women of ours in military uniform. You've heard their music. But let me also tell you that we have the highest percentage of high school graduates in our military today that we have ever had in our history, and it is entirely voluntary.

You know that in World War II when General George Marshall was asked what was our secret weapon, he said the best blankety-blank kids in the world. Well, I won't use his language. [Laughter] Generals can say it, but Presidents can't. [Laughter]

But I've come to the conclusion that these young people are deserving of what you've proposed, because they are the best blankety-blank kids in the world.

So, I heartily endorse what has been presented here. I'm grateful for the honors that have been done me. But they tell me that a number of you aren't members of Town Hall. [Laughter] And if you'd like to join—[laughter]—you can put down my name as

sponsor. [Laughter] Thank you all. They told me that I came on from the left and I can exit from the right. That's been the story of my life. [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 1:02 p.m. at a luncheon in the Los Angeles Ballroom at the Century Plaza Hotel. His remarks were broadcast via satellite to a conference on Soviet-U.S. relations in Chautauqua, NY.

Nomination of Ira D. Hall, Jr., To Be a Governor of the United States Postal Service

August 26, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Ira D. Hall, Jr., to be a Governor of the United States Postal Service for the remainder of the term expiring December 8, 1990. He would succeed Peter E. Voss.

Since March 1987 Mr. Hall has been assistant general manager of industry systems products at the IBM Corp. in Milford, CT.

Prior to this, he was director of corporate business development at IBM, 1985–1987, and senior vice president of L.F. Rothschild, Unterberg, Towbin, 1982–1984.

Mr. Hall graduated from Stanford University (B.S., 1967; M.B.A., 1976). He was born August 23, 1944, in Oklahoma City, OK. Mr. Hall is married, has two children, and resides in Stamford, CT.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the Disposition of Nuclear Weapons Deployed in the Federal Republic of Germany

August 26, 1987

As you know, Chancellor Kohl has made a statement concerning the future status of the German Pershing 1-A missiles. We strongly support his reaffirmation that the German Pershing 1-A's have not been and will not be a matter for discussion in U.S.-Soviet negotiations, which are bilateral.

We have emphasized at the same time that the disposition of these missiles is a matter for the Federal Republic of Germany to decide, in consultation with NATO. We therefore understand and support the statement on future disposition of the Pershing 1-A's which was made today by the Chancellor. As we understand it, the conditions for not modernizing and eventually

dismantling the Pershing 1-A's include the following key elements:

- U.S.-Soviet agreement on global elimination of U.S. and Soviet INF missiles;
- resolution of outstanding INF verification issues in a satisfactory way for all concerned;
- ratification and entry into force of the U.S.-Soviet INF agreement; and
- actual elimination of these U.S. and Soviet INF missiles in accordance with the agreed U.S.-Soviet timetable.

With respect to nuclear forces of less than 500-kilometer range (SNF), I wish to reaffirm U.S. support for the NATO position—as reflected in the June 1987 NAC commu-

nique of NATO Foreign Ministers—concerning the sequencing and priorities for negotiations beyond those currently underway at Geneva. As the communique from that meeting indicates and as the Supreme

Commander of Allied Forces in Europe, General Galvin, has emphasized, NATO must retain a robust, modern, and survivable nuclear deterrent for the foreseeable future.

Proclamation 5696—9-1-1 Emergency Number Day, 1987 August 26, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Protecting the lives and property of citizens is one of government's fundamental responsibilities. In times of emergency, citizens must have a quick and easy way to summon police and other rescue services. The 9-1-1 emergency telephone number fulfills this need and proves its value hundreds of times every day throughout our country.

In 1968, 9-1-1 was designated the universal emergency telephone number in North America. Today we can see with satisfaction that much has been done to implement this system. Thousands of municipalities have established the 9-1-1 telephone system, making it possible to save more lives and to increase the public's confidence in local emergency response systems. The 9-1-1 system has enabled communities to respond to a greater number of emergency calls with added efficiency and lower costs to the public.

State and local governments have made a commitment to implement the 9-1-1 telephone system across our Nation as soon as possible. Some States have mandated that

the system be operational by a certain date, while others have made much progress on a voluntary basis. These efforts to enhance the welfare and safety of our citizens deserve public recognition and every commendation.

The Congress, by Public Law 99-448, has designated September 11, 1987, as "9-1-1 Emergency Number Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this occasion.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim September 11, 1987, as 9-1-1 Emergency Number Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:23 a.m., August 28, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 27.

Message to the Congress Reporting Budget Deferrals August 27, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report two

revised deferrals of budget authority now totaling \$706,709,883.

The deferrals affect programs in the De-

partments of Agriculture and Health and Human Services.

The details of these deferrals are contained in the attached report.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
August 27, 1987.

Note: The attachments detailing the proposed deferrals were printed in the "Federal Register" of September 2.

Appointment of Bill Owens as a Member of the Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education

August 27, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Bill Owens to be a member of the Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education for a term expiring July 27, 1991. He would succeed Harriett M. Wieder.

Since 1983 Mr. Owens has been State representative for the 49th district in Colorado. He is also division director for the Rocky Mountain Oil and Gas Association in Denver, CO, a position he has held since

1981. Mr. Owens is currently chairman of the State Affairs Committee, 1987–present. From 1977 to 1979, he was associated with the Gates Rubber Co.

Mr. Owens graduated from Austin State University (B.S., 1973) and the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas (M.A., 1975). He was born October 22, 1950, in Fort Worth, TX. Mr. Owens is married, has two children, and resides in Aurora, CO.

Appointment of Two Members of the Board of Foreign Scholarships

August 27, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Board of Foreign Scholarships for terms expiring September 22, 1990:

Philip N. Marcus, of Connecticut. He would succeed E. Victor Milione. Since 1985 Mr. Marcus has been a consultant with the Heritage Foundation and a board member for the National Review. Prior to this he was president of the Institute for Educational Affairs in New York, NY, 1979–1985. From 1975 to 1979, he was Assistant Director of Research Grants at the National Endowment for the Humanities. Mr. Marcus graduated from Michigan State University (B.A., 1965; M.A., 1967; Ph.D., 1969). He

served in the United States Navy, 1959–1961. Mr. Marcus was born January 1, 1942, in Martin, TN. He is married, has two children, and resides in Fairfield, CT.

Charles W. Dunn, of South Carolina. He would succeed Jeffrey B. Gayner. Since 1972 Mr. Dunn has been a professor and departmental head of political science at Clemson University in South Carolina. Prior to this he was visiting assistant professor at the University of Illinois in Urbana, IL. Mr. Dunn graduated from Illinois State University (B.S., 1962) and Florida State University (M.S., 1963; Ph.D., 1965). He was born October 8, 1940, in Bloomington, IL. Mr. Dunn is married, has four children, and resides in Greenville, SC.

Remarks at a Meeting With Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance Leaders in Los Angeles, California August 27, 1987

The President. Well, [it] was a pleasure to see you all again. Much has happened since we last met, and I'm looking forward to reviewing developments with all of you.

We have much to thank you for. The political and military pressure you've applied, I think, is showing results. The Sandinistas have now signed a peace agreement based on democracy in Nicaragua, and we'll be watching carefully to see if they really comply. Without the freedom fighters, they will have no incentives to implement the measures they've said that they will implement.

We have not yet decided on the format of our next funding request, but we intend to see that you have adequate funding until a cease-fire is in place and a verifiable process of democratization is underway.

Reporter. Mr. President, are you aware of the situation in the Philippines? There's ap-

parently been a mutiny against President Aquino.

The President. I have just heard word of that and have no further details on it.

Q. Are you going to go for this escrow account idea for *contra* funding, sir?

The President. We're going to have a meeting here, and they will be holding a press conference later, and we'll be issuing a statement.

Q. But you're not going to let them die, are you? You're not going to let the movement die?

The President. No, no.

Q. How are your allergies, sir? Have you met with the doctor yet?

The President. You must be able to hear that I'm not my usual high tenor. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 2:06 p.m. in the Oak Room at the Century Plaza Hotel.

Remarks on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork to Law Enforcement Officials in Los Angeles, California August 28, 1987

The President. It's a great pleasure to meet this morning with such distinguished law enforcement officials who've been active on the front lines of our fight against crime. I'm particularly pleased to have this opportunity to hear your views on a matter that will have a continuing impact on law enforcement and criminal justice long after my administration leaves office: the nomination of Judge Robert Bork to succeed Lewis Powell as a Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court has always had a critical role in the administration of criminal justice at both the State and Federal levels. Criminal cases make up one of the largest categories of the highest Court's decisions. I'm surprised to learn it's almost one-third

of all the cases it considers. And that's why, when it comes to crime and safety of our citizens, it's so important for our courts to make a tough, clear-eyed look at the Constitution's purpose to establish justice and ensure domestic tranquility.

Judge Robert Bork, whom I nominated nearly 8 weeks ago, would be just such a Justice. His guiding principle is one of judicial restraint. And Judge Bork believes that judges should not make the laws; their function is to interpret the laws based on the Constitution and precedent. It's time we reassert the fundamental principle of the purpose of criminal justice is to find the truth, not to coddle criminals. The constitutional rights of the accused must be protect-

ed but so must the rights of our law-abiding citizens.

During his distinguished career in law and public service, Robert Bork has demonstrated a genuine concern for the right of our citizens to live in safe communities and a clear understanding of the problems facing today's law enforcement professions. As Solicitor General, the Nation's chief legal advocate before the Supreme Court, he argued the landmark cases that upheld the constitutionality of capital punishment, a position maintained by Justice Lewis Powell in his years on the Court. Last term the constitutionality of capital punishment in cases of particularly brutal murders was narrowly reaffirmed with the support of Justice Powell, whose seat Judge Bork would fill. It's essential that capital punishment remain on the books if we're to protect innocent lives from the tragedy of vicious criminal acts.

As Solicitor General, Bob Bork also advanced common-sense readings of the Constitution that would help, not hinder, the search for truth in criminal trials. He argued the Constitution was intended to assure real justice for all citizens, not to foster never-ending sparring matches between lawyers. As a judge on one of our nation's most important appellate courts, Judge Bork has handed down tough but fair decisions that have protected the rights of victims in the society as well as the rights of the accused, and our Constitution, we know, requires no less.

Together, we've made great strides in the war on crime. A key reason for that progress has been the appointment of tough-minded judges. For the past 7 years, Federal criminal sentences have increased 30 percent overall. Judge Bork's nomination is a crucial opportunity to continue our progress in the war against crime. The Supreme Court today is closely divided on many important criminal justice issues. The support given to Judge Bork's nomination by law enforcement professionals like you and the men and women you represent can help ensure that Lewis Powell's seat on the Supreme Court is filled by a judge who

shares his support for the rule of law.

Reporter. Mr. President, why are there no women supporters of Bork on law and order?

The President. I'm not sure there aren't. Have you asked Nancy? [*Laughter*]

Q. You didn't invite any, so—your own administration officials take up half the table.

The President. The other half of the table are leaders of virtually all the law enforcement organizations in the United States.

Q. Sir, what can you tell us about the Philippines? Do you think Mrs. Aquino is out of danger now?

The President. I don't know, Sam [Sam Donaldson, ABC News]. I'm not going to get into that. We've got another subject here. And frankly, we're trying to keep track of what's going on there.

Mr. Weinberg. We've got to go.

The President. He shut me off. See?

Q. Would you ask Mrs. Reagan to take our calls so we can find out if she supports Judge Bork? [*Laughter*]

The President. She'll take your calls.

Q. Mr. President, Admiral Poindexter wants to retire at his old rank of vice admiral. Will you support that?

The President. I'm not going to comment on that. I just learned that myself.

Q. Is that something you'd consider?

The President. No answers now.

Q. It looks like the Russians are planning for a summit in either October or November. Does that please you, sir?

Mr. Weinberg. He said no answers. Let's go, please.

The President. You know that I support the idea of a summit.

Q. It looks good, doesn't it?

The President. I'm not going to comment.

Note: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. in the Oak Room at the Century Plaza Hotel. In his remarks, the President referred to John M. Poindexter, former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. Mark D. Weinberg was Special Assistant to the President and Assistant Press Secretary.

Message to the Congress Transmitting an Alternate Plan for Federal Civilian Pay Increases

August 28, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

Under the Federal Pay Comparability Act of 1970, the President is required to make a decision each year on what, if any, pay adjustment should be provided for Federal employees under the General Schedule and the related statutory pay systems.

My pay advisors have reported to me that an increase in pay rates averaging 23.74 percent, to be effective in October 1987, would be required under existing procedures to raise Federal pay rates to comparability with private sector pay rates for the same levels of work. However, the law also empowers me to prepare and transmit to the Congress an alternative plan for the pay adjustment if I consider such an alternative plan appropriate because of "national emergency or economic conditions affecting the general welfare." Furthermore, section 15201(a) of the Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985, Public Law 99-272, requires that, in adjusting rates of pay under the Comparability Act, I achieve savings of at least \$1.264 billion in fiscal year 1988 compared to the "baseline" the Congress has used in its budget process. Section 15201(a) also requires that the effective date of the pay adjustment be delayed until January 1988.

Accordingly, after reviewing the reports of my Pay Agent and the Advisory Committee on Federal Pay, after considering the adverse effect that a 23.74 percent increase

in Federal pay rates might have on our national economy, and in order to implement the requirements of the Reconciliation Act, I have determined that economic conditions affecting the general welfare require the following alternative plan for this pay adjustment:

In accordance with section 5305(c)(1) of title 5, United States Code, the pay rates of the General Schedule and the related statutory pay schedules shall be increased by an overall percentage of 2 percent for each schedule, with such increase to become effective on the first day of the first applicable pay period beginning on or after January 1, 1988.

This alternative plan would produce savings that exceed the amounts required by the Congress in the Reconciliation Act for fiscal year 1988.

Accompanying this report and made a part hereof are the pay schedules that will result from this alternative plan, including, as required by section 5382(c) of title 5, United States Code, the rates of basic pay for the Senior Executive Service, in accordance with the formula established in Schedule 4 of Executive Order 12578.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
August 28, 1987.

Note: The message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 29.

Radio Address to the Nation on Soviet-United States Relations

August 29, 1987

My fellow Americans:

In this summer season, most of us would like to forget work, take some time off, and relax. Still, if you're like me, while you're on vacation, your mind wanders to bigger issues than the day-to-day ones—issues like

where we're going over the long run and how we plan to get there. I hope you'll forgive me then if I take a few minutes to talk with you about one of the biggest issues: relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. You see, I had a

chance to speak about this a few days ago to a group in Los Angeles and by satellite hookup to another one in New York. I wanted to share some of that with you.

Today America and the Soviet Union are adversaries, as we have been since shortly after the Second World War. This hostility was not of U.S. choosing. Before his death, President Franklin Roosevelt spoke for all Americans when he said that he hoped the Soviets would work with us after the war for a world of democracy and peace. With this prayer in his heart, F.D.R. went to the Yalta Conference in 1945 to meet with Stalin. There the Soviets fed his hopes by agreeing that when peace came they would hold free and unfettered elections in Eastern European countries like Poland. Within 2 years they broke that promise. Then they began to subvert free countries like Greece and Turkey. Only after that did America reluctantly accept that the Soviets were our adversaries.

Today the goals of our foreign policy are the same as they have been for the last four decades. We stand against totalitarianism, particularly imperialistic expansionist totalitarianism. We are for democracy and human rights, and we're for a worldwide prosperity that only free economies can give and the pursuit of human happiness that only political freedom allows. When my administration took office 6½ years ago, we found that in some crucial ways American policy had lost sight of these great goals. A massive Soviet military buildup throughout the 1970's had been met with inaction in the United States. The Soviets had added several thousand warheads, introduced advanced intermediate-range nuclear weapons to Europe, and installed their fourth generation of intercontinental missiles, while we simply watched. Meanwhile, in the Third World, Soviet adventurism had reached into countries like Afghanistan, Cambodia, Angola, and Nicaragua.

Today much has changed. We have built up our military, and the Soviets have responded to our new strength with a new willingness to talk seriously about arms reductions. In the past, arms agreements simply set rules for how fast our two countries could increase their numbers of nuclear weapons. Six years ago I said that this

was a wrong goal for arms talks. We should try to cut the nuclear numbers. I suggested that in one area—ground-launched intermediate-range missiles—we simply eliminate them. Well, today we are close to an agreement with the Soviets to do just that. At the same time, we have begun work on technologies that could free all of mankind from the fear of nuclear missiles for all time—a strategic defense against nuclear ballistic missiles. In the last 6½ years, we have also established a new approach to Soviet adventurism. We have said that America has a moral obligation to stand with those brave souls who fight for freedom and against Soviet-sponsored oppression in their homelands. If the world is to know true peace, the Soviets must give up these imperial adventures.

This week I suggested a number of steps the Soviets can take to improve relations with the United States. They can get out of Afghanistan; they can tear down the Berlin Wall; they can allow free elections in Eastern Europe. And since this month marks the seventh anniversary of the free Polish labor union Solidarity, as well as the 19th anniversary of the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia, it is a particularly good time for the Soviets to repudiate force as a means of preventing liberalization in Eastern Europe. And along the same lines, they can stop helping the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua subvert its neighbors. The Soviets can also open their defense establishment to world scrutiny. They can publish a valid and comprehensive defense budget and reveal the size and composition of their armed forces. They can let their parliament, the Supreme Soviet, debate major new military programs.

Here at home we must remember the lesson of the last 40 years, that if the world is to know true peace and if freedom is to prevail, America must remain strong and determined.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:05 a.m. from the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles, CA.

**Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on the Philippine Military Rebellion
*August 29, 1987***

The President is gratified and relieved that President Aquino has resolved the crisis faced by her government over the past 2 days. The President was deeply distressed by the injury suffered by President Aquino's son and the deaths and injuries of the numerous victims—both military and civilian—of these unfortunate events.

The President wishes to express his

whole-hearted support and that of his administration, the Congress, and the American people for President Aquino and the democratic principles she represents. The President is determined to continue working closely with President Aquino on behalf of her efforts to strengthen democracy in the Philippines.

**Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on Federal Loan Sales
*September 2, 1987***

Yesterday marked the first major sale of our Federal loan portfolio. The Farmers Home Administration brought over \$1 billion in community development loans to market. The investor reception has been so positive that the underwriters were able to increase the price of the loans and guarantee a very good return to the Treasury. The bonds that will be issued later this month will carry a Triple-A rating and have an effective yield of less than 1 percent over comparable U.S. Treasury bonds.

But this sale means more than the simple return to the Government. First, it proves that many Federal financial assets can be successfully sold without Federal guarantees providing for more efficient servicing of these loans in the long run. Second, and more importantly, the difference between the final price and the face value of the loans will clearly indicate the implied Fed-

eral subsidy in these credit programs.

Two additional loan sales are scheduled this month. The first, \$130 million in Department of Education loans, should go to market in the next few days. Hopefully, before the end of the month, Farmers Home will receive an additional \$1.7 billion for rural housing loans in the largest portfolio sale ever. The preliminary filings have been made with the SEC, and we should be able to complete this transaction by the end of September.

It is often too easy, when faced with the choice of raising taxes to directly fund a government program, to establish subsidized credit which competes with the private sector and masks true costs to the taxpayers. These three loan sales will tell us exactly how much subsidy is being provided while at the same time assist with reducing our budget deficit.

Executive Order 12606—The Family September 2, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, and in order to ensure that the autonomy and rights of the family are considered in the formulation and implementation of policies by Executive departments and agencies, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Family Policymaking Criteria.

In formulating and implementing policies and regulations that may have significant impact on family formation, maintenance, and general well-being, Executive departments and agencies shall, to the extent permitted by law, assess such measures in light of the following questions:

(a) Does this action by government strengthen or erode the stability of the family and, particularly, the marital commitment?

(b) Does this action strengthen or erode the authority and rights of parents in the education, nurture, and supervision of their children?

(c) Does this action help the family perform its functions, or does it substitute governmental activity for the function?

(d) Does this action by government increase or decrease family earnings? Do the proposed benefits of this action justify the impact on the family budget?

(e) Can this activity be carried out by a lower level of government or by the family itself?

(f) What message, intended or otherwise, does this program send to the public concerning the status of the family?

(g) What message does it send to young people concerning the relationship between their behavior, their personal responsibility, and the norms of our society?

Sec. 2. Governmentwide Family Policy Coordination and Review.

(a) Executive departments and agencies shall identify proposed regulatory and statutory provisions that may have significant potential negative impact on the family well-being and provide adequate rationale on why such proposal should be submitted.

The head of the department or agency, shall certify in writing that, to the extent permitted by law, such measure has been assessed in light of the criteria in Section 1 of this Order and how such measures will enhance family well-being. Such certification shall be transmitted to the Office of Management and Budget. Departments and agencies shall give careful consideration to family-related concerns and their impact in notices of proposed rulemaking and messages transmitting legislative proposals to the Congress.

(b) The Office of Management and Budget shall, to the extent permitted by law, take action to ensure that the policies of the Executive departments and agencies are applied in light of the criteria set forth in Section 1 of this Order.

(c) The Office of Policy Development shall assess existing and proposed policies and regulations that impact family well-being in light of the criteria established by Section 1 of this Order, provide evaluations on those measures that have significant potential impact on the family to the Office of Management and Budget, and advise the President on policy and regulatory actions that may be taken to strengthen the institutions of marriage and family in America.

Sec. 3. Report. The Office of Policy Development shall submit preliminary reports including specific recommendations to the Domestic Policy Council and shall submit a final report to the President no later than 180 days from the date of this Order. Each year thereafter, a report, including recommendations shall be submitted, through the Domestic Policy Council to the President.

Sec. 4. Judicial Review. This Order is intended to improve the internal management of the Executive branch and is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers, or any person.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
September 2, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:56 a.m., September 8, 1987]

Note: The executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 3.

Executive Order 12607—President's Commission on Privatization September 2, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, and in order to establish, in accordance with the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C. App. I), a Commission to review the appropriate division of responsibilities between the Federal government and the private sector, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Establishment. (a) There is established the President's Commission on Privatization. The Commission shall be composed of not more than 13 members appointed or designated by the President. The members shall be drawn from among a bipartisan cross-section of distinguished leaders.

(b) The President shall designate a Chairman from among the members of the Commission.

Sec. 2. Functions. (a) The Commission shall study and evaluate:

(1) Past and current privatization efforts by the Federal government, State and local governments, and foreign governments, including asset sales by the Federal government;

(2) Literature and writing on privatization; and

(3) The environment for additional privatization efforts by the Federal government.

(b) The Commission shall review the current activities of the Federal government, including asset holdings, and identify those functions that:

(1) Are not properly the responsibility of the Federal government and should be divested or transferred to the private sector, with no residual involvement by the Federal government; or

(2) Require continuing oversight by an Executive Branch agency but can be per-

formed more efficiently by a private entity, including the use of vouchers as an alternative to direct service.

(c) The Commission shall develop the framework for a privatization program, identifying:

(1) Privatization opportunities, including those identified in (b) above, listed in order of priority;

(2) Legislative and administrative actions necessary to effect the privatization initiatives or remove existing privatization restrictions;

(3) Needed improvements to personnel and administrative policy to create an environment conducive to privatization;

(4) Organizational and resource requirements necessary to implement successfully the privatization program; and

(5) Actions necessary to create broad-based support for privatization efforts.

(d) The Commission shall submit its findings and recommendations to the President and the Director of the Office of Management and Budget by March 1, 1988. Interim recommendations shall be transmitted to the Director for consideration in the formulation of the President's FY 1989 budget.

Sec. 3. Administration. (a) The heads of Executive departments, agencies, and independent instrumentalities shall, to the extent permitted by law, provide the Commission, upon request, with such information as it may require for purposes of carrying out its functions.

(b) Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation for their work on the Commission. While engaged in the work of the Commission, members appointed from among private citizens of the United States may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of sub-

sistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the government service (5 U.S.C. 5701–5707).

(c) To the extent provided by law and subject to the availability of appropriations, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall provide the Commission with such administrative services, funds, facilities, staff, and other support services as may be necessary for the performance of its functions.

Sec. 4. General Provision. (a) Notwithstanding the provisions of any other Executive Order, the functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act that are applicable to the Commission, except that of reporting annually to the Congress, shall be performed by the Direc-

tor of the Office of Management and Budget, in accordance with guidelines and procedures established by the Administrator of General Services; and

(b) The Commission shall terminate 30 days after submitting its final report to the President.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
September 2, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:57 a.m., September 8, 1987]

Note: The Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 3.

Statement on the President's Commission on Privatization September 3, 1987

Today I am announcing my intention to appoint the 13 members of my Commission on Privatization. The Commission will help fulfill the commitment I made in my Economic Bill of Rights to end unfair government competition and return government programs and assets to the American people. Privatization follows in the great tradition of free enterprise and private ownership of property that has long been a part of American history, from the initial sale of government lands under the Northwest Ordinance to the homestead program that brought the pioneers to the American West over 100 years ago.

There are many activities that are not the proper function of the Federal Government and that should simply be left to the private sector. The American people know that in many cases the Government is less efficient than private enterprise in providing certain services. Government agencies do not have the same incentives and interests that allow the private market to provide goods and services more efficiently and effectively.

Privatization programs have the potential for bringing enormous benefits to all members of society. Workers can be given part

ownership in the newly created private company and often receive a pay raise. The public receives better services. Managers are free to respond to the proper incentives to build a successful business, and competition in the free market allows others to share in the prosperity. As recent experience in Great Britain shows, privatization also increases the public participation in the market system: By selling government-owned enterprises, the number of families owning stock increased dramatically.

In the United States, privatization has been pursued more aggressively at the State and local level than at the Federal level. One of the many success stories comes from right here in southern California. The University of Southern California's Medical Center, which is operated by Los Angeles County, contracted out its food service and found that it could save over \$6 million in 4 years. Most of the county workers affected by the change went to work for the private contractor, and 90 percent of them received a pay hike when the service went private.

The Commission will be chaired by Professor David Linowes of the University of

Illinois. The other members will bring a wide range of expertise to the Commission. The bipartisan Commission will study all activities of the Federal Government and report back to me on which government programs, enterprises, and activities are more appropriately part of the private sector. In addition, the Commission is expected to review scholarly work on privatization and examine the accomplishments of other countries and State and local governments. Based on its findings, the Commission will propose how we can return appropriate Federal activities to the private sector through the sale of government operations and assets, the use of private enterprise to provide services for government agencies, or the use of vouchers to provide

services to the public through the private sector. It will recommend legislative and administrative action that can be taken to accomplish the privatization initiatives. In the meantime, my administration will continue to vigorously pursue our current privatization initiatives.

It is my hope that my Commission on Privatization can take politics out of the privatization effort and propose a national policy, one that draws upon the lessons of our past successes—such as the homestead program in the West—that transformed the American economy into the biggest and best this world has ever seen, and a policy that calls upon the ingenuity of our free enterprise system to benefit all Americans.

Appointment of 12 Members of the President's Commission on Privatization, and Designation of the Chairman *September 3, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following to be members of the President's Commission on Privatization:

David F. Linowes, of Illinois, is Chairman of the Commission. He has been Boecheinstein Professor of Political Economy and Public Policy and professor of business administration at the University of Illinois since 1976. From 1975 to 1977, he served as Chairman of the U.S. Privacy Protection Commission. He headed economic development missions for the U.S. Department of State and the United Nations to Turkey, India, Greece, Pakistan, and Iran in the late 1960's and early 1970's.

Annelise Graebner Anderson, of California, is senior fellow at the Hoover Institution in Palo Alto. A noted economist with a Ph.D. from Columbia University, she served as Associate Director for Economics and Government at the Office of Management and Budget from 1981 to 1983.

Michael D. Antonovich, of California, is on the board of supervisors for Los Angeles County, the largest local government in the country. One of the board's top three priorities has been privatization, and since 1980 they have authorized 645 private contracts for a savings of \$100 million.

Walter F. Bish, of West Virginia, is president of the Independent Steelworkers Union at Weirton Steel Corp., the largest employee-owned company in America. He recently served as a member of the Presidential Task Force for Project Economic Justice, which promoted privatization and employee ownership as an alternative to state socialism in Central America.

Sandra Mitchell Brock, of Washington, DC, is government relations adviser for Heron, Burchette, Ruchert & Rothwell. In both her current position and her former position as vice president of government affairs for Air Florida, she acted as the primary liaison between government and the private sector for each company.

Garrey E. Carruthers, Governor of New Mexico, took office in January of this year. Since that time he has established a privatization cabinet council to study privatization in State government. As former Assistant Secretary of the U.S. Department of the Interior, he led the efforts on privatization in coal leasing.

Richard H. Fink, of Washington, DC, is founder, president, and chief executive officer of Citizens for a Sound Economy. As research associate professor of economics at George Mason University, he founded, directed, and continues to chair the Center for the Study of Market

Processes. An economics consultant, he testified at the U.S. House of Representatives Grace caucus hearings on privatization in February of 1986.

Melvin R. Laird, of Maryland, served as Secretary of Defense from 1969 to 1972 and as domestic adviser to President Nixon from 1973 to 1974. He also served as a Member of Congress for more than 15 years, during which time he was chairman of the Republican Conference and a member of the House Appropriations Committee.

James T. McIntyre, Jr., of Virginia, currently a partner in the DC law firm of Hansell & Post, served as Director of the Office of Management and Budget from 1978 to 1981, and as Deputy Director of OMB in 1977. He also served as director of the Office of Planning and

Budget for the State of Georgia.

George L. Priest, of Connecticut, is professor of law, director of the program in civil liability, and director of the Center for Studies in Law, Economics, and Public Policy at Yale Law School. He has written a number of articles on economic policies.

Ralph L. Stanley, of New York, is senior vice president of Municipal Development Corp. From 1983 to 1986, he served as Administrator of the Urban Mass Transportation Administration.

Walter B. Wriston, of New York, is former chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Citicorp, the company which he has served since 1946. He is also Chairman of the President's Economic Policy Board.

Radio Address to the Nation on Free and Fair Trade September 5, 1987

My fellow Americans:

I hope all of you are enjoying this Labor Day weekend, a time for family outings, backyard barbecues, and a time of appreciation for the working people of America. It was back in 1882 when Peter McGuire, the son of Irish immigrants and founder of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, first came up with the idea of setting a day aside to honor the laboring people of our country. On September 5th of that year, 1882, the first Labor Day celebration took place in New York City. By 1894 it had spread throughout the country and was proclaimed a Federal holiday by an act of Congress.

American working men and women have much of which to be proud. Our democracy is based on their good sense and commitment to liberty. It was the hard work and skill of working people that turned a vast American wilderness into the world's most powerful economy. Our working people are still the most productive on the planet. I've always believed that, given the tools and equipment they need and on a level playing field, American workers can outcompete and beat the pants off anybody, anywhere.

Now, there are those who don't have this same confidence. They fear foreign compe-

tion, as is reflected in protectionist trade proposals that float around Washington these days. Well, restricting trade in the long run is bad for everybody, especially for the working people of America. Protecting one domestic industry risks retaliation against another. For example, American agriculture would be dealt a devastating blow if our trading partners shut their markets to our farm products in retaliation to American protectionism.

Trade and commerce are the lifeblood of job creation. The flow of goods and services between countries and peoples is a stimulus to growth and prosperity. This isn't a time for us to be afraid, to be erecting barriers, or to be trying to shut out the world. Instead, we should be working to open markets, to increase our productivity, and to meet the competition head-on. And don't let anyone tell you we can't do it. Last year manufacturing productivity in the United States jumped by 3.5 percent, the biggest increase of any major industrialized nation.

We've been witnessing fundamental changes throughout the width and breadth of our economy. Management and labor have gotten serious. Companies have been restructured, overhead has been cut, costs brought down, quality improved. Impres-

sive investments have been made in technology and computerization. American industry is stepping out in the world again, and this time it's leaner, meaner, and ready for action.

As usual, Congress is now talking about passing heavyhanded legislation to deal with our trade problem. If there's one thing that should be clear to even the casual observer, it is that quick-fixes and easy answers like protectionism are not the way to a better life. That was made abundantly evident when, during the last decade, higher taxes and bigger government gave us double-digit inflation and economic stagnation. When we got to Washington 6½ years ago, we put in place economic policies that foster lasting progress, policies that encourage people to work and invest, policies that leave more resources in the hands of the producers, consumers, and entrepreneurs rather than in the bureaucratic coffers of the Federal Government.

What has this meant for the working people of America? We're entering the 58th month of economic growth. Inflation has remained low and more than 13½ mil-

lion jobs have been created, about 240,000 a month since the expansion began. Unemployment continues to drop; a higher percentage of our working-age population is employed than ever before. And last year workers' pay increases stayed well ahead of consumer price increases since hourly compensation rose an average of 3.9 percent, consumer price increases only 1.1 percent. Furthermore, poverty is declining in America, and the median family income after adjustments for inflation jumped by 4.2 percent last year, the fourth straight year in a row it's increased. In short, the working people of America are better off, and what better day to say it than on Labor Day.

You may notice that the holiday we celebrate today falls directly between the Fourth of July and Thanksgiving, days that underscore our devotion to freedom and our thanks to God. That is an appropriate spot to reserve for the recognition of the working men and women of America.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:06 a.m. from his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA.

Remarks on the Occasion of Alfred M. Landon's 100th Birthday in Topeka, Kansas

September 6, 1987

Governor Landon. It's a great day in my life, and it's a great day in the life of all of us to have had the privilege that we have today of meeting the President of the United States and Mrs. Reagan. I give you now the President.

The President. Well, Governor Landon, Mrs. Landon, Governor Hayden, Senator Kassebaum, Senator Dole, Mayor Wright, ladies and gentlemen, I can't resist saying this: You don't know what a joy it is for a fellow like me to go to a birthday party for someone who can, in all honesty, call me "kid." [Laughter] Today we celebrate—I know it will actually be in just a few days—but we're celebrating Alf Landon's first century, half the life of our nation since the

framing of the Constitution. As you know, it seems right to me that Alf Landon was born in the centennial year of the Constitution and is now part of its bicentennial year.

And after all, you ask what the America that our Constitution created is, what it means, and you'll get back many answers. For example, America means a dream and the freedom to chase that dream. America means government of, by, and for the people, in a land where the sacred soul of humanity is not only respected but revered. America means justice under law. It means peace and decency. It means a bright Kansas Sun rising over fields that hard-working, broad-shouldered farmers have planted with prayers and plowed with

hope. But the funny thing is that no matter what you say when you talk about America you'll also be saying something about Alf Landon. In a hundred years, Alf Landon has chased many dreams and caught most of them. Along the way, he's found time to stand for the American values of liberty, democracy, and opportunity. And no one is more the living soul of Kansas, which to me means quiet strength and the simple decency of all America, than Alf Landon.

Now, Governor, you preceded me by a bit as our party's nominee for President, and I had a little better luck. Well, I also had better years and an easier field. But no one ever did prouder as a candidate by his party or the Nation than you. When it was out of fashion, you warned of the dangers of too much government and too much government spending. Recently, I was reminded that on your 90th birthday you said that credit cards are the worst things that have happened to our country; they encourage people to spend money they don't have. Well, don't spend money you don't have. I just wish I could get you to come back to Washington and help me drum that message into the Congress. But I guess the next best thing to having you in Washington is

having a chip off the old block. I know you're proud, just as I'm grateful, that Nancy is in the Senate. She's doing a great job.

So this is my birthday message: It is that all Americans are thankful for what you have meant to our country. And now, before I wax so eloquent that no one can stop me, I'll break off here just saying: Alf, happy birthday and God bless you!

[At this point, the President and family and friends sang "Happy Birthday."]

The President. I know the time has come to leave, but I just couldn't help but tell you a little experience. I have met the Governor on a previous birthday sometime ago, and I expressed the wish that I could meet him again on his hundredth birthday. He looked me up and down; he said, "You seem to be in pretty good shape. I think maybe you can make it." *[Laughter]*

Note: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. at Mr. Landon's home. In his opening remarks, the President referred to Mrs. Theo Landon, Gov. Mike Hayden, Senator Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Senator Robert Dole, and Mayor Douglas Wright. Following his remarks, he returned to Washington, DC.

Statement on the Observance of Labor Day September 7, 1987

It is with great pleasure that I join all Americans in celebrating Labor Day, 1987. Each year, at summer's end, we pause to honor working men and women. Their labor, resourcefulness, and devotion to family and country have forged the freest, most prosperous nation the world has ever known. Their trades and occupations are countless, but with all their diversity they are one in commitment to the ideals of democracy and to the dream of a better life for themselves and for their children. In the pursuit of that American dream, every generation has proven anew the dignity of work and of working people.

Labor Day provides all of us with an opportunity to reflect on the meaning of work

not simply as an economic necessity but as an expression of deeper human qualities. We can be truly grateful that God has blessed our nation with an abundance which has permitted us to produce a vast quantity of goods for people around the world. But we must always remember that of all of our resources none is more valuable or important than the American worker. We rejoice in the fact that more of our citizens are working than ever before and that we continue to be a land of hope, energy, and opportunity.

On this occasion, let us also remember the freedoms and the sacrifices that have made our abundance possible. We are heirs

to a precious legacy, one that has taken centuries to build, and we must forever rec-

ognize that its preservation and increase are our glad task and solemn responsibility.

Remarks on Administration Goals to Senior Presidential Appointees September 8, 1987

Thank you very much, but I think George and I should be applauding you. I thought it'd be good to get together now that we've all rested from our summer vacations, although it's true summer vacations aren't always restful. You know that that leads to a story. [*Laughter*]

There was a fellow that was on his way to a mountain resort, and a policeman stopped him and said, "Did you know you're driving without taillights?" And the driver hopped out of the car. He was so badly shaken that the officer took pity on him and said, "Well, now, wait a minute. Calm down. It's not that serious an infraction." The fellow said, "It may not mean much to you, but to me it means I've lost my trailer, a wife, and four kids!" [*Laughter*]

But it's good to come together as we face these final 16 months—only 16 months. From this moment on, we must approach each new task with the same sense of urgency that we first brought to Washington back in 1981. The challenge is no less, and the goals are still attainable. If I could interject something here: Political life has always reminded me a little of my former career. And the whole philosophy was when you come to town open big. And now, well, it's time for an even bigger finish and a good curtain call.

On the domestic side, we face one more important task—or no more important task, I should say, then securing the confirmation to the Supreme Court of Judge Robert Bork. [*Applause*] Well, we all know that since his nomination Judge Bork has come under attack for being some kind of a right-wing ideologue. We also know those charges are wrong. Judge Bork believes in judicial restraint, and this means reading laws in the way intended by elected officials and pass them and not reshaping them according to judicial whim. Now, where the

law deals with moral issues, Judge Bork has said—and I quote—"The moral content of the law must be given by the morality of the framer, or the legislator, never the morality of the judge." So, consider that irony. Some legislators are organizing opposition to a judge who believes in deferring to them and in faithfully abiding by the intent of the laws they pass. The country wants and deserves a Supreme Court that doesn't make the laws but interprets the laws.

Judge Bork is superbly qualified—one of the outstanding legal minds in the country and a judge's judge. He's also a people's judge: a judge who believes profoundly in the Constitution that protects the people's rights and in government by the people themselves. I'm convinced that in the end he will be confirmed, but there's no denying that it's going to be a tough fight. I'll need the help of every person in this room, especially those of you who deal regularly with the Congress. I have a feeling—well, I was going to ask a question here, but when I mentioned his name, I don't need to ask the question. I was going to ask it, you know, to limber us all up—that when it comes to restoring judicial restraint as the guiding principle of American courts, when it comes to winning the confirmation of Judge Bork to the Supreme Court he so richly deserves, I was going to say, can I count on you? You've already answered that question.

But next, the budget process. Excuse me; it's probably more accurate to say the so-called budget process—delay after delay, missed deadline after missed deadline, a process that's not reliable or credible. And consider what it turns out. There's the Federal program that will spend millions to build luxury hotels, restaurants, and condominiums—that's right, condominiums. As I remarked when I spoke about this in Indi-

ana recently, I barely had time to figure out what yuppies were before Congress started to subsidize them. [Laughter] And there are the boondoggle public work projects; the farm programs that provide little or nothing for many family farms but that have paid one already-wealthy farmer more than \$13 million dollars; the \$8 million Congress voted this year to establish—get ready—a center for the study of weeds.

It's time to bring an end to the yearly budget fiasco, time to enact the measures that we have put forward as part of our Economic Bill of Rights. And let me say in some areas we're not waiting for Congress to act. A new initiative I announced as part of my Economic Bill of Rights is privatization. Last week I appointed a private—or a bipartisan commission, I should say, to report back to me on ways that we can permanently reduce the size of the Federal Government by returning appropriate activities to the private sector.

But central to the entire effort to bring discipline to the Federal budget will be passage of the line-item veto and a balanced budget amendment. On the balanced budget amendment, a special note: 32 States have already adopted resolutions calling for a constitutional convention for the purpose of drafting a balanced budget amendment—32—that's out of the 34 that are needed before a convention would actually take place. And I can tell you that every time I have mentioned balanced budget out across the country, in addresses to as many as 30,000 people in one outdoor meeting, they break into applause at that term. And it seems that here in Washington, I think—well, I would prefer to see the Congress show the discipline to pass a balanced budget amendment on its own. But if Congress refuses to do so, then I think we'll agree it will be our intention to take the case directly to the State legislatures. You know, I'd sort of enjoy speaking back in Sacramento again. [Laughter] On August 12th I challenged the Congress to give us an up-or-down vote on our balanced budget amendment and to negotiate on every spending item, and that offer still stands.

In foreign affairs, we're engaged in intensive negotiations with the Soviet Union on arms control, as you well know, negotiations

that hold out the hope of actually cutting both sides' nuclear arsenals. And then in Nicaragua there is the urgent and crucial matter of establishing democracy. In recent weeks the issue in Central America seems at times to have become confused: Who is proposing what? How many likely votes are there on Capitol Hill for this or that? But the real issue has never changed. The real issue is peace and democracy in Central America and the national security of the United States.

As President Arias of Costa Rica has said, there will never be peace in Central America until Nicaragua achieves "true democracy." If the other side wants peace, there's no reason for delay; let them democratize now. Democracy requires an immediate cease-fire with the freedom fighters; a general amnesty and the negotiated release of the thousands of political prisoners now held in Sandinista jails; a firm date for free, contested, and internationally supervised national elections; and the immediate recognition of fundamental human rights—rights including freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship. The time has come to focus on the goal to bring peace and democracy throughout Central America and especially in Nicaragua.

Let's be clear about one thing. We will not abandon our friends in Nicaragua! [Applause] Bless you. We share their desire for peace, prosperity, and democracy; and we will support them in that quest just as we've supported them in the past. We will not accept a mere semblance of democracy. We got to this point through efforts of the over 15,000 freedom fighters struggling, and some of them dying, for freedom for their country. It is their country, their future, and if the recent peace agreement does not work, let's resolve that they will be able to count on our continuing assistance until Nicaragua is a genuine democracy. [Applause] Well, thank you. You've made it evident that today, as always, we stand with those brave Nicaraguan men and women who are working and praying and, yes, fighting for human liberty.

More than 6 years behind us and just 6 [16] more months to come. I want you to know how grateful I am and how deeply

grateful for all that each of you has done—for all that testifying on the Hill, for all the travel, all the speeches, and all the interviews, for all the support and for all your dedication. I know these past few months haven't been easy—believe me, I know. And maybe the worst of it has been that at times it seemed as though events were simply happening to us. As one wit has defined history: "It's just one darned thing after another." [Laughter] But history doesn't just happen; it's made. And even in the most difficult moments of these past months, we went right on making history, right on striving to turn our vision of America into reality.

And what do we see: a story of intense concern for the cause of human freedom in our own hemisphere; a story of spreading democracy from the Pacific rim to Latin America and beyond; a story of more Americans employed, in better jobs, than ever before; a story of more for the people and less for government. But we can't stop now.

There is much yet to be done to build in those safeguards that bring low inflation, low interest rates, and increased productivity. We're at the crossroads today, and the country's waiting to see which way we'll turn. Sixteen months more for our own generation, but above all, for our children and grandchildren, let us go on making history together.

And may I conclude with a little Irish blessing—although, some suggest it's a curse: May those who love us, love us. And those who don't love us, may God turn their hearts. And if He doesn't turn their hearts, may He turn their ankles so we'll know them by their limping. [Laughter]

Thank you all, and God bless you. I don't know what you're going to do, but George and I are going to see if we can't get back to work. [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 11:31 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening and closing remarks, the President referred to the Vice President.

Proclamation 5697—National Reye's Syndrome Week, 1987 September 8, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Reye's Syndrome is a deadly disease that can strike a child or teenager during recovery from a relatively innocuous viral illness—from the flu, for example, or from chicken pox. Suddenly, instead of continuing to gain strength and health, the child becomes lethargic or disoriented, unusually excitable, hyperactive, irritable, or even combative. A frequent symptom is uncontrollable vomiting, and violent headaches and delirium may occur. Tragically, 30 percent of the victims of Reye's Syndrome die; another 15 to 25 percent are left with brain damage.

Any child can develop Reye's Syndrome, but research strongly indicates that children given aspirin as treatment for the flu or chicken pox may be particularly vulnerable.

To protect their children, parents must learn to "think Reye's": *do not* use aspirin to treat children with chicken pox or influenza-like illness; *do* recognize the early symptoms of Reye's Syndrome; and *do* seek medical attention for a child immediately at the first sign of those symptoms.

Over the past several years, the United States Department of Health and Human Services, the National Reye's Syndrome Foundation, the American Reye's Syndrome Foundation, and other professional and voluntary health agencies have alerted American families to the dangers of Reye's Syndrome. They have stressed the need to avoid the use of aspirin to treat flu-like illness and chicken pox. The result has been a marked decline in the annual incidence of the disorder. According to a report published last year, the average annual incidence of Reye's Syndrome from 1981 to

1984 was lower than that of the previous five years, with the decrease identified among children younger than 10 years of age. The incidence in 1985 was much lower than during any previous year since surveillance of Reye's Syndrome was initiated in the 1970's.

All Americans welcome such encouraging news. We look for further advances to come from the scientific studies of Reye's Syndrome being supported by the Federal government's National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, and Centers for Disease Control.

To enhance public awareness of Reye's Syndrome, the Congress, by House Joint Resolution 335, has designated the week of September 13 through September 19, 1987, as "National Reye's Syndrome Week" and authorized and requested the President to

issue a proclamation in observance of that week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of September 13 through September 19, 1987, as National Reye's Syndrome Week, and I call upon the people of the United States to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:57 p.m., September 8, 1987]

Proclamation 5698—Mental Illness Awareness Week, 1987 *September 8, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Mental illnesses afflict the rich and the poor, the young and the old. They respect neither race nor gender, robbing millions of Americans of full, productive, and happy lives. Millions more—relatives, friends, and co-workers—share the pain.

This pain is all the more regrettable because much of it is needless. Stigma, rooted in fear and ignorance, keeps many mentally ill citizens from getting the help they need. Adults in the prime of life are incapacitated by symptoms that could be prevented or ameliorated with appropriate treatments. Children, our most important resource for the future, are unable to reach their full potential because early symptoms are ignored and manifestations like alcohol and drug abuse often go unrecognized. Elderly citizens, the fastest growing segment of our population, are prematurely relegated to long-term care facilities due to improper diagnosis and lack of treatment.

The costs of inappropriate or inadequate response to mental illness are enormous. Economic losses alone can be measured in the billions of dollars, but the cost in human suffering is incalculable. Untreated mentally ill adults cannot work, ignored mentally ill children cannot learn, and misdiagnosed older citizens cannot contribute. Worst of all, young and old, bereft of hope, sometimes take their lives. Appropriate treatments can relieve suffering and save lives. They can also restore productivity and increase independence—helping Americans to continue contributing to, rather than become dependent on, society.

Americans can avoid the temptation to stigmatize those with mental illnesses by learning more about their causes and treatments. They must recognize that mental disorders are not due to personal weakness, but are heavily influenced by environmental stresses, genetic vulnerabilities, and biochemical and brain dysfunctions. Americans should know about, and use to its potential, the scientific progress that has brought an

array of new treatments. Symptoms that once disabled can be alleviated. Dysfunctional behavior and thinking patterns that once crippled can be corrected. Psychological disorders that once undermined personal happiness can be ameliorated through counseling and therapy.

Further, Americans can take hope in a future enlightened by today's research. New technologies permit study of the living brain, shedding light on the neurochemical processes that underlie emotion, behavior, and thought. Genetic studies delve into the very substance of life, opening new insights into the causes and possible prevention of some of our most devastating mental illnesses. With knowledge, there is hope. With hope, there is progress.

In recognition that Americans need to know more about mental illnesses and their treatments, the Congress, by Public Law 100-81, has designated the week of October 4 through October 10, 1987, as "Mental Ill-

ness Awareness Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in its observance.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 4, 1987, as Mental Illness Awareness Week. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this week with ceremonies and activities that will enhance the well-being of this Nation by increasing understanding and knowledge of mental illnesses and their treatments.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:58 p.m., September 8, 1987]

Proclamation 5699—National Diabetes Month, 1987 *September 8, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Diabetes affects the health of perhaps 11 million Americans. It can strike suddenly or it can do subtle long-term damage to major organs. Fully half the people with diabetes do not know they have the disease.

During the last decade, our knowledge of diabetes has increased in the research laboratory. We now have a better understanding of this disease and its burdensome complications, but there is still much to learn. In addition, we still face the major challenge of transforming research advances into practical benefits for diabetes patients.

Diabetes is a public health problem that affects both sexes and all ages and races. Given the disability, the emotional toll, and the economic loss from diabetes—estimated at \$14 billion per year in the United States—our priorities should continue to be

research on this disease, how best to treat it, and how best to communicate this knowledge to those who need it most. Through the continued commitment and cooperation of private citizens and organizations, the scientific community, and Federal, State, and local government in the fight against diabetes, we will come closer to a cure and to better health for millions of Americans.

To increase public awareness of diabetes and to emphasize the need for continued research and educational efforts aimed at controlling and curing this disease, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 44, has designated the month of November 1987 as "National Diabetes Month" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this month.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the month of November 1987 as National Diabetes Month. I call

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upon all government agencies and the people of the United States to observe this month with appropriate programs and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of

the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:59 p.m., September 8, 1987*]

Proclamation 5700—Geography Awareness Week, 1987 *September 8, 1987*

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Fascination with the Earth and a desire to learn and record information about it inspired the early explorers of our land and today remain part of our national heritage. This legacy is carried on for us in the science of geography, the study of the surface of the globe and the people, environments, resources, political boundaries, and characteristics of every area.

For generations, comprehension of world and national geography has been considered essential to the education of Americans. Yet today, in an interdependent world where knowledge of other lands and cultures is increasingly important, studies show that Americans need more geographical knowledge. Citizens, especially young people, should be fully acquainted with our country and our neighbors around the globe and aware of geography's expanding study of the oceans and the universe; the increasing wealth of knowledge provided by research in the disciplines that support geog-

raphy; and geography's physiographic, historical, social, economic, and political aspects.

The Congress, by Public Law 100-78, has designated the week of November 15 through November 21, 1987, as "Geography Awareness Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in its observance.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of November 15 through November 21, 1987, as Geography Awareness Week, and I call upon all Americans to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3 p.m., September 8, 1987*]

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson of Sweden *September 9, 1987*

The President. It is a pleasure to welcome Prime Minister Carlsson and Mrs. Carlsson to the United States. I welcome you, Mr.

Prime Minister, with great warmth and respect, as the representative of a country with whom Americans share many funda-

mental values: We're both deeply committed to the system of democracy; we are both committed to the protection of the fundamental rights of the individual; and we're both committed to pursuing a world that is prosperous and at peace.

Our shared values reflect historical bonds and the fact that Swedes and Americans have mingled for centuries. Next year will mark the 350th anniversary of the founding by your countrymen, Mr. Prime Minister, of a small colony named New Sweden near what is now Wilmington, Delaware. Those brave settlers helped turn a wilderness into a great nation. Even more, they brought with them the hardy virtues and pioneer spirit that became so much a part of our national character.

The Swedish pioneers of Wilmington, Delaware, were followed by over a million Swedes who came here between the 1840's and 1930's. And today some 5 million Americans proudly claim Swedish origins. History suggests our countries have always been close politically and also in spirit. When this was still a very new nation, in 1783, a treaty of commerce and friendship was signed with Sweden. It was among the very first treaties of the United States of America. Over the years since, our governments have always remained on amicable and cooperative terms, and our peoples have developed and maintained commercial and personal relationships that have strengthened both our nations.

All this reflects a commonality of spirit and a shared sense of decency of which we can take great pride. Americans will never forget that, by a special act of Congress, our country has officially adopted a remarkable Swede, a hero of moral and humane people the world over. I refer to Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat, who in the Second World War saved hundreds of thousands from the Nazi terror. That Wallenberg is now a citizen of both our countries is a bond between us and should be an inspiration to our peoples. Let us join in insisting that, if there is a new openness in the Soviet Union, the Soviet leadership give the world an accounting of this moral giant, Raoul Wallenberg.

Today, our friendship with Sweden is especially vigorous. Many thousands of our

countrymen visit back and forth each year, conducting business, pursuing the arts, studying—and often competing successfully in sports, as Mr. Borg can testify. The late Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige visited Sweden in May, where he announced that the United States is eliminating the export license requirements for high-technology goods bound for Sweden. This summer, Swedish Trade Minister Gradin came to Washington for a positive round of discussions on global and military trade issues—or, pardon me—on bilateral trade issues. And in June, my wife Nancy, visited Stockholm, where for 3 days she exchanged views with those who plan and run Sweden's enlightened programs to combat drugs.

Your visit now, Mr. Prime Minister, renews our political, bilateral discussions at the highest level. Dialog between our governments has improved and deepened in recent years, and we're determined to ensure that it continues to improve. I look forward to discussing with you, Mr. Prime Minister, the major issues of the day and examining how, as modern industrialized democracies, we can meet the challenges we will face in the future. Sweden and the United States face similar challenges, though we've chosen different paths to meet them. Yet, as friends, we value each other's views and our talks today will be of great value.

I'm particularly looking forward to our exchange of views on issues concerning world peace and nuclear arms reductions. The people of the United States maintain defense spending at levels necessary to preserve peace and to safeguard freedom in the world. We have, in recent years, taken a decisive lead in seeking balanced and verifiable arms agreements with the Soviet Union, agreements that will reduce both the level of nuclear weapons and the threat of their use. Our strength and our determined search for peace go hand-in-hand. Much progress has been made as of late, and we remain optimistic.

As a neutral nation, Sweden is not an ally of the United States, but it is a partner in our pursuit of a free and peaceful world. We recognize and appreciate that Sweden

provides amply for its own strong defense and works vigorously for the cause of peace. We respect that, Mr. Prime Minister, even though on some issues we may differ in views. The great Swedish leader and a renowned international statesman, Dag Hammarskjöld once said: "Only he who keeps his eyes fixed on the far horizon will find his right road." Well, today, the people of the United States and Sweden have their eyes fixed on the far horizon. We're on the right path for a better tomorrow.

I look forward to our discussions, Mr. Prime Minister. We appreciate your visit and bid your wife—you and your wife—*valkommen* [welcome]. Your visit here is most welcome.

Prime Minister Carlsson. Mr. President, Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentlemen, let me, first of all, express my thanks for the warm and friendly welcome you have given us in your magnificent Capital and here at the White House. I'm convinced that the talks we will have here with you, Mr. President, with members of your Cabinet, with Senators and Congressmen as well as with other of your fellow Americans elsewhere in the country, will strengthen the solid friendship and cooperation already existing between Sweden and the United States. And I'm proud to say, Mr. President, that I come here as a representative of a nation which is one of America's oldest friends.

Sweden was, in 1783, one of the very first countries to enter into a formal relationship with the newly independent United States. And as far back as in the 17th century, the colony of New Sweden was established in what is now the State of Delaware and parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Next year, a celebration of the 350th anniversary of this first Swedish settlement in America will take place throughout the United States.

The Swedes who then settled in the Delaware Valley were the forerunners of more than a million immigrants from Sweden who later came to this country of promise, who helped build the land, and who set out to create a future here for themselves and for their children. But the relationship between our two countries is not only a historical one. It's firmly anchored in the present. We share the same democratic values, be-

lieving in a just society with freedom for the individual. Our two nations are among the most privileged with a high standard of living. This is partly because of our level of technological development. It gives us a potential not only to strengthen our own economies but also to contribute to international development and greater economic justice also between nations.

As one should expect in a relationship between friends, it's seldom plagued by political problems. We play, of course, different roles on the international scene. From time to time, as is natural for two democratic governments, we certainly assess international events differently. On other matters, we are in agreement. We both favor free and fair trade between nations. And coming, as I do, from a nation which is more dependent upon exports and imports than most others, I can assure you that we support all efforts to strengthen the open multilateral trading system.

Mr. President, Sweden is not a big country. Our ability to influence world events on our own is limited. What one cannot do alone, one may be able to do in cooperation with others. We believe that we have a right to participate actively in world affairs. The rationale for this is simple: Any international conflict which leads to global war will affect all the people on Earth, no matter how far they are from the conflict. As you have stated yourself, Mr. President, together with Mr. Gorbachev, a nuclear war cannot be won. Such a war has only losers, and we will all be among them. That's why we in a nation not possessing nuclear arms feel that we also have a responsibility to promote peace and avoid a nuclear confrontation.

And let me therefore, Mr. President, bring your special message from the Government and the people of Sweden on the verge of important meetings between representatives of your administration and the Soviet Union. We will support every measure with you, Mr. President, and Secretary General Gorbachev will take in the process of reducing nuclear arms. The agreement on intermediate nuclear weapons now being negotiated has our full backing. Your signatures on such a document would be

regarded as an historic achievement all over the world. East and West, North and South, it will be hailed as a first step toward the ultimate goal of a world without nuclear weapons.

Mr. President, I came here with my wife to this country for the first time in 1960 to study here, like so many other Swedes have done. We have all cherished the warmth, the friendship, and the openness which we have encountered here. These many contacts have indeed strengthened the close ties between our two countries. So I am sure with this week's visit, on behalf of the

government and the people of Sweden, I wish to express our best wishes for the happiness and well-being of you, Mr. President, of Mrs. Reagan, and of the American people. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:13 a.m. in the East Room at the White House, where Prime Minister Carlsson was accorded a formal welcome. Following the ceremony, the President and the Prime Minister met in the Oval Office and later in the Cabinet Room for an expanded meeting with Swedish and U.S. officials.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Report of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission September 9, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the provisions of Public Law 98-375, Sec. 4(b), I am pleased to transmit to you the report of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission.

This Commission was created by the Congress to plan, encourage, coordinate, and conduct the Nation's observance of the 500th anniversary of the voyage of Christopher Columbus to the New World in 1492. P.L. 98-375 instructed the Commission to report to the Congress its recommendations for a comprehensive national program of commemorating the Quincentenary.

As you will see from this report, the Commission has executed its charge in a spirit that takes full account of the heroic and visionary character of Christopher Columbus and of the mingling of peoples, sharing of civilizations, and development of new nations that took place in the New World as a

consequence of his achievement. The report establishes five themes that collectively embrace the broad significance of the observance; it proposes three national initiatives to create enduring programs of commemoration; it identifies worthy projects to be carried out by the Nation's cultural, educational, and civic organizations; and it outlines a program of celebratory activities that will make participation in Quincentenary events possible for citizens and communities throughout the Nation.

The report provides the means of funding this comprehensive national program through proceeds from the sale of commemorative coins and through donated funds and services from private citizens and organizations.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
September 9, 1987.

Nomination of Deane Roesch Hinton To Be United States Ambassador to Costa Rica

September 9, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Deane Roesch Hinton, of Illinois, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, with the personal rank of Career Ambassador, as Ambassador to the Republic of Costa Rica. He would succeed Lewis Arthur Tamba.

Mr. Hinton has served as U.S. Ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1983–1987, and as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of El Salvador, 1981–1983. From 1979 to 1981, he was Assistant Secretary of State for Economic and Business Affairs. Prior to this Mr. Hinton was the Representative of the United States of America to the European Communities with rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, 1976–1979. In 1975 he was

named Senior Adviser to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. In 1974 Mr. Hinton served as U.S. Ambassador to the Republic of Zaire. From 1971 to 1974, he was Assistant Director, then Deputy Director, on the Council on International Economic Policy at the White House, Washington, DC. He served as Director and Economic Counselor at the Agency for International Development in Santiago, Chile, 1969–1971, and in Guatemala, 1967–1969.

Mr. Hinton graduated from the University of Chicago (A.B., 1943). He served in the United States Army, 1943–1945. Mr. Hinton is articulate in French and Spanish. He was born March 12, 1923, in Fort Missoula, MT. He is married, has 12 children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of Alan F. Holmer To Be a Deputy United States Trade Representative, With the Rank of Ambassador

September 9, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Alan F. Holmer to be a Deputy United States Trade Representative, with the rank of Ambassador. He would succeed M. Alan Woods.

Since 1985 Mr. Holmer has been General Counsel in the Office of the United States Trade Representative. Prior to this he was Deputy Assistant Secretary for Import Administration at the United States Department of Commerce, 1983–1985. From 1981 to 1983, Mr. Holmer was Deputy Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs at the White House, Washington, DC.

He was an attorney with Steptoe & Johnson in Washington, DC, 1978–1981. From 1972 to 1978, Mr. Holmer was administrative assistant to Senator Bob Packwood in Washington, DC.

Mr. Holmer graduated from Princeton University (A.B., 1971) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1978). He served in the United States Army National Guard, 1971–1977. Mr. Holmer was born July 24, 1949, in New York, NY. He is married, has two children, and resides in McLean, VA.

Nomination of Richard C. Howland To Be United States Ambassador to Suriname

September 9, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard C. Howland, of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, as Ambassador to the Republic of Suriname. He would succeed Robert E. Barbour.

Since 1983 Mr. Howland has been Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia. From 1981 to 1983, he served as country director for Thailand at the State Department; personnel officer in labor relations, 1979-1981; and Foreign Service Inspector, 1977-1979. From 1974 to 1976, Mr. Howland served as consul/political officer at the United States Consulate in

Surabaya, Indonesia. He was chief of the political section at the U.S. Embassy in Vientiane, Laos, 1971-1974. From 1969 to 1971, Mr. Howland was a foreign affairs analyst in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research at the State Department. He joined the Foreign Service in 1960.

Mr. Howland graduated from George Washington University (B.A., 1960) and attended Yale University Graduate School (1968-1969). He served in the United States Army, 1954-1956. Mr. Howland is articulate in French and Indonesian. He was born April 11, 1934, in New York, NY. Mr. Howland is married, has three children, and his legal residence is in Maryland.

Appointment of M.E. Bradford as a Member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships

September 9, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint M.E. Bradford to be a member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships for a term expiring September 22, 1990. This is a reappointment.

Since 1967 Mr. Bradford has been a professor of English and American studies at the University of Dallas. Prior to this he was an assistant professor of English at Northwestern State University of Louisiana,

1964-1967. Mr. Bradford was an assistant and associate professor of English at Hardin-Simmons University, 1962-1964.

Mr. Bradford graduated from the University of Oklahoma (B.A., 1955; M.A., 1956) and Vanderbilt University (Ph.D., 1968). He served in the United States Naval Reserves, 1956-1959. Mr. Bradford was born May 8, 1934, in Fort Worth, TX. He is married, has one child, and resides in Irving, TX.

Appointment of Walter N. Thayer as a Member of the Dwight David Eisenhower Centennial Commission

September 9, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Walter N. Thayer to be a member of the Dwight David Eisenhower Centennial Commission. This is a new position.

Since 1982 Mr. Thayer has been chairman of the Whitney Communications Corp. in New York, NY. Prior to this he was president of the Whitney Communications Corp., 1960-1982.

Mr. Thayer graduated from Colgate University (A.B., 1931) and Yale University (LL.B., 1935). He was born April 24, 1910,

in Dannemora, NY. Mr. Thayer is married, has four children, and currently resides in New York, NY.

Statement on the American Bar Association's Rating of Supreme Court Nominee Robert H. Bork *September 9, 1987*

I was especially pleased that the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Federal Judiciary today announced that it has voted to give Judge Robert H. Bork the ABA's highest possible rating of fitness for Supreme Court nominees: well qualified. The ABA describes this rating as "reserved for those who meet the highest standards of professional competence, judicial temperament and integrity. The person in this category must be among the best available for appointment to the Supreme Court." The ABA conferred its highest rating on Judge Bork only after a careful and extensive investigation.

In 1982, when I nominated Judge Bork to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, he likewise received the ABA's highest possible rating. Judge Bork is widely regarded as one of the most qualified individuals ever nominated to the Supreme Court, often compared to such great jurists as Justices Holmes, Brandeis, Frankfurter, Black, and the man he is to replace—Justice Lewis Powell. Given Judge Bork's qualifications, abilities, and this endorsement from the ABA, I urge the Senate to move quickly to confirm him as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to South Africa *September 9, 1987*

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

On September 9, 1985, in Executive Order 12532 (50 Fed. Reg. 36861, September 10, 1985), I declared a national emergency to deal with the threat to the foreign policy and economy of the United States posed by the policies and actions of the Government of South Africa, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act ("IEEPA") (50 U.S.C. 1701-1706), and other authorities. I continued that emergency for a one-year period on September 4, 1986 (51 Fed. Reg. 31925).

Pursuant to the declaration of emergency with respect to South Africa, I imposed a variety of trade and other sanctions against the Government of South Africa in Execu-

tive Order 12532, and in Executive Order 12535 of October 1, 1985 (50 Fed. Reg. 40325, October 3, 1985).

On October 2, 1986, the Congress enacted the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (the "Act"), imposing a broad range of sanctions against South Africa and Namibia (P.L. 99-440, as amended, to be codified at 22 U.S.C. 5001-5116). Included within the Act's provisions are all of the measures taken with respect to South Africa pursuant to Executive Orders 12532 and 12535. The Act's legislative history states that these statutory sanctions are intended to be interpreted in the same manner as their predecessors under the Executive orders (132 *Cong. Rec.* S11627 (daily ed.

August 14, 1986)). The Act also contains a congressional finding that "the situation in South Africa constitutes an emergency in international relations and that action is necessary for the protection of the essential security interests of the United States" (22 U.S.C. 5017(a)(2)).

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act ("NEA") provides that a declaration of national emergency expires automatically on the anniversary of the declaration, unless previously extended (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)). Because the Federal Government's actions with respect to South Africa since last October have been taken to implement the Act, rather than to implement the narrower Executive order sanctions, maintenance of the Executive order emergency declaration would serve no function and might cause confusion. For these reasons, it is my intention to allow the emergency declaration under IEEPA to lapse on September 9, 1987. All of the substantive United States sanctions against South Africa, and the Administration's actions to implement those sanctions under the Act, will, of course, remain unaffected by the expiration of the 1985 emergency declaration.

As required by Section 204(c) of IEEPA (50 U.S.C. 1703(c)), and Section 401(c) of the NEA (50 U.S.C. 1641(c)), I enclose a semiannual and final report on the actions of, and expenditures incurred by, the Federal Government that are directly attributable to the exercise of the powers and authorities conferred by the September 9, 1985, declaration of emergency with respect to South Africa.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

National Emergency With Respect to South Africa

This report is made pursuant to Section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Acts ("IEEPA"), (50 U.S.C. 1703(c)), and Section 401(c) of the National Emergencies Act ("NEA"), (50 U.S.C. 1641(c)), concerning the national emergency with respect to South Africa that was declared in Executive Order 12532 of Sep-

tember 9, 1985. This report covers events that occurred since my last report on September 25, 1986, through the enactment on October 2, 1986, of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (the "Act"), to be codified at 22 U.S.C. 5001-5116. The Act superseded the sanctions imposed upon South Africa pursuant to the emergency declaration in Executive Order 12532. This is also the final report, required by Section 401 of the NEA, on expenditures incurred by the United States Government that were directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by that emergency declaration.

1. During the one-week period from September 25, 1986, to October 2, 1986, the Federal Government was engaged in contingency preparations to implement the Act. Thus, although normal implementation of the regulations issued pursuant to Executive Orders 12532 and 12535 continued in this period, no expenditures solely attributable to this activity were incurred.

2. The Act incorporated and broadened the sanctions adopted pursuant to the declaration of emergency under IEEPA. Thus, all implementation of sanctions with respect to South Africa since October 2, 1986, has been based upon the Act, rather than upon the predecessor Executive order measures. Consequently, no expenditures incurred after October 1, 1986, were directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the IEEPA emergency declaration with respect to South Africa.

3. For the period since my declaration of a national emergency with respect to South Africa on September 9, 1985, through the expiration of that emergency on September 9, 1987, the total expenditures of the Federal Government directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by that declaration are estimated at \$536,813, of which approximately \$404,230 represents wage and salary costs for Federal personnel, and approximately \$132,583 represents out-of-pocket expenses. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Departments of Commerce, Energy, State, and the Treasury.

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and George Bush, President of the Senate.

Executive Order 12608—Elimination of Unnecessary Executive Orders and Technical Amendments to Others September 9, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, and in order to eliminate certain Executive Orders that are no longer necessary, and to make technical amendments in others to correct outdated agency references or obsolete legal citations, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The following Executive Orders are revoked:

8744 Authorizing certain employees of the Government to acquire a classified civil service status

10880 Permitting certain employees to be given career or career conditional appointments

11377 Providing for Tariff Commission reports regarding the estimated consumption of certain brooms

11911 Providing for preservation of endangered species

12034 Providing for the appointment of former ACTION cooperative volunteers to the civilian career service

12295 Extending nuclear cooperation with EURATOM

12426 Establishing the President's Advisory Committee on Women's Business Ownership

Notwithstanding the revocation of Executive Orders Nos. 8744, 10880, and 12034, benefits already conferred under these Executive Orders before revocation shall not be affected.

Sec. 2. Each of the Executive Orders, as amended, listed in this section, and any other order that relates to functions or areas of responsibility delegated to the Office of Management and Budget, are amended by deleting the words "Bureau of the Budget" wherever they occur and inserting in lieu thereof "Office of Management and Budget", and by deleting the

word "Bureau" and inserting in lieu thereof "Office" wherever the word "Bureau" is used as a reference to the Office of Management and Budget:

8248	10903	11044
9830	11012	11047
10582	11030	11060
10624	11034	11140
		11480

Sec. 3. Executive Order No. 9979 is amended by revoking paragraph 1 and deleting the "2." introducing the remaining paragraph.

Sec. 4. Executive Order No. 10289, as amended, is further amended as follows:

(a) In Section 1(c), by deleting the words "section 2 of the Act of August 18, 1914, c. 256, 38 Stat. 699 (46 U.S.C. 82)," and inserting in lieu thereof "section 1 of the Act of August 26, 1985, Public Law 98-89, 97 Stat. 510 (46 U.S.C. 3101);" and by deleting the words "survey, inspection, and measurement of" and inserting in lieu thereof "the inspection of."

(b) In Section 1(d), by deleting the words "(46 U.S.C. 104)," and inserting in lieu thereof "(46 U.S.C. Appendix 104),";

(c) In Section 1(e), by deleting the words "(46 U.S.C. 134)," and inserting in lieu thereof "(46 U.S.C. Appendix 134),";

(d) In Section 1(f), by deleting the words "(46 U.S.C. 141),", "(46 U.S.C. 121),", and "(46 U.S.C. 146)," and inserting in lieu thereof "(46 U.S.C. Appendix 141),", "(46 U.S.C. Appendix 121),", and "(46 U.S.C. Appendix 146),";

(e) By revoking Sections 1(g) and 1(j), and renumbering Sections 1(h) and 1(i) as Sections 1(g) and 1(h), respectively;

(f) Adding a new subsection (i) to Section 1:

“(i) The authority vested in the President by Section 5318 of the Revised Statutes, as amended (19 U.S.C. 540), to employ suitable vessels other than Coast Guard cutters in the execution of laws providing for the collection of duties on imports and tonnage;”

(g) In Section 2(e), by deleting the words “, exclusive of the territory and waters of the Canal Zone”; and

(h) By revoking Section 2(f).

Sec. 5. Part V of Executive Order No. 10530, as amended, is further amended as follows:

(a) By deleting the words “Administrator of General Services” wherever they appear and inserting in lieu thereof “Archivist of the United States”;

(b) By deleting the words “(44 U.S.C. 305(a))” and inserting in lieu thereof “(44 U.S.C. 1505(a))”;

(c) By deleting the words “(44 U.S.C. 306; 311(a); and 311(f)),” and inserting in lieu thereof “(44 U.S.C. 1506; 1510(a) and 1510(f))”;

(d) Adding the words “(44 U.S.C. 1505(b)),” following the words “section 5(b) of the act,”;

(e) Adding the words “(44 U.S.C. 1510(a)),” following the words “in the said section 11(a),”;

(f) Adding the words “(44 U.S.C. 1510),” following the words “provisions of section 11”.

Sec. 6. Executive Order No. 10608 is amended by deleting the words “Foreign Service Act of 1946 (60 Stat. 999)” and inserting in lieu thereof “Foreign Service Act of 1980 (94 Stat. 2071)”.

Sec. 7. Executive Order No. 10624, as amended, is further amended as follows:

(a) In the preamble, by deleting the words “sections 602(d), 603, and 605 of Title VI of the Act of August 28, 1954, 68 Stat. 908, 909” and inserting in lieu thereof “sections 605, 606B and 606D of Title VI of the Act of August 28, 1954, as amended, (7 U.S.C. 1765, 1766a, and 1766c)”;

(b) In Section 1(a), by deleting the words “The provisions of Part II—Procedures for Coordination Abroad—of Executive Order No. 10575 of November 6, 1954,” and inserting in lieu thereof “The provisions of section 207 of the Foreign Service Act of

1980 (22 U.S.C. 3927)”.

Sec. 8. Executive Order No. 10840, as amended, is further amended by replacing the first paragraph and the provisions it presents with the following:

“Whereas the Assignment of Claims Act of 1940 (54 Stat. 1029), as amended by the Act of September 13, 1982, 96 Stat. 976 (31 U.S.C. 3727), contains the following provisions:

“During a war or national emergency proclaimed by the President or declared by law and ended by proclamation or law, a contract with the Department of Defense, the General Services Administration, the Department of Energy (when carrying out duties and powers formerly carried out by the Atomic Energy Commission), or other agency the President designates may provide, or may be changed without consideration to provide, that a future payment under the contract to an assignee is not subject to reduction or setoff. A payment subsequently due under the contract (even after the war or emergency is ended) shall be paid to the assignee without a reduction or setoff for liability of the assignor—

(1) to the Government independent of the contract; or

(2) because of renegotiation, fine, penalty (except an amount that may be collected or withheld under, or because the assignor does not comply with, the contract), taxes, social security contributions, or withholding or failing to withhold taxes or social security contributions, arising from, or independent of, the contract.

“An assignee under this section does not have to make restitution of, refund, or repay the amount received because of the liability of the assignor to the Government that arises from or is independent of, the contract.

“The Government may not collect or reclaim money paid to a person receiving an amount under an assignment or allotment of pay or allowances authorized by law when liability may exist because of the death of the person making the assignment or allotment.”

Sec. 9. Sections 2(a) and 2(b) of Executive Order No. 10841, as amended, are further amended by deleting the words “Atomic

Energy Commission” and inserting in lieu thereof “Secretary of Energy”.

Sec. 10. Executive Order No. 11023 is amended by deleting the words “Coast and Geodetic Survey” except in citing the “Coast and Geodetic Survey Commissioned Officers Act of 1948”, and inserting in lieu thereof “National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration”.

Sec. 11. Executive Order No. 11030, as amended, is further amended as follows:

(a) In Section 2(c), by deleting the words “National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration” and inserting in lieu thereof “National Archives and Records Administration”;

(b) In Section 5, by deleting the words “44 U.S.C. 312” and inserting in lieu thereof “44 U.S.C. 1511”;

(c) In Section 6, by deleting the words “44 U.S.C. 305(a)” and inserting in lieu thereof “44 U.S.C. 1505(a)”.

Sec. 12. Executive Order Nos. 11034 and 12048 are amended by deleting the words “Health, Education, and Welfare” wherever they appear and inserting in lieu thereof “Education”.

Sec. 13. Executive Order No. 11047 and any other Executive order that relates to functions or areas of responsibility delegated to the Federal Aviation Administration are amended by deleting the words “Federal Aviation Agency” and “Agency” wherever they appear and inserting in lieu thereof “Federal Aviation Administration” and “Administration”.

Sec. 14. Executive Order No. 11077, as amended, is further amended as follows:

(a) By deleting the second sentence in Section 1(b);

(b) By deleting the words “the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and of” in Section 1(c);

(c) By revoking Section 2;

(d) By renumbering Sections 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 as Sections 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 respectively; and

(e) By deleting in renumbered Sections 2(a) and 2(b), the words “and the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may each” and inserting in lieu thereof “may”.

Sec. 15. Each of the Executive Orders, as amended, listed in this Section and any other order that relates to functions or

areas of responsibility delegated to the Department of Health and Human Services, is amended and revised by deleting the words “Department of Health, Education, and Welfare” wherever they occur and inserting in lieu thereof “Department of Health and Human Services”, and by deleting the words “Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare” wherever they appear and inserting in lieu thereof “Secretary of Health and Human Services”:

11079	11609	12049
11140	11623	12086
11157	11687	12138
11480	11776	12146
11490	11800	12154
11583	11899	12196
		12208

Sec. 16. Executive Order No. 11390, as amended, is further amended as follows:

(a) By revoking Section 1(1);

(b) By revoking Section 1(7); and

(c) In Section 1(4), by deleting the words “by sections 565, 599, 3450, and 8450” and inserting in lieu thereof “by sections 565 and 599”.

Sec. 17. Executive Order No. 11440, as amended, is further amended by deleting the words “Administrator of General Services” and the word “Administrator” wherever they appear, and inserting in lieu thereof “Archivist of the United States” and “Archivist”.

Sec. 18. Section 2 of Executive Order No. 11467 is amended by deleting the words “Secretary of the Interior” and inserting the words “Secretary of Commerce”.

Sec. 19. Executive Order No. 11561, as amended, is amended by deleting the words “Foreign Service Act of 1946” and inserting in lieu thereof “Foreign Service Act of 1980”.

Sec. 20. Executive Order No. 11580 is amended by deleting the words “Administrator of the National Credit Union Administration” and inserting in lieu thereof “National Credit Union Administration Board” in the first paragraph.

Sec. 21. Section 7 of Executive Order No. 11644, as amended, is further amended by deleting the words “Atomic Energy Com-

mission” and inserting in lieu thereof “Secretary of Energy and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission”.

Sec. 22. Executive Order No. 11747 is amended by revoking Section 1 and deleting the words “Sec. 2.”.

Sec. 23. Section 1(a) of Executive Order No. 11755 is amended by adding the words “the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands,” after the words “American Samoa,” wherever they appear.

Sec. 24. Section 4 of Executive Order No. 11758, as amended, is further amended by deleting the words “Federal Procurement Regulations, the Armed Services Procurement Regulations,” and inserting in lieu thereof “Federal Acquisition Regulations”.

Sec. 25. Executive Order No. 11845 is amended as follows:

(a) By inserting, after the words “88 Stat. 332,” the words “(2 U.S.C. 681 *et seq.*)”;

(b) By inserting, after the words “section 1012 or 1013”, the words “(2 U.S.C. 683 and 684)”; and

(c) By inserting, after the words “section 1014(e) of the Act”, the words “(2 U.S.C. 685(e))”.

Sec. 26. Executive Order No. 11880 is amended by deleting the words “Under Secretary of Commerce” and inserting in lieu thereof “Deputy Secretary of Commerce”.

Sec. 27. Executive Order No. 11899, as amended, is further amended by deleting the words “(88 Stat. 2210, 25 U.S.C. 450 (i))” and inserting in lieu thereof “(88 Stat.

2210, 25 U.S.C. 450 i).”.

Sec. 28. Section 6 of Executive Order No. 11990 is amended by deleting the words “and the Water Resources Council”.

Sec. 29. Executive Order No. 12101 is amended by deleting the words “Sections 4 and 6 of the Diplomatic Relations Act (92 Stat. 809; 22 U.S.C. 254c and 254e)” and inserting in lieu thereof “Section 4 of Diplomatic Relations Act (92 Stat. 809; 22 U.S.C. 254c).”

Sec. 30. Section 1–201(a) of Executive Order No. 12163, as amended, is further amended by revoking paragraphs (23) and (24), and by renumbering paragraphs (25), (26), (27), and (28) as paragraphs (23), (24), (25), and (26) respectively.

Sec. 31. Executive Order No. 12322 is amended by deleting the words “Principles and Standards for Water and Related Land Resources Planning (Part 711 of Title 18 of the Code of Federal Regulations (45 F.R. 64366)),” and inserting in lieu thereof “Economic and Environmental Principles and Guidelines for Water and Related Land Resources Implementation Studies”.

Sec. 32. Executive Order No. 12328 is amended by deleting the words “(25 CFR 251.5 and 252.31)” and inserting in lieu thereof “(25 CFR 140.5 and 141.31)”.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
September 9, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:24 p.m., September 10, 1987]

Toasts at the State Dinner Honoring Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson of Sweden

September 9, 1987

The President. Prime Minister Carlsson and Mrs. Carlsson, ladies and gentleman, welcome to the White House. Nancy told me much about the warmth and good will that was so evident in Sweden during her June visit. We both have looked forward to this opportunity to express our appreciation and to return the hospitality so graciously

extended to her.

I welcome you, Mr. Prime Minister, as long-overdue friends. Sweden, while quite some distance in miles, has never seemed very far away to me. As a boy in northern Illinois I had neighbors with names like Hansson and Lund. This morning in the course of our discussions, I realized anew

what I have long known: that Sweden and America share the same basic values and the same hopes for a more peaceful and prosperous world. We often pursue our similar goals through different means, but our democratic traditions have bred in us both an appreciation for diversity and an understanding that there is often more than one way to achieve a goal.

Today we welcome our guests with special warmth because this is not merely the visit of a Prime Minister on an official trip but also somewhat of a sentimental journey. In 1960, Mr. Prime Minister, early in your married life, you went to Northwestern University in Illinois, where you attended graduate school and Mrs. Carlsson worked in the university library. A hard-working young couple building a future together. I'm happy to note that the still-young Carlssons next month will celebrate their 30th wedding anniversary. [Applause] You've heard this, and let me add the warm congratulations of both Nancy and myself. I understand you'll be visiting Northwestern again this Saturday, and I wish you a most pleasurable return to this special place.

Mr. Prime Minister, our countries have been friends as long as the United States has been a country. Today we've had the opportunity to reaffirm the bonds of affection between our peoples and to talk of the issues we, as the leaders of two free nations, face in the world. Prime Minister and Mrs. Carlsson, I raise my glass to you and to the Swedish people in friendship, and I ask all of you to join me in this toast and in a hearty *skål*.

The Prime Minister. Mr. President, Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentleman, this beautiful dinner in the White House is the culmination of a day of intense and interesting talks with our American friends. The splendor of this evening and the opulent beauty of the Washington summer highlight the character of the Swedish-American friendship.

In several respects, no comparison between our two countries is possible. We're obviously a different size. We're certainly a different influence. We have different histories, and we sometimes voice different views. But in many other respects our two nations are very similar. What has been called the American way of life has a great

attraction for many Swedes, not least for the young. American trends in art, music, and sports seem to reach our shores faster and stay longer than in many other countries.

But some of the influence has also been in the other direction. During the last century, more than a million Swedes came to this country, and most of them came to stay and start a new life here, bringing with them a part of Sweden to this land. You will still remember many of them. One is Carl Sandburg, the son of a Swedish immigrant who became one of America's greatest poets. Another is Jenny Lind, a much-loved Swedish singer who toured this country for several years in the 19th century. The aviator Charles Lindbergh was the grandson of a Swedish farmer. And if we look at the most recent wave of immigration, we find that there are no less than 22 Swedish players in the teams of the National Hockey League. [Laughter]

There is still great interest among Swedes in traveling to the United States. This interest is encouraged, for instance, by an extensive student exchange program and is, above all, supported by the generosity of American colleges and universities in admitting students from overseas. I'm one of the Swedes who once studied in this country. The year which my wife, Inga, and I spent at Northwestern University in Illinois was one of our most memorable. We very much look forward to returning there this weekend to revive old memories.

Mr. President, during our talks today, we agreed that the close and friendly Swedish-American relations are in a dynamic phase, with intensified contacts in many fields. One very good example is, of course, the visit which you, Mrs. Reagan, made to Sweden in June. Permit me to add, Mrs. Reagan, that your knowledge of and your dedication to the grave problems of drug abuse made a profound impression on your Swedish hosts.

Two days ago I had the privilege of personally visiting the U.S.S. *Constitution*, a very fine ship in the port of Boston. We were there again reminded of the forthcoming bicentennial of the American Constitution to be celebrated in Philadelphia

next week. We are proud that Sweden is one of five countries singled out to be honored there for having had diplomatic relations with the United States for more than 200 years. Next year we will see another celebration of the 350th anniversary of the first Swedish settlement in America. We deeply appreciate it that you, Mr. President, on this account, have proclaimed 1988 as the Year of New Sweden.

I spoke initially about the differences and the similarities between our two countries. We are both engaged by and concerned with events beyond our borders. This is natural for the United States as a major partner in several military alliances. But it's also the natural course for Sweden as a neutral country, since we, too, are affected by international developments. In particular, we know that we all run the risk of annihilation

in a nuclear exchange.

Let me, therefore, Mr. President, in conclusion, again assure you that Sweden will support every effort by you and your Soviet counterpart to begin a process of reducing nuclear arms. I understand that you are near an historic breakthrough in the endeavor to start dismantling nuclear weapons. There are millions of people around the world who share your sentiments, Mr. President, about the immorality of a nuclear war. The fact that an agreement is near which may make such a war so much less likely is a signal of hope to all mankind.

May I finally ask you all to join me in a toast of the President and Mrs. Reagan, to the American people, and to the friendship between Sweden and the United States.

Note: The President spoke at 9:44 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Remarks to the Winners of the Bicentennial of the Constitution Essay Competition September 10, 1987

Well, Chief Justice Burger, ladies and gentlemen, I want to start out by congratulating you contest winners. You have all accomplished something very fine, and you have a right to be very proud. I'm sure your families are proud of you.

History's no easy subject. Even in my day it wasn't, and we had so much less of it to learn then. [*Laughter*] But one of the most valuable benefits of a study of the past is that it gives you a perspective on the present. I think it's probably true that every generation, every age, is prone to think itself beset by unusual and particularly threatening difficulties and to look back on the past as a golden age when issues were not so complex and politics not so divisive and when problems didn't seem so intractable. Sometimes we're tempted to think of the birth of our country as one such golden age: a time characterized primarily by harmony and cooperation and reason.

Well, in fact, the Constitution and our government were born in crisis. As I'm sure

you all discovered in your research, the years leading up to our Constitutional Convention were some of the most difficult our nation ever endured. The economy was near collapse. Trade disputes between the individual States threatened to send it over the brink. A steadily increasing number of farm foreclosures led to an uprising of poor farmers in Massachusetts led by a former Revolutionary War captain, Daniel Shays—Shays' Rebellion. Meanwhile, pirates from the Barbary Coast plundered our shipping, seemingly at will, and our young nation was surrounded on almost every side by none too friendly neighbors.

To many, by that time, it was clear that the Articles of Confederation could not hold our nation together, and as Henry Knox said: "The poor, poor Federal Government is sick unto death." Well, even so, there was in 1787 no general agreement in our land as to how a stronger Federal Government should be constituted or, indeed, whether one should be constituted at all. There were

strong secessionist feelings in many parts of the country. In Boston, some were calling for a separate nation of New England. Others felt the 13 States should divide into 3 independent nations. George Washington himself was amazed to find in New England continuing strong sentiment in favor of a monarchy.

It wasn't the absence of problems but the presence of vision that won the day in 1787. And it wasn't the absence of division but the presence of something higher—those self-evident truths for which so many had recently had to fight and die—that allowed men to transcend their differences, to come together to produce a document that would change the world.

It was then, in 1787, that the revolution truly began; for it was with the writing of the Constitution, setting down as it were the architecture of democratic government, that the fine words and brave rhetoric of 1776 took on substance, that the hopes and dreams of the revolutionists would become a living, enduring reality. All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—until that moment, that was just a high-blown sentiment, the dreams of a few philosophers and their hotheaded followers.

But could one really construct a government, run a country, with such idealistic notions? But once those ideals took root in living, functioning institutions, once those notions became a nation, well, then, as I said, the revolution could really begin not just in America but around the world. A revolution to free man from tyranny of every sort and secure his freedom the only way possible in this world: through the checks and balances and institutions of democratic government.

Wasn't it Daniel Webster who said at one point to maintain our Constitution, "for if the Constitution should ever fall, there would be anarchy throughout the world"? That revolution has been so successful that even those tyrannies that, in practice, reject every ideal and moral precept upon which our country is founded—even they put on the pretense of democracy, aping our Constitution and its democratic forms.

We know only too well that the ideals of our founders still wait to be fulfilled

throughout much of the world. We read the headlines. We see the great problems, the divisions, and some lost hope. But in 1987, as in 1787, success will not depend on the severity of our problems but on the strength of our vision, the courage of our beliefs.

There's a favorite story of mine on the Constitutional Convention. Toward the end, when it appeared that the Convention would be successful, Ben Franklin observed to several of the members seated near him that he had often looked at the picture of the Sun painted on the back of the President's chair. "I have," he said, "often looked at it without knowing if it is a rising or setting Sun." And then he said: "But now, at length, I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting Sun."

One of the great pleasures of my present job is that it so often brings me in events such as these in contact with the young people of America. And I can't tell you how often I've had the same certain knowledge that Ben Franklin had, because I look out on this your generation and see that it's one of the finest groups of young people this nation has ever seen. And I know that with young people like these the cause of America and human freedom is rising and will continue to rise until it floods the whole world with its light. And in closing, I want to thank the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States and those whose generosity made this event possible.

And the moment you've all been waiting for: It's time to announce the national winner. Apparently, there were two essays that were so good the judges couldn't decide between them. So, they very judiciously decided to award two prizes. And they go to Liza Johnson and Mahbub Majumdar.

[At this point, the President gave the competition winners their awards.]

I just want to leave you with one little word that I've used sometimes with young people before when I've faced them about this Constitution. And now that all of you, through your efforts, are so familiar with it—maybe you've already figured this out,

but if you haven't, just let me tell you.

I've read a number of constitutions of other countries, including that of the Soviet Union, and was astonished to find guarantee of freedom of expression and assembly and so forth in all of those. And you find yourself thinking, well, then, what makes ours so different? Why does ours work the way it does? And the answer is so simple that it almost escapes you. And yet it is so great that it explains the whole difference: three words—"We the People." All those other constitutions in the world are documents in which the government tells the people

what they can do. And our Constitution is one in which we the people tell the Government what it can do, and it can do nothing other than what is prescribed in that document. So, if we can get the rest of the world to switch around someday, it will be heaven on Earth.

Thank you all very much. And congratulations again.

Note: The President spoke at 10:54 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for Pope John Paul II in Miami, Florida

September 10, 1987

Your Holiness, after an audience with you 5 years ago in Vatican City, I met a group of American priests and seminarians who were studying in Rome. And when I happened to mention my hope that one day you would return to the United States and that perhaps this time your visit would extend to the South and the West, when I mentioned this, those seminarians broke into applause. Today, Your Holiness, you begin just such a return visit, and today all America applauds.

In a document of the Second Vatican Council that you helped to draft, it is written: "In language intelligible to every generation, the church should be able to answer the ever recurring questions which men ask about the meaning of this present life and of the life to come." "In language intelligible to every generation"—certainly no one can speak with greater force to our own generation than you yourself. In Poland you experienced nazism and communism. As Pope, you suffered a terrorist attack that nearly claimed your life. Still you proclaim that the central message of our own time, that the central message of all time, is not hatred but love.

During your papacy, you have taken this message to some 68 countries. You have celebrated Mass in the ancient capitals of

Europe. You have spoken words of truth and comfort on the African savannah. You have visited new churches on the islands of the Pacific. You've addressed vast gatherings throughout South America and the Far East. Now you have come back to the United States, the nation of citizens from all nations. If I might just interject something, your Holiness, I know that in your travels you've made it a point to speak to people in their own language. Well, here in Miami I have a suspicion that you will find many in your audience eager to hear you speak the beautiful language of Spain.

But in this, the very month of your visit, we in the United States will be celebrating the 200th anniversary of our Constitution. That document says a great deal about the fundamental values in which we Americans believe. In the words of the distinguished Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain: "The Founding Fathers were neither metaphysicians nor theologians, but their philosophy of life and their political philosophy, their notion of natural law and of human rights, were permeated with concepts worked out by Christian reason and backed up by an unshakeable religious feeling."

From the first, then, our nation embraced the belief that the individual is sacred and that as God himself respects human liberty,

so, too, must the state. In freedom we Americans have in these 200 years built a great country, a country of goodness and abundance. Indeed, Your Holiness, it is precisely because we believe in freedom, because we respect the liberty of the individual in the economic as well as the political sphere, that we have achieved such prosperity.

We are justly proud of the Marshall plan, whose 40th anniversary was celebrated in Europe earlier this year. In Europe and elsewhere, we continue to place our might on the side of human dignity. In Latin America and Asia, we're supporting the expansion of human freedom, in particular, the powerful movement toward democracy. And yet we Americans admit freely to our shortcomings. As you exhort us, we will listen. With all our hearts, we yearn to make this good land better still.

In Florida and South Carolina, in Louisiana and Texas, in Arizona, California, and Michigan, tens of thousands of Americans—more than 50 million Catholics—will greet you. They do great works, America's Catholics, in the name of their church. Here in the United States, American Catholics put their faith into action in countless ways: maintaining parochial schools that give underprivileged children in our inner cities the chance to receive a good education, supporting the AIDS hospices established

by Mother Teresa's Missionaries of Charity, and perhaps simply helping to put on a fundraising dinner for the local parish. Abroad, American Catholics likewise seek to translate their faith into deeds, whether supporting missionaries in distant lands or helping America's Knights of Columbus restore the facade of St. Peter's in Rome.

But it will not be Catholics alone who greet you. Protestants of every denomination, Jews, Moslems, even many with no defined faith at all—Americans of every kind and degree or belief will wish Your Holiness well, responding to your moral leadership. Today's Florida sunshine is no warmer than the affection that you will meet. I began a moment ago by quoting from one document of the Second Vatican Council. Permit me to close by quoting from a second: "By the hidden and kindly mystery of God's will a supernatural solidarity reigns among men. A consequence of this is that one person's holiness helps others." Today Americans feel this solidarity. And we thank you for the courage and sanctity, the kindness and wisdom, with which you have done so much to help our troubled world.

On behalf of all Americans, Your Holiness, welcome back.

Note: The President spoke at 2:20 p.m. at Miami International Airport.

Remarks Following Discussions With Pope John Paul II in Miami, Florida

September 10, 1987

For the second time this year, I have met in private audience with His Holiness Pope John Paul II. We discussed the practical aspects of ideals we share: peace, justice, and the expansion of freedom. We agreed that, as the Pope first remarked when I visited him at the Vatican City in 1982, peace is not only the absence of war, it also involves reciprocal trust between nations.

His Holiness and I had the opportunity to share our views on the progress that has been made toward the establishment of a

genuine peace in Central America. I assured His Holiness that the United States is committed to the extension of democracy throughout Latin America.

The Pope and I also discussed the prospects for improved relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. And I told him that the United States is unshakably committed to the establishment of an enduring world of peace and to the extension or expansion of human freedom around the globe. Indeed, without freedom, there

can be no peace.

On arms control, we discussed the nearness of an agreement that would eliminate all American and Soviet INF missiles for the first time in history, achieving not just a limitation but an actual reduction in nuclear weapons. Of course, all of this depends upon Soviet willingness to get down to the hard work of completing an agreement. We stand ready as well for another historic agreement—one that would reduce strategic arms on both sides by half.

With regard to the economic needs of the world's poor nations, I thank the Pope for speaking so eloquently about what he terms the moral causes of prosperity, among them hard work, honesty, thrift, initiative, and daring. Generous aid from the wealthier nations to the poorer is certainly of great im-

portance, but in the long term it's even more important to share the conditions—the moral causes of prosperity, including respect for the economic rights of the individual that represents such a powerful force for economic growth and human betterment.

And once again, Your Holiness, welcome back to the United States. I must leave you now, but I know that Nancy is looking forward to greeting you in Los Angeles. In the meantime, and throughout your visit, millions of our fellow Americans will welcome you with affection, listening joyfully to your message of human dignity and peace.

Note: The President spoke at 7:15 p.m. outside the Vizcaya Museum. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Nomination of Milton Frank To Be United States Ambassador to Nepal

September 10, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Milton Frank, of California, as Ambassador to the Kingdom of Nepal. He would succeed Leon Jerome Weil.

In 1986 Mr. Frank was a member of the Presidential delegation to the coronation of His Majesty the King of Swaziland, with the rank of Special Ambassador, and was also appointed a member and named Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors of the African Development Foundation. Since 1985 he has been assistant to the president (consultant) of Adelphi University, in Garden City, NY. From 1983 to 1986, Mr.

Frank was a consultant in public relations and public affairs in Santa Monica, CA. He was the director of public affairs for the California State University system in Long Beach, 1969–1983.

Mr. Frank graduated from the University of California at Berkeley (B.A., 1941) and Boston University (M.S., 1958). He served in the United States Army Air Corps, 1942–1945, and the United States Air Force, 1946–1968, retiring as a colonel. Mr. Frank is articulate in Portuguese and Spanish. He was born November 18, 1919, in Reno, NV. Mr. Frank has one child and resides in Garden City, NY.

Nomination of Marvin T. Runyon To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and Designation as Chairman

September 11, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Marvin T. Runyon to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the term expiring May 18, 1996. Upon appointment he will be designated Chairman. He would succeed Richard Merrell Freeman.

Since 1980 Mr. Runyon has been president and chief executive officer of Nissan Motor Manufacturing Corp. U.S.A. in Smyrna, TN. Prior to this he was vice president, body and assembly operations, at Ford Motor Co. in Detroit, MI, 1978–1980. From 1977 to 1979, Mr. Runyon was vice president, powertrain and chassis operations, at

Ford Motor Co. He has been vice president, body and assembly operations, 1973–1977; general manager, automotive assembly division, 1972–1973; assembly engineering manager, automotive assembly division, 1970–1972; and regional operations manager, 1969–1970. Mr. Runyon began his career at Ford Motor Co. in 1943.

Mr. Runyon graduated from Texas A&M University (B.S., 1948). He served in the United States Air Force, 1943–1945. Mr. Runyon was born September 16, 1924, in Fort Worth, TX. He has four children and resides in Nashville, TN.

Message on the Observance of the Jewish High Holy Days

September 11, 1987

Each year at this time, the Jewish community prepares for the High Holy Days—Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. This period of deep reflection is marked by prayer, repentance, and the giving of charity.

These Days of Awe begin and end with the blowing of the shofar, the ram's horn, whose blasts fill the heart and the mind with their many meanings. The shofar was sounded as Moses ascended Mt. Sinai to receive from the Lord the tablets containing the Ten Commandments, the moral foundation stones of Western Civilization. It was heard again as the Children of Israel entered the Promised Land. And the sound of the shofar and the shout of the people brought down the walls of Jericho.

As Jews the world over come together as one to pray for forgiveness and the blessing of the Almighty in the year to come, Nancy and I join in those prayers for a world of peace. We hope that the great values upon which Judaism is based will be more fully reflected in all of our lives and that we will move closer to that day when "Nations shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall men learn war anymore."

We are pleased to extend our best wishes to all Jewish people in the United States, in Israel, and around the globe as you celebrate the beginning of the year 5748. L'Shanah Tova, may you be inscribed in the Book of Life for a happy and healthy year.

RONALD REAGAN

Nomination of Grace Flores-Hughes To Be Director of the Community Relations Service at the Department of Justice *September 11, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Grace Flores-Hughes to be Director, Community Relations Service, at the Department of Justice for a term of 4 years. She would succeed Gilbert G. Pompa.

Since 1985 Mrs. Flores-Hughes has been a special assistant in the Office of Minority Small Business and Capital Ownership Development at the Small Business Administration. In 1985 she was a special assistant in the Office of Public Liaison at the White

House. From 1984 to 1985, Mrs. Flores-Hughes was a special assistant at the 50th Presidential Inaugural Committee in Washington, DC.

Mrs. Flores-Hughes graduated from the University of the District of Columbia (B.A., 1977) and Harvard University (M.P.A., 1980). She was born June 11, 1946, in Taft, TX. Mrs. Flores-Hughes is married and currently resides at Bolling Air Force Base in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Grant C. Peterson To Be an Associate Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency *September 11, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Grant C. Peterson to be an Associate Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (State and Local Programs and Support). He would succeed Samuel W. Speck, Jr.

Since 1982 Mr. Peterson has been Spokane County Commissioner in Spokane, WA. From 1979 to 1981, he was president of Town & Country Television, Inc., in

Cheney, WA. Mr. Peterson was vice president of G&G Television, Inc., in Spokane, WA, 1967-1970.

Mr. Peterson graduated from Eastern Washington University (B.A., 1974). He served in the United States Air Force, 1961-1966. Mr. Peterson was born April 21, 1940, in Whitehall, MT. He is married, has two children, and currently resides in Cheney, WA.

Nomination of Frank Q. Nebeker To Be Director of the Office of Government Ethics at the Office of Personnel Management *September 11, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frank Q. Nebeker to be Director of the Office of Government Ethics for a term of 5 years. He would succeed David H. Martin.

Since 1969 Mr. Nebeker has been an Associate Judge in the DC Court of Appeals. Prior to this he was the Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, 1958-1969. From 1956 to 1958, Mr.

Nebeker was a trial attorney, Internal Security Division, Espionage and Sabotage Unit, at the Department of Justice. From 1953 to 1956, he was correspondence secretary in the Social Office, the White House, Washington, DC.

Mr. Nebeker graduated from Weber College (A.A., 1950), the University of Utah (B.S., 1953), and American University Law School (J.D., 1955). He served in the United

States National Guard, 1948–1956. Mr. Nebeker was born April 23, 1930, in Salt Lake

City, UT. He is married, has three children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Remarks on Signing the National Hispanic Heritage Week Proclamation

September 11, 1987

It's a great pleasure, as always, to have you here to join me in commemorating National Hispanic Heritage Week. Many of you know I was just in California, and every time I return home it reinforces a deep appreciation for the role that Hispanics have played in developing American culture. Of course there, in the Golden State, most of our major cities, as is evident by their names, were originally Spanish settlements. Our architecture reflects this; it can be heard in the music that we listen to and the art we enjoy and in the food we eat. It's a recognizable part of a way of life of which all Californians are very proud. [Applause.] There's a Californian here.

California is only one of the many States that has rich Hispanic traditions. And even those States that were not originally settled by Spanish immigrants now have numerous Hispanic residents. Today we acknowledge the many contributions made by Hispanics over the 200 years of our Republic and the role Hispanics continue to play. As we celebrate the bicentennial of our Constitution, we must reflect on the fact that this great nation of ours is made up of immigrants, immigrants who have brought their culture, their traditions, and their values. They were attracted to this nation by a common element: by the love of liberty and justice. And I can proudly say that nowhere have I seen these values more cherished and protected as they are by the Hispanic community.

Hispanics have also brought with them their talents and aspirations, as is witnessed in the people joining us today. We have a group of individuals who I understand will be honored at another function as outstanding Hispanic media professionals. Having earned my living in the media, as I did, and understanding its importance in the shaping

of our society, I'd like to add my congratulations to those being honored. Since some of them are present in the audience, I'd like to ask them to please stand so they can receive a strong round of applause. Marta Casals Istomin—[applause]—she is the artistic director of the Kennedy Center; Jose McMurray—[applause]—senior producer at National Public Radio; Eduardo Zavala—[applause]—founder of ZGS-TV Productions, and Arturo Villar—[applause]—publisher of Vista magazine. Congratulations, and thank you all.

Now, we also have in the audience the DC Council of Hispanic Employment Program Managers. Where are you? Oh, they're holding up hands. Well, there, two stood up. [Applause] All right. Thank you all. Because I would like to thank them for this wonderful poster designed by Jesse Almazan commemorating this week. And I would also like to thank all of you for joining us today and for your valuable work in fostering the presence and role of Hispanics in the Federal Government. Your commitment is impressive. I applaud this important role you play in increasing the number of Hispanics in the Government.

This administration remains wholly dedicated to freedom and justice for all. And don't let anyone tell you that those we nominate to high positions, especially to the Supreme Court, do not share in our commitment to the ideals of freedom and equality that all Americans hold dear. The highly charged rhetoric that is coming from the ranks of those opposing Judge Bork is irrational and totally unjustified. Judge Bork is a qualified, highly respected judge. He has a superior intellect, a high moral character, and is a champion of individual freedom. Any suggestion to the contrary is pure politics—if politics can be pure. [Laughter]

And this brings me to this administration's commitment to increasing the number of Hispanics in government. I have appointed individuals of high caliber to serve in key Federal Government positions, such as Katherine Ortega, United States Treasurer, and Jose Manuel Casanova, Director of the Inter-American Development Bank. And now I'd like to take this time to announce my intention to nominate Grace Hughes as Director of Community Relations Services at the Department of Justice. And I'm sure you're familiar with all the other appointees throughout the executive branch. They've served with dignity and courage and exemplify the hard work and commitment found in Hispanic Americans.

The great achievements of all these individuals, in the media and in the Federal Government, serve as an inspiration to all young Americans. This special week provides the rest of us a chance to express our deep appreciation for contributions that are made across the spectrum of American life by our fellow citizens who come from Hispanic backgrounds. It allows us to reflect on the fundamental meaning of democracy, which must be synonymous with opportuni-

ty for all people.

So, I will now sign the proclamation designating next week as National Hispanic Heritage Week. And in doing so, say thank you, *gracias*, to Hispanic Americans.

[At this point, the President signed the proclamation.]

I know that the ceremony is over, and you want to get back in the shade, and I don't blame you. But I can't resist telling you that standing here in front of you I often wish that I could speak in that lovely language. I wished it very much at a time when, as Governor of California, I was representing the President of the United States at a meeting in Mexico. And I spoke and then sat down to very scattered applause. I was embarrassed. And when the next speaker began getting applause at almost every sentence, I had to hide my embarrassment and started to applaud louder and longer than anyone else—until our Ambassador leaned over and said, "I wouldn't do that if I were you. He's interpreting your speech." [Laughter] Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Proclamation 5701—National Hispanic Heritage Week, 1987 September 11, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

During National Hispanic Heritage Week, all Americans can recognize, honor, and celebrate the rich and diverse contributions Hispanic Americans have made to our land ever since the exploration and settlement of the Western Hemisphere.

People of Hispanic culture have been present in the Americas from early times and have exerted much influence on the development of the United States. Hispanic explorers helped open the New World, discover its resources, and found its new nations, including parts of our own. Explorers such as Coronado in the 16th century trav-

eled throughout the present-day United States, and Spaniards settled in St. Augustine, Florida, long before Jamestown was founded. The founding of missions and presidios in California was simultaneous with the American Revolution; and when the new United States had won, thanks in part to Spanish help, Te Deum masses of thanksgiving were celebrated in those missions, just as throughout all Spanish colonies. In the 19th century, the vision of liberty inspired countless brave Latin Americans to fight for independence for their countries. Today, Hispanics carry on the dream of freedom throughout the hemisphere, and democracy is enjoying a broad resurgence.

The Spanish names bestowed on so many

of our cities, towns, States, rivers, mountains, and lakes—Los Angeles, Sacramento, Guadalupe, Colorado, Sierra Nevada, for instance—remind us daily that the values of Hispanic Americans, such as devotion to church, family, work, and community, helped settle our frontiers and build our future. Hispanic Americans have served and sacrificed time and again in the Armed Forces to keep our Nation free. Hispanic cultural heritage is a constant source of enrichment for our country, and Hispanic Americans are a source of close ties to the nations of Central and South America.

America's Hispanic heritage is an indelible and invaluable part of our history and a vital part of the creative forces that are shaping our future.

In recognition of the outstanding achievements of Hispanic Americans, the Congress, by Joint Resolution approved September 17, 1968 (Public Law 90-498), has authorized and requested the President to issue annu-

ally a proclamation designating the week including September 15 and 16 as National Hispanic Heritage Week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning September 13, 1987, as National Hispanic Heritage Week, in recognition of the Hispanic individuals, families, and communities who enrich our national life. I call upon the people of the United States, especially educators, to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 11th day of Sept., in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:34 p.m., September 11, 1987]

Radio Address to the Nation on the Situation in Nicaragua *September 12, 1987*

This Wednesday, all across America, we'll be celebrating the 200th anniversary of the document that has brought freedom and hope to so many millions: the United States Constitution. At 1:50 on Wednesday, I will lead a nationwide Pledge of Allegiance that will be broadcast live, giving all Americans a chance to renew our commitment to the document that's been called the greatest act of political genius in history. On Thursday I'll be in Philadelphia, participating in the celebration organized by "We the People."

As we reflect on our Constitution this week, we must seek to further its purpose here at home and all across the world. The cause of freedom is America's cause. And one of the most exciting movements in this direction during the past 10 years has been in Latin America, where over 90 percent of the people are now living under democratic rule. It was my privilege earlier this week to speak with the Holy Father, Pope John

Paul II, on our mutual concern about peace and freedom in Latin America.

And yet, for all the progress in this region, one country, Nicaragua, and its 3 million inhabitants have seen that dream of freedom trampled. Many Americans have learned over the last few months what has really been happening in Nicaragua: how a democratic revolution was betrayed; how a tiny elite has been creating a totalitarian, Marxist-Leninist dictatorship to satisfy their own personal lust for power and to give the Soviet Union a beachhead on the mainland of this continent—only 2,000 miles from the Texas border, a clear national security threat.

Yet despite all the repression and Soviet intervention, the people of Nicaragua still cling to their dream of freedom. In the best tradition of our Founding Fathers, they formed a democratic resistance against tyranny, one of the largest peasant armies in the world, with more than 17,000 freedom

fighters called *contras*. And as the *contras* have grown stronger, the Communist regime has grown shakier.

So, under increasing pressure, the Communist leader Daniel Ortega recently signed, at a summit of Central American leaders, a peace plan that pledged his government to democratic reform, respect for human rights, and free elections. We welcome the Guatemala plan, but it falls short of the safeguards for democracy and our national security contained in the bipartisan plan I worked out with the congressional leadership. That is why, as Secretary Shultz said earlier this week, there should be no uncertainty about our unswerving commitment to the *contras*. It is their effort that has made the peace initiative possible. At the appropriate moment, I intend to put forth a \$270 million request for *contra* aid over 8 months—18 months, I should say.

As Secretary Shultz also spelled out, the Sandinista regime has a long way to go in living up to its pledge of democratic reform. Only 8 days after signing the peace agreement, Sandinista police used attack dogs, night sticks, electric cattle prods, and government-organized mobs to break up a peaceful demonstration by the Nicaraguan Democratic Coordinadora. So, too, the 6 independent Nicaraguan political parties have called efforts by the Communists to manipulate the National Reconciliation Commis-

sion set up under the plan “a Sandinista maneuver to fool the international public.” They accused the Sandinistas of “violating the spirit of the Guatemala agreements.” And this week we learned that Daniel Ortega will be in Moscow on November 7th, the date the Central American peace plan is to go into effect, celebrating with his Soviet allies the anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution.

What the world wants from the Sandinistas are real democratic reforms, real signs of freedom, such as reopening the newspaper *La Prensa*, but not censoring its copy or denying it newsprint. *La Prensa* and other publications must be free to report, so must the independent radio stations and TV. Freedom of religion must be respected. The Sandinistas have said they will allow three exiled priests to return, but what of the thousands of other exiles? Return is not enough; they must be free to minister, live, and organize politically without intimidation. Genuine free political competition must be permitted. The secret police, with their neighborhood block committees, must be abolished and all foreign advisers sent home. The Sandinistas should know that America and the world are watching.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Statement on the Death of Mervyn LeRoy September 13, 1987

Mervyn LeRoy was a special part of our lives. It was he who introduced us, and he was always a precious friend. In fact, we always referred to him as our Cupid.

Mervyn LeRoy was one of the pillars of the entertainment industry, responsible for some of the finest motion pictures ever. He was one of the greatest directors and producers of all time, knowing exactly how a scene should be and knowing just what to say to get his actors to make it right. He

was dedicated to his profession and brought unmatched enthusiasm and energy to everything he did. He achieved excellence and earned the respect and affection of everyone he worked with.

We loved him and will miss him very much. His warmth and goodness will live in our hearts forever. We extend our deepest sympathy to his wife, Kitty, and to their children.

Statement on the Proposed Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty

September 14, 1987

I have directed the U.S. INF negotiator in the nuclear and space talks at Geneva to present to the Soviet Union at today's meeting of the INF negotiating group our proposal for implementing a double global zero treaty, eliminating all U.S. and Soviet ground-based INF missiles. Our negotiator will also present an inspection protocol which details the procedures which we consider necessary to effectively verify compliance with the treaty.

The draft we are presenting is a logical progression from a draft text designed to reduce INF missiles to a specified level to a draft treaty which would eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet missiles. Key elements of our proposal to implement the double global zero outcome include:

- the elimination of all U.S. and Soviet INF missiles and launchers—longer range INF missiles and launchers would be eliminated within 3 years; shorter range within 1 year;

- a ban on the modernization, production, or flight testing of any INF missile system;

- a comprehensive and effective verification regime tailored to a double global zero outcome.

I have always made clear my firm belief that not having a treaty is better than having one which cannot be effectively

verified. Accordingly, we are proposing the most stringent verification regime of any arms control agreement in history. The most effective verification possible is vital to ensure that an INF agreement makes a lasting contribution to peace and stability. We will not settle for anything less.

We have come a long way in our efforts to remove the threat posed by Soviet INF missiles. NATO resolve to deploy U.S. INF missiles to counter this unprovoked Soviet threat, while at the same time seeking negotiations with the Soviets, laid the foundation for the historic agreement which is now within reach. Difficult issues remain to be resolved, including verification. We have presented a comprehensive and effective verification regime. The Soviets have said they agree in principle with a number of our verification requirements but have yet to provide some key details. Further, some of the details they have provided have not met the test of ensuring verification and confidence in compliance.

It is up to the Soviet Union now to demonstrate whether it shares our determination to conclude a treaty eliminating all U.S. and Soviet INF missiles. And I also call upon the Soviet Union to get down to serious business with us, as well, in completing an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in U.S. and Soviet strategic arms.

Letter Accepting the Resignation of Elizabeth Hanford Dole as Secretary of Transportation

September 14, 1987

Dear Elizabeth:

It is with the deepest regret that I accept your resignation as Secretary of Transportation. For six and a half years you have dedicated yourself to the goals of this Administration and the long-range needs of the American people. You were there at the

beginning of our "New Beginning." And your impact on these momentous times has been lasting.

Because of your personal emphasis on transportation safety, it is now a national priority. Countless lives have been saved and crippling injuries prevented on our

September 14, 1987

highways, railroads, and in the air because of your leadership. Drunk driving is declining and seat belt use is increasing, drugs and alcohol have been declared off limits to transportation, and vigilance over our air system has never been greater. We have increased competition in industries that for years were stifled by government regulation during a time when travel has never been safer.

I also appreciate your leadership in making the Department of Transportation the first civilian agency to undertake random drug testing to assure a drug-free workplace.

No one knows better than I the challenge of making government respond to the conservative mandate of 1980. You have been invaluable in that struggle. As our economic recovery program has sparked growth in transportation, you have taken a number of major initiatives to assure that we fully meet the demands of unprecedented expansion.

You made Conrail the flagship of privatization in the United States. You transferred National and Dulles Airports to a Regional Authority, something other transportation planners had tried and failed to achieve on at least eight occasions since 1949. And in case anyone doubted the potential of American entrepreneurial know-how, under your leadership an entirely new space-based industry has been created to launch commercial satellites, thus competing with the French, the Chinese and the Russians. All this—and much, much more—is on the record.

Elizabeth, I will miss you at the Cabinet table and in the inner councils of government. But I understand your decision to leave and believe the reasons behind it will strike a chord with everyone who values the very human emotions that underlie public life at its finest.

Nancy joins me in expressing our gratitude, our friendship, and our wish that God will bless you and Bob as together you confront the challenges of the future.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Dear Mr. President:

After considerable soul-searching, I have decided to submit my resignation as Secretary of Transportation, effective October 1, 1987. As you can imagine, I have not reached this decision lightly. Only a compelling reason—the need to elect a successor who can build on your Administration's remarkable record of achievement—has persuaded me to leave office at this time. For over twenty years, public service has been my greatest satisfaction.

But I learned long ago that public life is full of private choices. I have chosen to devote all my time and energies to my husband's campaign for the Presidency, not only because Bob needs me but because I believe the American people need Bob.

It has been a rare privilege, Mr. President, to serve these past six and a half years, first as a Member of your Senior White House Staff and more recently as part of the Cabinet family. I have never forgotten your instructions early in 1981 to disregard what would be politically popular when making policy, and to concentrate instead on what conscience and intellect deem right for the American people.

Inspired by that principle, we have worked to redefine the relationship between Washington and the people: getting the Federal Government out of the business of running railroads and airports, paving avenues into space for commercial entrepreneurs and eliminating economic regulation while strengthening safety oversight. Most Americans today are freer than ever before to travel where and how they will at less cost, while during the last three years we have compiled the best safety record in history.

I am extremely grateful for the opportunities you have given me. I leave with great admiration for you and Mrs. Reagan, and with great respect for the leadership you continue to give our country. Your Administration will be remembered as a turning

point in American life. Thank you for allowing me to play a part.

Sincerely,

ELIZABETH

Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for James H. Billington as Librarian of Congress *September 14, 1987*

We can all be grateful for such beautiful edifices as this. These buildings are treasures, and each of them, in its own way, is a monument to freedom. Certainly that's true of this building, the crown jewel of the largest repository of information in the world.

It was my honor a few years ago to have helped dedicate the Madison Building. This structure, of course, is named for Thomas Jefferson, author of our Declaration of Independence, champion of human freedom, and third President of the United States. Jefferson had an abiding faith in the people, but he knew that the success of that experiment begun on July 4th, 1776 [1776], depended on an informed citizenry. "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be." Jefferson wrote that. It's fitting then that this Library of Congress—this great clearinghouse for ideas, knowledge, and culture—is open to every citizen. Nearly 2½ million people visited this library last year. It's one of the great institutions of our nation, reflecting the values and openness of a free society.

Today it's a pleasure to assign the stewardship of this institution to one of this nation's most respected intellectuals. Dr. James Billington, I am certain, will continue the magnificent job done here at the Library of Congress by his predecessor, Dr. Daniel Boorstin. And let me add that I think this nation owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Boorstin for his hard work and dedication. Dr. Boorstin did much to ensure that the people as well as government officials receive full benefit of this national treasure. Dr. Billington will build on this tradition.

Jim has had a lifelong love of books. He stands here today because of an appreciation for scholarship instilled in him by a father who never went to college, but who

filled his home with books bought second-hand to save the family's limited funds. Much to his father's credit, Jim Billington received a scholarship to attend Princeton University, from which he holds a B.A. degree. He went on to receive his doctorate of philosophy as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University. By the way, he speaks eight languages. Throughout a distinguished career, Dr. Billington has combined his love of scholarship with a dedication to public service, because he believes that scholarship and freedom go hand in hand.

In this library and throughout our country one will find books and publications on almost every subject and from almost every point of view. Our Founding Fathers wanted it that way. They trusted the ability of the people to make judgments for themselves. "When truth and error have fair-play," Ben Franklin once wrote, "the former is always an overmatch for the latter." Competition, then, is an integral part of a free society. It is not vital just for commerce and industry but also an energizing force in the arena of ideas. There's a creative genius that is unleashed when people are free. Restrict information and you restrict the potential of the nation. Limit public debate and you limit the dynamism of liberty.

Dr. Billington will now bear the responsibility of overseeing the world's largest library, which includes a collection of 84 million items, 535 miles of shelves, and a staff of more than 5,000. During a time of necessary budget restraint, this will not be an easy task. The challenge, as Dr. Boorstin will testify, is not just administering this institution but ensuring that its vast resources are put to maximum use for the benefit of government, academia, business, and the

people themselves. The Library of Congress was founded with a \$5,000 appropriation in 1800. It has grown with the country, and it is an important part of the decisionmaking process here in the Nation's Capital.

Dr. Billington, I know you'll keep this institution the vital center of scholarship and ideas that it was intended to be. We entrust

you with this great national resource, Dr. Billington, and are proud to have you as America's librarian. Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:15 a.m. in the Great Hall at the Library of Congress.

Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the National Alliance of Business September 14, 1987

Secretary Bowen and ladies and gentlemen, before we begin, I have a brief announcement. Today, at my direction, Ambassador Mike Glitman, our INF negotiator, placed on the negotiating table in Geneva our new draft treaty calling for the elimination of all U.S. and Soviet ground-based INF missiles. This new step by the U.S. reflects the fact that the Soviet Union recently agreed to my original proposal to ban this entire class of U.S. and Soviet missiles.

Ambassador Glitman also presented to the Soviet Union today a protocol to our draft treaty that calls for the most stringent verification regime of any arms control agreement in history. This reflects my longstanding insistence that the most effective verification possible is needed in order to ensure that an INF agreement marks a lasting contribution to our efforts to build a safer peace, and I will not settle for anything less.

In short, our new proposal calls for eliminating all U.S. and Soviet INF missiles and launchers within 3 years; a ban on modernizing, producing, or flight testing any INF missile system; a comprehensive verification regime tailored to a double global zero outcome. And with these new actions taken up by the U.S., it's now up to the Soviet Union to demonstrate whether or not it truly wants to conclude a treaty eliminating this class of U.S. and Soviet missiles. With regard to verification, I have to tell you, I'm not exactly a linguist, but in my most recent meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev, I had mastered a phrase, a proverb, indeed, in Russian: *Dovorey no provorey*; it means

trust but verify. [*Laughter*]

Well, now to the business at hand. I always try to keep my remarks short, and will today. Although, when I run over, I like to remember something President Eisenhower once said. "One good thing about being President," he said is, "nobody can tell you when to sit down." [*Laughter*] But it's a pleasure being here at this meeting of the National Alliance of Business. Since its founding 20 short years ago, the alliance has been an American leader in addressing a tragedy that concerns all of us: structural unemployment.

Never has your leadership been more effective than in the last 6 years. With Bill Kolberg as your president and now with John Clendenin as your chairman, you're spearheading our country's first public-private partnership to prepare for the future Americans who thought they had no future: the Job Training Partnership. It's easy to forget today that when we came into office Federal job programs had become a national scandal. For 40 years government-sponsored training had achieved little more than to give leaf-raking a bad name.

One study in the late sixties found that the programs of that period had "not helped business find qualified employees, and the largest percent of businesses said this was because training was given in the wrong skills." "It was impossible," a follow-up study found, "to track individual trainees through the system; information on the potential labor market was inadequate; the management system was bloated with salaried staff." Well, if anything, matters got

worse after that. The CETA program of the seventies didn't settle on mere incompetence; it added corruption. In many cities, CETA positions were parceled out as political patronage. And CETA spent millions on such worthy projects as building an artificial rock for rock climbers to practice on.

The worst-hit victims of these federally financed fiascos were the trainees themselves. Most genuinely needed the simple but basic skills of showing up punctually, performing a task that others valued, doing it well, and getting it done on time. Instead, they got laxly supervised make-work. The message came through loud and clear that honest effort will not be honestly rewarded.

Well, thanks to you, all this has changed. When we came into office, we took one look at this mess and said it had to stop. We said that it wasn't enough to get better managers and stricter accountants; we wanted a revolution in approach. The Good Book tells us that excessive pride is a deadly sin.

Well, the failing in these programs started with government's excessive pride. For five decades every Federal training effort had been run by government, because government believed it knew what was best for the unemployed and for the businesses that would hire them. I've always thought that the common sense and wisdom of government were summed up in a sign they used to have hanging on that gigantic Hoover Dam. It said, "Government property. Do not remove." [Laughter]

Well, we said it was time to bring the grace of humility to this prideful city. So, we turned to you. With your help and guidance, the Job Training Partnership is business-run and locally run, not Washington-run. And unlike all the many programs before it, and despite so many voices saying when we started that business would not rise to the challenge of helping the unemployed, you met the challenge. The hard-to-employ are getting trained. They're getting placed. They're keeping good jobs with good pay in good companies. They have reclaimed the American dream.

And they're not alone. Not everyone needs special job training, but everyone is part of a growing economy. In November America will set a record: the longest

peacetime economic expansion in our business cycle history—59 straight months of growth. Never before has this happened. After a decade-long roller coaster ride down in the seventies, the American family once more has seen its income rising strongly and steadily since our recovery began. And the net worth of American households—assets minus liabilities—has been growing right in line with income. This is not a question of the rich getting richer and the poor poorer. No, in fact, if you include pension and Social Security rights, the gap between rich and poor has steadily narrowed, and we expect this to continue.

Too often in the past, blacks lagged behind others as others advanced, but in the last 5 years, black employment has shot forward twice as fast as white employment. Since 1982 the real income of black families has increased almost 40 percent faster than white family income, and the share of black families in the highest income brackets is up by over 70 percent. This August the percentage of blacks employed was the highest on record, as was the percentage of all Americans employed. Economics columnist Warren Brookes looked at this record and concluded that "on every front—jobs, income, even household wealth—this, 1981 through 1986, has been the best 5 economic years in black history." Yes, we still have some distance to go, but our economic policies are the headwaters from which economic justice for black Americans will, like a great river, flow.

Yes, all of America has come a long way from the "malaise" days of the late seventies. And while getting here wasn't easy, it was simple. We simply got government—with all its failures and reasons "why it can't be done"—out of the way and let the American people take a crack at putting things right. Now, I know that many still look at our cuts in taxes and regulations and scoff. Sometimes they dismiss the strong economy as a sign of my luck and then keep right on with their old talk of new programs and more spending. Well, maybe they ought to take a moment to look at the facts. I know that may come as a surprising suggestion to many of our critics. I'm not saying they're

hostile to the facts, just apathetic about them.

Recently the U.S. Chamber of Commerce examined the facts in the major industrial economies of the world. Their conclusion: More government, beyond a point, really does mean less growth. As the chamber's chief economist, Richard Rahn, concluded: "For many countries economic growth rates significantly decline and unemployment rates begin to increase when total government spending exceeds the range of 15 to 30 percent of gross national product." Well, today the United States is around 35 percent, and that's why I'm determined that the way to close the budget deficit is not by raising the American people's taxes but by cutting the Federal Government's spending.

I've talked a great deal in these last few months about an Economic Bill of Rights for America, including a line-item veto and a balanced budget amendment. And if Congress isn't ready to do what's right, I'm ready to take the message to our State legislatures. Before the decade is out, we owe it to our children to see to it that the Constitution of the United States of America includes a balanced budget amendment. I feel so strongly about this, because I believe that we have it within our power to continue an era of unprecedented growth that will transform America's future and the world's. In industry after industry, America can lead mankind into the 21st century. As the Los Angeles Times reported recently: "In every part of the country, innovative companies are putting to rest the popular misconception that the United States is deindustrializing."

Our determination to lower tax rates and increase incentives is paying off. Investment as a share of overall economic activity has risen since our recovery began and is now one-sixth of gross national product, even while in Europe and Japan the investment rates have been falling. And this investment is ushering in a new American industrial age. But some would end this new age of opportunity before it ever begins. In the next few weeks in Washington, you will see the challenge before us. On one side, you'll find those who support what used to be called Reaganomics. Of

course, our critics stopped calling policies Reaganomics when our policies started to work. On the other side, you'll find, if I may coin a phrase, pit bull economics. It may look harmless, but let it loose and it'll tear America's future apart with higher taxes, new and costly programs, and protectionist trade policies. It's dangerous.

I can't help but interject here about the fellow that knocked on another man's door, and when he came to the door, said, "Do you own a black pit bull?" And the fellow said "Yes." "Well," he said, "I have to tell you it's dead." He said, "What do you mean it's dead? What happened?" And he says, "My Pekinese killed it." [Laughter] He says, "Your Pekinese killed it? How?" He said, "It got stuck in his throat." [Laughter]

Our opponents talk about the trade deficit and saving American jobs, particularly in manufacturing, even though the foremost authority on job creation and loss has reported that "in statistically significant terms we haven't eliminated a single manufacturing job" in more than two decades. Some manufacturing industries are down, but others are up. And in fact, throughout the economy, in all sectors, we have created a record 13½ million jobs in the last 5 years. And industrial production is surging strongly forward.

But the issue here is not over jobs or family income. We know how to create more jobs and better incomes—the way we've been doing it. We must have compassion for those workers who have been displaced as their industries have become more efficient. We must help them develop new skills and find new lines of work. We have proposals to do this before Congress, and you've been leading the way in this area, too. But that's not the issue here in Washington. No, the issue is control. Should Washington have more control, or should the American people?

Well, let me be clear, I'm not questioning motives. Many fine and well-meaning people still believe that control is best and most wisely held in the hands of our central government. The way they talk about American people, I find myself remembering a story I once heard about a great baseball manager, Frankie Frisch. One day he

sent a rookie out to play center field. The rookie dropped the first flyball that was hit to him, let a grounder go between his feet, and when he did get his hands on the ball he threw it to the wrong base. Frankie stormed out of the dugout, grabbed his glove and said, "I'll show you how to play this position." And the next batter slammed a drive right over second base. Frankie came in on it, missed it completely, and fell down when he tried to chase it. He threw down his glove and yelled at the rookie, "You've got center field so loused up nobody can play it." [Laughter]

Well, that's how many critics may think, but in choosing between big government and the American people, I'm old-fashioned. I stand with the men who wrote the glorious Constitution whose 200th birthday we celebrate this week. I put my trust in the people. In the months ahead and in the battles to reduce Federal spending, prevent destructive protectionism, keep taxes down, we'll decide whether the American economy will retain the vitality that gives our future so much promise. I hope I'll have your support in these battles.

Let me mention one area in particular that I know you care about and where the central issue is, once again, Washington's control: welfare reform. Twenty-three years ago, Washington launched a War on Poverty. Poverty won. [Laughter] But from that failure, we learned many lessons about poverty and getting out of it. We learned that work should be more rewarding than welfare, because work is the only genuine path to self-respect and independence. We learned that welfare should sustain and not disrupt families, because intact, self-reliant families are the best antipoverty insurance ever devised. And we learned that the Federal Government doesn't really know how to apply these and other lessons to the day-to-day problems of the welfare family that's trying to lift itself up.

Successful reforms have been, virtually without exception, those that were home-grown in State capitals, cities, and neighborhoods. And that's why we propose to allow expanded experimentation at the State and local levels. Experiments that work will be tested more broadly. This is just plain common sense, and yet there are those who

believe that the Federal Government should once again parachute a single set of reforms on the Nation. The history of just one more reform from Washington is bleak.

For example, a few years ago there was an idea here to replace welfare with what amounted to a guaranteed minimum income. We were told that this would cure the problems in the system. And among other things, it was argued that families would no longer have to break up to receive assistance, so they would stay together. And then somebody said, maybe we should test this in one or two cities before we do it in the Nation as a whole. So, they did. And they found that people worked less and families broke up faster under that plan than they had before.

As in so many other areas, in welfare reform it's time to get the Federal Government to learn some humility and admit what it doesn't know and put its trust in the American people. At the very least, we should insist that the Government will not do more harm than good when it acts. It's time for us to look carefully at the full range of government activities and ask which ones make it harder for the poor to escape poverty; which cut off rungs in the ladder of American opportunity; which make it more difficult to realize the American dream. America is at the dawn of the new age of hope. And let us resolve that all Americans will know the promise of the new age and the new century.

Well, now, before I close, let me add that Washington is, I hope, about to have a great debate. I have nominated one of America's most distinguished legal scholars and jurists, Robert Bork, to the Supreme Court. Well, tomorrow the Senate opens hearings on his confirmation. Judge Bork believes laws should govern our country and if you want them changed you should convince elected legislatures to change them, not unelected judges. This doctrine of judicial restraint shouldn't be controversial in our democracy, but it is. And I hope it'll be fully debated in the weeks ahead.

I say "I hope" because too often character assassination has replaced debate in principle here in Washington. Destroy someone's reputation, and you don't have to

talk about what he stands for. Well, I hope that Judge Bork's critics will be candid about why they oppose him and not fabricate excuses for attacking him personally. That way we can have a full and open debate on an important constitutional principle. And when the votes are counted,

America will win. Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:58 p.m. in the International Ballroom at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

Informal Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze

September 15, 1987

Q. Mr. President, has any progress been made today in these talks?

The President. We're just beginning.

Q. Do you think there will be a summit meeting as a result of this meeting?

The President. I'm not going to answer.

Q. Did you get a letter from the Foreign Minister?

The President. No. I understand he is delivering me a letter.

Q. Mr. Foreign Minister, can you tell us what's in the letter?

Mr. Shevardnadze. Well, if I tell you, what shall I tell the President? [*Laughter*]

Q. The same thing. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Shevardnadze. There are good things in that letter.

Q. Like what?

Q. Is there a summit date in that letter, Mr. Foreign Minister?

Mr. Shevardnadze. No date, but a summit is necessary.

Q. Are you predicting there will be one?

Mr. Shevardnadze. Well, I would like to talk to you, maybe, after my meeting with the President.

Note: The exchange began at 12:10 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. During their meeting, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze gave the President a letter from General Secretary Gorbachev. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks on Signing the Soviet-United States Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers Agreement

September 15, 1987

The President. I am very pleased. Today the United States and the Soviet Union will sign the agreement to establish Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers. This agreement is another practical step in our efforts to reduce the risks of conflict that could otherwise result from accident, miscalculation, or misunderstanding. Today's agreement goes beyond existing structures to establish the first new, direct channel for communications between Washington and Moscow since the creation of the hotline in 1963.

Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers will play

an important role in further lessening the chances of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. They provide a means to transmit notifications required under existing confidence-building measures and could play a key role in exchanging the information necessary for effective verification of future arms control agreements.

For the United States, this agreement results from close cooperation among the executive, Congress, and private groups and individuals to produce a pragmatic agree-

ment that advances our common goals of peace and security. I would like to make special mention of the excellent counsel and leadership that we have received over several years on nuclear risk reduction from Senators John Warner and Sam Nunn. I would also like to express my appreciation to the United States delegation on Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers—and especially its cochairman, former Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle and my Special Assistant Robert Linhard—and to the Soviet delegation, headed by Ambassador Aleksei Obukhov, for their skill and dedication in successfully concluding the negotiations. This agreement complements our ongoing and promising efforts in Geneva to achieve—for the first time—deep, equitable, and effectively verifiable reductions in Soviet and American nuclear arsenals.

Mr. Foreign Minister, I am pleased to have you sign this agreement today and look forward to the day when General Secretary Gorbachev and I can sign even more historic agreements in our common search for peace.

Mr. Shevardnadze. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, comrades: In Soviet-American relations in recent times, events like this one are not too frequent; however, 1987 turns out to be relatively fruitful. In April, last April, during the visit of Secretary of State Shultz to Moscow, we signed an agreement on peaceful cooperation in space. Today, we are signing an agreement on Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers.

The signing, by us, today, of this agreement marks a tangible step in the practical implementation of the understanding which Mikhail Gorbachev and you, Mr. President, reached in Geneva. Nuclear war should never be fought, you both said. Let us hope

that the agreement that we are signing today will help to move further toward that historic goal. This is a sign which may be a prelude to more important agreements, in particular, agreements on the reduction of nuclear arsenals, as the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the President of the United States agreed in Reykjavik. The most important thing is to do the utmost for this to happen to the gratification of our peoples and of the entire world community.

The sooner it happens, the better. Then, having done good work for our time, we will be able to hope that time, too, will work for us. Today, we have acted to try to ease somewhat the pressing burden of fears, uncertainties, and anxieties of which people have become tired. I would like to use this opportunity to cordially thank all those who, for 2 years, worked with perseverance and dedication to prepare this agreement. I would like to pay tribute to the diplomats and experts, and to the members of the U.S. Senate, particularly to Senators Nunn and Warner, who worked with a great deal of energy and persistence to promote this idea. I would like to hope that this small gulp of hope is a prelude to the quenching of the global thirst for peace and security. Thank you.

The President. And they will now sign the proclamation [agreement].

Note: The President spoke at 12:17 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze signed the agreement. Following the ceremony, the President and the Foreign Minister met with Soviet and U.S. officials in the Cabinet Room and then had lunch in the Residence.

Appointment of Two Members of the Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise September 15, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to

be members of the Interagency Committee on Women's Business Enterprise:

Linda Faulkner, of Texas. She would succeed Nancy Mohr Kennedy. Since 1985 Miss Faulkner has been Social Secretary at the White House. Prior to this, she was the owner of Linda Faulkner Enterprises, a public relations firm, 1985–1986; and Assistant Social Secretary at the White House, 1981–1984. Miss Faulkner graduated from Vanderbilt University (B.A., 1971) and continued graduate work at the University of Dallas. She was born November 25, 1949, in Dallas, TX, and resides in Washington, DC.

Gwendolyn S. King, of Maryland. She would succeed Mari Maseng. Since April 1986 she has served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Intergovernmental Affairs at the White House. Prior to this Mrs. King served as director of the Governor's District of Columbia Office for the State of Pennsylvania, 1979–1986. She graduated from Howard University (B.A., 1962). Mrs. King was born August 23, 1940, in East Orange, NJ. She is married, has three children, and resides in Rockville, MD.

Remarks at the Fifth Anniversary Celebration of USA Today in Arlington, Virginia September 15, 1987

Well, I thank you all, and I appreciate this opportunity to join in celebrating USA Today's fifth birthday. When you get my age, it always feels good to be celebrating someone else's birthday. *[Laughter]* So, right off the bat, let me say to Al Neuharth and John Curley, Cathy Black, and all of you who've played a role in this exciting endeavor: Congratulations and many happy returns!

All of this brings to mind the story—something always brings to my mind a story. *[Laughter]* Maybe you being in the business have heard it already, but it has to do with the young cub reporter whose first assignment was to go out to the senior citizens home, where a man there, the oldest man in the community, celebrating his 95th birthday. And he came in, and of course the first was, "I'm from the paper and all, to interview you," and then said, "to what do you attribute your age, your longevity?" And he said, "I don't drink, I don't smoke, I don't run around with wild women." And just then there was a terrible crashing noise upstairs, and the kid said, "What's that?" And the old man says, "Oh, that's my father. He's drunk again." *[Laughter]*

Now, I don't know if any of you have been assigned to interview the oldest man in town, but I do know that USA Today is offering the American people a vibrant, new alternative. Your innovative journalism and use of high technology has literally al-

tered the face of the newspaper business. It's no mere coincidence that since your paper hit the streets changes have taken place throughout the industry. More color photographs, extensive use of graphics, and better sports coverage can be found now in papers all across America. I even understand the Pulitzer board may change its award criteria because of USA Today and recognize the most creative news paragraph. *[Laughter]*

The success of USA Today and industry-wide improvements should be no surprise to those of us who believe in free enterprise. Competition keeps the quality up and the price down. And as we're well aware, USA Today is not just competing with one newspaper; it's up against papers in every major city in the country. It took great entrepreneurial courage for the leadership of Gannett newspapers to take on this challenge. Of course, it's not been all peaches and cream. There was that morning in October 1982 when an airliner cruised by just outside an editorial meeting. And what was really frightening was that those in the meeting were able to see through the windows of the plane as it went by and the passengers were reading the Washington Times. *[Laughter]*

Seriously, starting a new business of any kind takes a special breed of people. You can all be proud of what you've accomplished. Your success is truly a turning point

in the news business. You're leading a whole industry into the 21st century. And again, thanks for letting me join your celebration. God bless you, and I'll be waiting for your paper in the morning. [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. in

the boardroom at the USA Today Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Allen H. Neuharth, chairman, and John J. Curley, president and chief executive officer, of Gannett Co., Inc., and Cathleen Black, publisher of USA Today.

Remarks at the 40th Anniversary Conference of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy September 16, 1987

It's an honor to be able to join you on this the 40th anniversary of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy. It also happens to be a pleasure, first, because looking out today I see so many good friends: George Shultz, Charlie Wick, Ed Feulner, Priscilla Buckley. I could go on and on, but then there's a second reason. You see, the way I look at it, this is sort of a professional get-together. Whether it's WORLDNET, Radio Marti, or, in my case, the Presidency itself, everyone in this room is in the same business: the business of making bully pulpits even bullier.

But thinking about what I'd say here today, I did a little reading on the topic of diplomacy. It turns out that diplomacy has produced a certain amount of humor, and I thought that—with George Shultz's permission—I might begin this morning by sharing with you an item that I especially enjoyed. It's an exchange that took place in the 1930's between Charles G. Dawes, American Ambassador to Great Britain, and Henry Prather Fletcher, at one time our Ambassador to Italy. Dawes said: "American diplomacy is easy on the brain but hell on the feet." [Laughter] And Fletcher said: "It depends on which you use." [Laughter]

Well, now, you'll notice that this exchange has to do with diplomacy, not public diplomacy. It conjures up the traditional system in which relations between countries had less to do with the people of those countries than with their governments, when small numbers of diplomats often settled matters of world importance among themselves. I suppose the most famous ex-

ample of the old diplomatic system, of diplomacy proper, was the 1815 Congress of Vienna, when representatives of the ruling classes—Metternich, Castlereagh, Talleyrand, and others—gathered to divide the map of Europe. You know, whenever I picture those wily aristocrats doublecrossing each other all day, then going to glittering balls in the evening, well, I'm reminded of an old piece of doggerel: "Diplomacy is to do and say the nastiest thing in the nicest way." [Laughter]

Diplomatic practices in the old days aside, it goes without saying that today trained diplomats remain of tremendous importance. Yet in this information age—this age of the mass media and the microchip, of telecommunications satellites above the planet and fiber optic cables underground—in this new age, traditional diplomacy alone is not enough. The United States must speak not just to foreign governments but to their people, engaging in public diplomacy with all the skill and resources that we can muster. Castlereagh spoke to Metternich, but leaders today must speak to the people of the world.

The advances our administration has made in public diplomacy budgeting, programs, and technology have been dramatic. To name only a few: Since 1980 the USIA [United States Information Agency] budget has nearly doubled. Exchange programs for students have doubled. WORLDNET has wedded satellite technology to public diplomacy. Radio Marti has begun broadcasting into Cuba. And it's a matter of no small historical importance that five times during

these years a President of the United States has, by way of Voice of America, directly addressed the people of the Soviet Union.

All these accomplishments have been made possible by individual men and women, those unsung but utterly dedicated Foreign and Civil Service professionals who run our nation's public diplomacy. I understand that hundreds of our public diplomats will read these remarks or listen to them on tape, so let us take a moment now to express the Nation's gratitude. To you, our public diplomats, whether stationed here in Washington or in posts from Rome to Shanghai: In a difficult world, you tell America's story, and America gives you her thanks.

America's story—as I've said, during these 6½ years we have dramatically improved our ability to tell America's story around the globe, but I would submit that we've done still more. I would submit that we've given the story itself new content, and on this, the very day before we celebrate the bicentennial of our Constitution, I would like you to join me in considering the renewed power, the renewed sense of hope, that America's story holds for all the world.

Begin, if you will, by casting your minds back to the 1970's. And as you do so, place yourself outside the United States, perhaps in a nation of the Third World or in the position of a dissident in the Soviet Union. When you look at the United States you see that it grants its people freedom. But in the 1970's this freedom might strike you as mere license, for the United States appears to be in decline. By 1979, indeed, the American economy is in disarray. America's military strength has been permitted to atrophy, while at the same time the United States has diminished in stature around the world. But what perhaps strikes you most is the way the American leaders talk about their country—in effect, America's public diplomacy. For all its troubles, the United States is still prosperous, still free; yet America's leaders speak of uncertainty, self-doubt, guilt, and that word "malaise."

You're well aware of the world struggle—the struggle of ideas, economic vitality, and military strength. As you look ahead to the next decade, the decade of the eighties, you are less than optimistic about the United

States. Yet now that the decade of the eighties is here, now that the decade of the nineties, indeed, is nearly upon us, the American situation has changed dramatically, and with it the nature of our public diplomacy.

In a moment I'll return to our vantage point as a Soviet dissident or a citizen in the Third World, but permit me to speak first about what has happened here at home. Tax cuts, the rebuilding of our defenses, a cutback in government regulations, a determined, continuous effort to hold down the expansion of government spending—these are the policies that have been instrumental in all that we have accomplished, the proximate causes, if you will, of our renewed economic vitality and renewed strength in the foreign policy arena.

Yet I speak deliberately when I refer to these policies as instrumental, for they've merely served as the instruments of ideas, ideas like limited government and individual initiative, ideas like the view that America has a mission to stand up in the world for human freedom. Our administration has spoken out for these ideas again and again. The American people have responded. And government policy and the very scope and shape of government itself has been changed.

This connection began [between] speaking out and the formation of policy may seem obvious, but it has enormous significance for a conference concerning itself with public diplomacy. For what it means is this: Not by force, not by coercion, but by speaking out, we have changed the course of history. Disraeli said: "With words we govern men." Of course, it's less our intention in the United States to govern than to serve. But in all the long American story, words have indeed proven fundamental. The basic act of the American Revolution was not the call to arms but the Declaration of Independence, an act that in effect called the Nation into being and the act that has sustained our Republic for two centuries now. Providing the rule of law for our fathers—as it does for us, as it will for our children and grandchildren—was the writing of the Constitution—several thousand words, mere words, on four sheets of

parchment, but what power.

This brings me back to our public diplomacy. For just as by speaking out we've changed the course of American history, I believe that our public diplomacy represents a powerful force, perhaps the most powerful force at our disposal, for shaping the history of the world. In this administration, our public diplomacy has been marked, first, by shaking off the malaise of years past. That malaise and self-doubt had never been in accord with an objective assessment of America's world position, had never been in accord, in short, with the facts. So it is that in speaking to the people of other nations, we have chosen to reassert the record: It is not the democracies that have backward economies. It is not the Western World in which average life expectancy is actually falling. It was not the democracies that invaded Afghanistan or suppressed Solidarity.

But second, we've gone beyond a mere statement of the facts, beyond reminding the world of the actual historical record, vital though that is. We've dared in our public diplomacy to articulate a vision, dared not just to defend the status quo but to speak of a new age of liberty. Consider this year alone. In April we asked that a date be set for the rapid and complete withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. In Berlin this June, we called for tearing down the Wall. This July we urged the Soviets to rescind the Brezhnev doctrine and establish genuine self-determination in Eastern Europe. As I said last month in Los Angeles, containment is not enough. Our goal has been to break the deadlock of the past, to seek a forward strategy—a forward strategy for world freedom.

There's a third element in our public diplomacy, one that bears directly upon issues that are being raised at this conference. Permit me to call this, if you will, the moral element. You see, even as the 1970's were marked by talk about national malaise, they were marked, as well, by talk about some sort of moral equivalency between the United States and the Soviet Union. One version of this view saw both nations simply as military and economic units struggling to determine which would become the greater power. Another version admitted that the

Soviet Union had its moral shortcomings but pointed out that so did the United States, after all.

Well, yes, our country has its shortcomings, but there's no moral equivalency between democracy and totalitarianism. There's no moral equivalency between turning the proud nations of Eastern Europe into satellites and joining the nations of Western Europe in the defense of their freedom. And, my friends, there's no moral equivalency between propaganda and the truth.

As I said, this touches upon issues being raised at this conference. We all know of the tremendous progress we're seeing in communications, a virtual riot of new technology. But we know, as well, that the Soviets are serious about using these new technologies for their own purposes. Already, to name just one example, Soviet television can be received in Western Europe, North and Central America, Southeast Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East. The Soviet message, even if it is propaganda, now reaches around the globe.

But there is, as I suggested, that moral point, that crucial distinction between what is true and what is not. Describing his experience in a prisoner-of-war camp during the Second World War, Laurens van der Post writes that, in reading official propaganda sheets, he and his fellow prisoners evolved a technique for telling the true from the false. This was possible, van der Post writes, because "every thought, every articulation of meaning, from painting to music, carries within it evidence of its correspondence to the truth by the impact it makes on our senses and imaginations." The truth—the truth will make itself known. Permit me to close now by telling you two stories that show this to be true, and in doing so, return to our vantage points in the Third World and the Soviet Union.

First, the Third World—imagine now the situation of a man of integrity and dignity in Cuba. His name is Ricardo Bofill. As an academic, he became a professor of Marxist philosophy. During the 1960's he was a leading member of the Communist Party. Yet today he knows that Castro has betrayed every ideal the revolution seemed to

espouse, and at the cost of constant threats and harassment, Ricardo Bofill serves as president of the Cuban Committee for Human Rights.

Like all Cubans, Ricardo Bofill is bombarded day in and day out by the Castro regime's propaganda. Even so, he and thousands of others recognize without hesitation the one news source that tells the truth. Bofill recently wrote: "It seems to me that there will arrive a moment concerning the situation of Cuba when it will be necessary to speak of the time before and after the broadcast of Radio Marti. The ability to answer the monolog that Fidel Castro has sustained for nearly 26 years has finally evolved." Well, to all those involved with Radio Marti, you will never receive higher praise than the words of that brave man.

Now imagine yourself in the position of a Jewish dissident in the Soviet Union. For speaking out on human rights, you're imprisoned in labor camps, where you spend nearly 9 years. Then one day you are marched across a bridge in Berlin—to freedom. Your name is Natan Shcharanskiy. And when you meet the President of the United States, you say this: "Thank you for telling the truth in your speeches. They were smuggled into the gulag."

I have a letter that testifies to that at home. It came to me by way of USIA—that was smuggled out of the gulag. The letter is only about 2 or 3 inches long—in width, I should say, of paper. It is only about three quarters of an inch in length. And yet there is a message on there of thanking us for maintaining freedom and keeping it alive in the world. And it is signed by 11 women prisoners, all on that tiny piece of paper. I don't know how they wrote it, but I know you cannot see the words without a magnifying glass.

There are some of the things that come up. I, as some people here at the head table know, have become a collector of stories

that the citizens of the Soviet Union tell among themselves, revealing they have a great sense of humor, but also a cynicism about their system. And just yesterday I added a new one to the collection.

A man just back from Europe, riding in a taxicab—the taxicab driver said to him, "There is the tallest building in Moscow." And he looked out, and he said, "Well, where? Where is it?" He said, "There, that building." And this American said, "That two-story building is the tallest building in Moscow?" He says, "Yes, from there, you can see all the way to Siberia. It's the KGB headquarters." [*Laughter*]

Well, they gave us hope, the people said, in the gulag there. Surely, this, is your mission as public diplomats, and surely, this is our mission as a nation: to stand for freedom and to give hope. On the day in Berlin that I faced the Wall and speaking to a very large audience on the west side, in West Berlin, advocated the tearing down of the Wall, I could see rows of East German military police fully 100 to 200 yards from the Wall, with their backs to the Wall and me speaking. They were there to keep any East Berliners from approaching the Wall, where they might be able to hear through the loudspeakers what I was saying.

Yes, public diplomacy and all of you do give hope to more people in the world than perhaps you even realize. So, I guess all I really wanted to say is thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:13 a.m. in the Loy Henderson Conference Room at the Department of State. In his opening remarks, he referred to Secretary of State George P. Shultz; Charles Z. Wick, Director of the United States Information Agency; Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., Chairman of the Commission; and Priscilla Buckley, a member of the Commission.

Remarks at the Bicentennial Celebration of the United States Constitution

September 16, 1987

When George Washington was elected as the first President of the United States, the total population of the country was nearly 4 million. Today there are over 5 million Federal employees. Times have changed. But the basic premise of the Constitution hasn't changed. It's still our blueprint for freedom. One of our more able statesmen and constitutional lawyers, Daniel Webster, once wrote: "We may be tossed upon an ocean where we can see no land nor, perhaps, the Sun or stars. But there is a chart and a compass for us to study, to consult, and obey. The chart is the Constitution."

Two hundred years ago the very notion of free self-government was a new idea. But James Madison, a man whom many call the Father of the Constitution, urged his fellow citizens not to oppose the idea simply because it was new. He argued that it was the glory of the American people that they were not blindly bound to the past but were willing to rely on "their own good sense" and experience in charting the future. It's interesting that Madison and others had to defend the Constitution because it was new. Times have changed. For over 200 years we've lived with freedom under law, and perhaps, we've become complacent about it. We should never forget how rare and precious freedom is.

Active and informed citizens are vital to the effective functioning of our constitutional system. All of us have an obligation to study the Constitution and participate actively in the system of self-government that it establishes. This is an obligation we owe, not only to ourselves but to our children

and their children. And there is no better time than right now, during the next 4 years of the bicentennial, to rededicate ourselves to the Constitution and values it contains.

Let us never forget that the signers of the Declaration of Independence acted with "a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence." One hundred years ago, on the occasion of the centennial of the Constitution, another President, Grover Cleveland, accepted the privilege that I have been given here today: to honor the Constitution. And his words are as true now as they were then. He said: "When we look down upon 100 years and see the origin of our Constitution, when we contemplate all its trials and triumphs, when we realize how completely the principles upon which it is based have met every national need and national peril, how devoutly should we say with Franklin 'God governs in the affairs of men.'"

And now, Stephanie, Damien, Brian, Tyese, would you join me and everybody here and everybody watching and listening throughout the land as we recite the words that we all know by heart: the Pledge of Allegiance.

Note: The President spoke at 2 p.m. on the steps of the U.S. Capitol. Following his remarks, he recited the Pledge of Allegiance with Stephanie Petit, winner of the National Spelling Bee; Damien Atkins, District of Columbia honor student; and Brian Morris and Tyese Wright, Gallaudet University students.

Remarks at the "We the People" Bicentennial Celebration in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

September 17, 1987

Thank you all very much. With so many distinguished guests, I hope you'll excuse

me if I single out just one. He has devoted a lifetime of service to his country, and occu-

pied one of the highest offices in our land. And recently he stepped down to lead the nation in our bicentennial celebrations. Well, by a happy coincidence, this day that marks the 200th anniversary of the signing of our Constitution, also happens to be his birthday. Today, Chief Justice Warren Burger is 80 years old. [Applause] And Warren, we of the younger generation salute you. [Laughter] Congratulations!

As we stand here today before Independence Hall, we can easily imagine that day, September 17, 1787, when the delegates rose from their chairs and arranged themselves according to the geography of their States, beginning with New Hampshire and moving south to Georgia. They had labored for 4 months through the terrible heat of the Philadelphia summer, but they knew as they moved forward to sign their names to that new document that in many ways their work had just begun. This new Constitution, this new plan of government, faced a skeptical, even hostile reception in much of the country.

To look back on that time, at the difficulties faced and surmounted, can only give us perspective on the present. Each generation, every age, I imagine, is prone to think itself beset by unusual and particularly threatening difficulties, to look back on the past as a golden age when issues were not so complex and politics not so divisive, when problems did not seem so intractable.

Sometimes we're tempted to think of the birth of our country as one such golden age, a time characterized primarily by harmony and cooperation. In fact, the Constitution and our government were born in crisis. The years leading up to our Constitutional Convention were some of the most difficult our nation ever endured. This young nation, threatened on every side by hostile powers, was on the verge of economic collapse. In some States inflation raged out of control; debt was crushing. In Massachusetts, ruinously high taxes provided—or provoked an uprising of poor farmers led by a former Revolutionary War captain, Daniel Shays.

Trade disputes between the States were bitter and sometimes violent, threatening not only the economy but even the peace.

No one thought him guilty of exaggeration when Edmund Randolph described the perilous state of the confederacy. "Look at the public countenance," he said, "from New Hampshire to Georgia! Are we not on the eve of war, which is only prevented by the hopes from this Convention?" Yes, but these hopes were matched in many others by equally strong suspicions. Wasn't this Convention just designed to steal from the States their sovereignty, to usurp their freedoms so recently fought for? Patrick Henry, the famous orator of the Revolution, thought so. He refused to attend the Convention, saying with his usual talent for understatement, that he "smelt a rat."

The Articles of Confederation, all could see, were not strong enough to hold this new nation together. But there was no general agreement on how a stronger Federal Government should be constituted—or, indeed, whether one should be constituted at all. There were strong secessionist feelings in many parts of the country. In Boston, some were calling for a separate nation of New England. Others felt the 13 States should divide into three independent nations. And it came as a shock to George Washington, recently traveling in New England, to find that sentiment in favor of returning to a monarchy still ran strong in that region.

No, it wasn't the absence of problems that won the day in 1787. It wasn't the absence of division and difficulty; it was the presence of something higher—the vision of democratic government founded upon those self-evident truths that still resounded in Independence Hall. It was that ideal, proclaimed so proudly in this hall a decade earlier, that enabled them to rise above politics and self-interest, to transcend their differences and together create this document, this Constitution that would profoundly and forever alter not just these United States but the world. In a very real sense, it was then, in 1787, that the Revolution truly began. For it was with the writing of our Constitution, setting down the architecture of democratic government, that the noble sentiments and brave rhetoric of 1776 took on substance, that the hopes and dreams of

the revolutionists could become a living, enduring reality.

All men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—until that moment some might have said that was just a high-blown sentiment, the dreams of a few philosophers and their hot-headed followers. But could one really construct a government, run a country, with such idealistic notions? But once those ideals took root in living, functioning institutions, once those notions became a nation—well, then, as I said, the revolution could really begin, not just in America but around the world, a revolution to free man from tyranny of every sort and secure his freedom the only way possible in this world, through the checks and balances and institutions of limited, democratic government.

Checks and balances, limited government—the genius of our constitutional system is its recognition that no one branch of government alone could be relied on to preserve our freedoms. The great safeguard of our liberty is the totality of the constitutional system, with no one part getting the upper hand. And that's why the judiciary must be independent. And that's why it also must exercise restraint.

If our Constitution has endured, through times perilous as well as prosperous, it has not been simply as a plan of government, no matter how ingenious or inspired that might be. This document that we honor today has always been something more to us, filled with a deeper feeling than one of simple admiration—a feeling, one might say, more of reverence. One scholar described our Constitution as a kind of covenant. It is a covenant we've made not only with ourselves but with all of mankind. As John Quincy Adams promised, "Whenever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will be America's heart, her benedictions and her prayers." It's a human covenant; yes, and beyond that, a covenant with the Supreme Being to whom our Founding Fathers did constantly appeal for assistance.

It is an oath of allegiance to that in man that is truly universal, that core of being that exists before and beyond distinctions of class, race, or national origin. It is a dedication of faith to the humanity we all share,

that part of each man and woman that most closely touches on the divine. And it was perhaps from that divine source that the men who came together in this hall 200 years ago drew the inspiration and strength to face the crisis of their great hopes and overcome their many divisions. After all, both Madison and Washington were to refer to the outcome of the Constitutional Convention as a miracle; and miracles, of course, have only one origin.

"No people," said George Washington in his Inaugural Address, "can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than those of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some providential agency." No doubt he was thinking of the great and good fortune of this young land: the abundant and fertile continent given us, far from the warring powers of Europe; the successful struggle against the greatest proof—or power of that day, England; the happy outcome of the Constitutional Convention and the debate over ratification. But he knew, too, as he also said, that there is an "indissoluble union" between duty and advantage, and that the guiding hand of providence did not create this new nation of America for ourselves alone, but for a higher cause: the preservation and extension of the sacred fire of human liberty. This is America's solemn duty.

During the summer of 1787, as the delegates clashed and debated, Washington left the heat of Philadelphia with his trout fishing companion, Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania, made a pilgrimage to Valley Forge. Ten years before, his Continental Army had been camped there through the winter. Food was low, medical supplies nonexistent, his soldiers had to go "half in rags in the killing cold, their torn feet leaving bloodstains as they walked shoeless on the icy ground." Gouverneur Morris reported that the general was silent throughout the trip. He did not confide his emotions as he surveyed the scene of past hardship.

One can imagine that his conversation was with someone else—that it took more the form of prayer for this new nation, that

such sacrifices be not in vain, that the hope and promise that survived such a terrible winter of suffering not be allowed to wither now that it was summer. One imagines that he also did what we do today in this gathering and celebration, what will always be America's foremost duty—to constantly renew that covenant with humanity, with a world yearning to breathe free; to complete the work begun 200 years ago, that grand, noble work that is America's particular calling—the triumph of human freedom, the triumph of human freedom under God.

I have, a number of times, said that you may call it mysticism, but I have always believed that this land was put here to be found by a special kind of people. And may I simply say also, a man wrote me a letter, and I would call to your attention what he did to mine. You could go from here to live

in another country, France, but you wouldn't become a Frenchman. You could go to Japan and live there, but you wouldn't become a Japanese. But people from every corner of the world can come to this country and become an American.

I think a moment ago I was given a cue, and I can think of no more fitting tribute to the Constitution's bicentennial than ringing the Centennial Bell, and with it, will be rung bells all over the Nation. Maybe that's all they were going to ring it.

Note: The President spoke at 11:45 a.m. in front of Independence Hall. In his opening remarks, he referred to former Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, Chairman of the Commission on the Bicentennial of the United States Constitution. At the close of the President's remarks, the Centennial Bell was rung.

Remarks at a Fundraising Luncheon for Senator John Heinz in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania September 17, 1987

Thank you very much, and thank all of you, and Senators Heinz, Specter, and Congressman Coughlin, John Cardinal Krol, Earl Baker, and all of you. I came to Pennsylvania to be a part of the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of the United States. I can't think of a Member of the United States Senate who has fought harder to put the ideals of our Constitution into practice than the man we honor today, Senator John Heinz. Pennsylvania can be proud of its two Senators and, believe me, I'm grateful for the job they're doing.

There's a story, you knew I'd have one of these—[*laughter*—] about a fellow who always wanted to work with animals. And he applied to the zoo, and they had an ad out—they needed someone there. And then he found out to his dismay that the job they had immediately open was dressing in a gorilla outfit, taking the place of the gorilla who just died, until a new one could be delivered. And then they promised that

he'd have a regular job at the zoo, once that took place.

Well, he put on the suit, and he got in the cage. And he got a little bored sitting around, so, particularly when the children were there, he began doing tricks and showing off for them. And finally he got so interested in that, he got carried away one day—he was swinging on a rope, and he swung so far that he landed in the lion's cage that was next door. And the lion came roaring at him. And he started screaming for help, "Somebody get me out of here! Get me out of here!" And the lion jumped on him and said, "Shut up, or you'll get us both fired!" [*Laughter*] Now, this story is not to suggest that John's been working in a zoo—[*laughter*—] although at times Washington does look a little that way.

John was first elected to the Senate in 1976, and since 1981 he's been a part of a team that has held the special interests at bay, brought taxing and spending under control, and put America's house, economic

house, back in order. I think we Republicans can be proud of what we've accomplished; and we couldn't have done it without energetic and responsible Senators like John Heinz and Arlen Specter. Believe me, having worked with these two, I can fully appreciate that saying about having a friend in Pennsylvania.

Together we took on one of the toughest jobs in the world: cleaning up after the other party had been in total control of the United States Government. They'd held a majority in both Houses of Congress almost continuously since the 1930's. And in the last 4 years of the 1970's, they had also captured control of the White House and every Federal department and agency.

Our country ended up with double-digit inflation, economic stagnation, sky-high interest rates, and unprecedented national pessimism. These maladies, which brought such suffering to our people, as much as liberal Democrats would like us to believe otherwise, were not the result of a natural disaster, a plague, or even the celestial influence of Halley's comet. The mess we found ourselves in was a result of bad policies, of haywire liberalism. And let us reaffirm today that, whoever is the Republican Presidential nominee in 1988, our candidate will be a darn sight better than any one of the pack that is vying for the other party's nomination. If you listen to what they're saying, they want to take us back to the failed policies of the past.

Well, with responsible policies, we revived our nation's economic vitality and, just as John has told you, put the country back on its feet. And as he also told you, our people have enjoyed 57 months of growth. We are, if we can make it all the way to Thanksgiving, on our way to achieving the longest period of peacetime growth in the country's history. Employment is at an all-time high. And since the recovery began, our economy has created 13.6 million new jobs, and poverty, which started increasing in 1979, has begun to decline. Prime interest rates which were beating the life out of our economy at 21 percent when we got in Washington, are now under 9 percent. Inflation, which was public enemy number one in 1980, has been put in a cage and kept under control.

Together we pulled America back from the edge of an economic catastrophe. Having done that, we moved forward to tackle some of the severe problems that were crying out for responsible action. High on the list was reform of our Social Security system. I'd like to take this opportunity to thank Senator Heinz for the terrific job that he did as a leading player on the National Commission on Social Security Reform. He helped rescue that system from bankruptcy.

Even though the one-time Speaker of the House [Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr.] denied it was true when we said it, we would have been bankrupt in that particular program by July of 1983. He denied that, but after the '82 election was over, then he came to see me about seeing what we could do to rescue Social Security. Well, partly as a result of his exemplary effort on this commission, he was named by the national seniors magazine, 50 Plus, as one of the most effective legislators on behalf of the elderly. And, as one of those, thank you. [Laughter] John was also instrumental in eliminating the mandatory retirement age of 70, and you can bet I'm happy about that. [Laughter] He also was a driving force behind reforms that protect our citizens' private pension coverage.

I might add here that a side benefit of a strong, growing economy is an expanding stock market. By creating the conditions in which our stock market has flourished, we've been part of a process that has dramatically strengthened the pension funds of the American worker. And the same is true for the endowments of many of our institutions of higher learning, which have also been major beneficiaries of the expanding stock market. There's no way the Federal Government could have contributed so much to America's retirees or to higher education through government grants and spending programs. This just goes to show you the program that will do more good for more people is a strong, growing economy—and that's a platform all Republicans can stand upon.

In the last 6½ years, we've proven to the American people that it is the Republican Party that best represents their interests. Instead of trying to curry favor from the special interests that have flocked to the

Nation's Capital, Republicans like John Heinz are out meeting and talking with the citizenry, the taxpayers, the working men and women to whom America owes its greatness. I understand that John has had more than 350 town hall meetings across the width and breadth of this State since being elected to the Senate.

Our greatest challenge is to make certain that the people hear our message, so they can look at the facts and decide for themselves which direction America should go. In these next 15 months, public support and party unity will be essential. And there's much left to do: confirming Bob Bork on the Supreme Court, accomplishing real, credible budget reform, seeing to our national security, and supporting those who struggle for freedom.

As we can see by the high-pitched opposition to Judge Bork, our job is not going to be easy. But let me remind you, since coming to Washington 6½ years ago, our critics have been proven wrong time and time again. In the case of Judge Bork, the American people, I'm certain, are finding him to be intelligent, prudent, a firm believer in the Constitution and a strong defender of individual rights. I predict he will be confirmed by the Senate and, over his career on the Supreme Court he will make great contributions to the American way of life.

And let me suggest that Americans have every reason to be confident about the future. We have been at the helm during a pivotal moment in our history. First, we had to take care of the problems we inherited. Then we put America on the path that is carrying her into the 21st century, and we're well on our way. Less than a decade ago, one could hear gloomy predictions about how bad things were going to be. Our young people were being told to lower their expectations. Do you remember that? It was even being said that America's best days were behind her.

Well, we've proven the pessimists wrong. We've unleashed an entrepreneurial surge that is changing the face of American enterprise. High technology and computers are being put to work throughout our economy, increasing the efficiency of business, large and small. Productivity has been on the in-

crease and government, business, and labor are working together as never before. We aren't telling young people to lower their expectations; we're challenging them to set their sights high. That's why they're flocking to our banner as never before. They aren't looking for the easy way out or interested in promises of what government will do for them; they're interested in opportunity and in being free to build the kind of lives they want to build to accomplish things for themselves.

Yes, there's every reason to be proud of what we've achieved and to be optimistic about the future. And if we can get our message to the people—and I know we will—I have three predictions: The next President of the United States will be a Republican, Senator Heinz will be reelected, and the GOP will recapture control of the United States Senate.

I would just like to interject here, we couldn't have accomplished, even with all your help—and it was your help that did it—what was accomplished in these last several years had we not, for 6 of those years, had that majority, slight as it was, in the Senate. How many of us are conscious of the fact that in my administration we've had one House for 6 years? Now, for 2 years, they'll have both Houses, and for 8 years, they've had the House of Representatives. But from 1931 through 1980, the Democrats controlled both Houses of the Congress for 46 of those 50 years. And Republican Presidents, up until my term, only one had a Republican Congress for a mere 2 years out of his 8 in office. The Democrats' Presidents only had a Republican Congress for 2 out of those 50 years. The rest of the time they had the whole show. So, that meant that for half a century, they've been in charge of redistricting, reapportionment. We're going to have to fight awfully hard to break the gerrymandering that's been going on for half a century.

I was sitting here a little while ago and mentioning that in 1984—I've been told that a half a million more people voted for Republican congressional candidates than voted for Democratic candidates. But they elected about 40 more Representatives in

the House than we did. I was Governor when California reapportioned, and I can tell you that I think the only good district they left us was somewhere south of the border. [Laughter]

But just remember those three predictions here, and determine that you're going to make them come true. I want to thank each and every one of you for what you're doing to make them come true. And I'm going to thank you in advance for sending this man back to the United States Senate, where he is so desperately needed. It wouldn't make any sense at all to send a

Senator back there of the other party who would then cancel out the vote of Senator Specter. So, keep it the way it is. Thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:41 p.m. in the Wyndham Ballroom at the Franklin Plaza Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Senator Arlen Specter, Representative Lawrence Coughlin, John Cardinal Krol, and Earl Baker, chairman of the Pennsylvania Republican Party. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Proclamation 5702—National Employ the Handicapped Week, 1987 September 17, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The American people are becoming more and more aware of the great potential of citizens with disabilities. We are also realizing that providing equal employment opportunities to handicapped individuals is both the right thing to do and a matter of economic common sense and necessity.

Competitive reality is causing business, industry, and organized labor to urge complete integration of the disabled into the job market. Federal, State, and local governments have also provided significant opportunities for these men and women. They are filling critical gaps in the work force and contributing to productivity, because the demands placed on America's labor resources have changed; because medical and technological developments are opening doors; and, most of all, because these Americans continue to prove that they can perform effectively on the job.

The Congress, by Joint Resolution approved August 11, 1945, as amended (36 U.S.C. 155), has called for the designation of the first full week in October of each year

as "National Employ the Handicapped Week." This special week is a time for all Americans to join together to renew their dedication to meeting the goal of full opportunities for handicapped people.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 4, 1987, as National Employ the Handicapped Week. I urge all governors, mayors, other public officials, leaders in business and labor, and private citizens to help meet the challenge of ensuring equal employment opportunities and full citizenship rights and privileges for disabled Americans.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:53 a.m., September 21, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 18.

Proclamation 5703—National School Yearbook Week, 1987 *September 17, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

School yearbooks not only chronicle educational achievement and school tradition but are a part of them. For nearly two centuries American students have produced yearbooks to commemorate the accomplishments of the school year and to compose a lasting record, written and pictorial, of campus, classmates, teachers, and school staff.

In later years, alumni treasure their yearbooks for the memories they hold of times gone by and friends of long ago. The students who compile yearbooks likewise treasure all that the experience can teach them about teamwork and about writing, the graphic arts, and business skills. The practical cooperation and specialization that students learn in yearbook production stand them in good stead when they enter college or pursue other opportunities.

The Congress, by Public Law 100-105,

has designated the week beginning October 4, 1987, as "National School Yearbook Week," and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 4, 1987, as National School Yearbook Week. I call upon all Americans to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:54 a.m., September 21, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 18.

Proclamation 5704—National Year of Friendship With Finland, 1988 *September 17, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Finnish settlers first arrived in this country in 1638, when Nordics, many of them natives of Finland or Swedes who spoke Finnish, established the colony of New Sweden in present-day Delaware. They introduced European civilization to the Delaware River Valley and began the transformation of a vast wilderness. Theirs were the pioneer spirit and virtues that are the foundation of our national character. The 350th anniversary of their landing is a most fitting time to celebrate the legacy of America's

Finnish pioneers and their descendants and to recall that the friendship of the United States and Finland has deep historical roots.

To commemorate the relationship between the peoples of Finland and the United States on the 350th anniversary of New Sweden, the Congress, by Public Law 99-602, has designated 1988 as "National Year of Friendship with Finland," and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in its observance.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim 1988 as National Year of Friendship with Finland. I call upon all Americans to observe the year with appro-

priate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:55 a.m., September 21, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 18.

Joint Statement on Soviet-United States Diplomatic Talks *September 18, 1987*

Secretary of State Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze have completed three days of thorough and useful discussions on all aspects of the relationship between the two countries.

The Secretary and the Foreign Minister reviewed the full spectrum of questions regarding nuclear, conventional and chemical weapons arms control. In particular, the two ministers, together with their advisers, conducted intensive negotiations on the question of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. This resulted in agreement in principle to conclude a treaty. The Geneva delegations of both sides have been instructed to work intensively to resolve remaining technical issues and promptly to complete a draft treaty text. The Secretary and the Foreign Minister agreed that a similarly intensive effort should be made to achieve a treaty on 50% reductions in strategic arms within the framework of the Geneva Nuclear and Space Talks.

Having discussed questions related to nuclear testing, the two sides agreed to begin, before December 1, 1987, full-scale stage-by-stage negotiations which will be conducted in a single forum. They approved a sepa-

rate statement on this subject.

The Secretary and the Foreign Minister also discussed regional issues. The two sides discussed a broad range of issues concerning bilateral relations. A work program was agreed, to be implemented in 1987-1988, designed to intensify joint efforts in various areas of U.S.-Soviet cooperation. A constructive discussion of human rights issues and humanitarian questions took place.

Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze agreed that an additional meeting is needed to review the results of the work in all of these areas, including the efforts of the delegations in the Geneva Nuclear and Space Talks. They agreed that this meeting would take place in Moscow in the second half of October.

In order to sign a treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and to cover the full range of issues in the relationship between the two countries, a summit between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev will take place. The summit will be held in the fall of 1987, with exact dates to be determined during the talks between the Secretary of State and the Foreign Minister in Moscow in October.

Remarks on the Outcome of the Soviet-United States Diplomatic Talks

September 18, 1987

The President. Secretary [of State] Shultz has reported to me on the results of his

talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. As you know, the talks covered arms

reduction, regional conflicts, human rights, and bilateral issues. Although we have serious differences in many areas, the tone of the talks was frank, constructive, and notable progress was made.

Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze have issued a joint statement, which I believe you all have now. And I'm pleased to note that agreement in principles was reached to conclude an INF treaty. They'll meet again in Moscow next month to continue their efforts and to work out the details of a summit between me and General Secretary Gorbachev later this fall.

I want to congratulate Secretary Shultz and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and their delegations for their outstanding efforts over the past 3 days. And the Secretary is going to take your questions.

Q. What caused the breakthrough?

The President. What?

Q. What caused the breakthrough?

The President. Well, I'll tell you, I think the one who can best answer that and is going to take your questions is the Secretary.

Q. You can't say?

Q. Mr. President, what about the shooting of an American soldier in Germany?

Q. What about the Evil Empire?

Q. What about the shooting of an American soldier?

Q. —the conservative critics who say that you're in too much of a hurry, sir?

Q. —shooting at an American soldier—

The President. I was going to ask Andrea [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News] to interpret for me—[laughter]—but I heard that phrase about the—

Q. —the shooting—

The President. —the shooting and—

Q. —at an American soldier by Soviets in Germany?

The President. The Secretary has already launched a—heard that a protest—

Q. What about your insistence over the years—

Q. Let him answer the question.

Q. What about conservatives, sir, who say that you are in too much of a hurry, sir, to sign an arms deal?

Q. Could you answer the question, Mr.

President?

Q. Could you speak to the conservatives who are saying that you're in too much of a hurry for the summit?

The President. I don't know of anything in my life I waited over 6 years for. [Laughter]

Q. Could you answer the question of the shooting for—

Q. —arms deal—

The President. I spoke about this INF treaty and pretty much the same basis that has finally been agreed at, certainly, 4 or 5 years ago.

Q. What about the Evil Empire?

Q. Mr. President—

Q. What about the shooting—

Q. President Reagan, what about the Evil Empire?

Q. Bill [Bill Plante, CBS News], let him answer the question about the shooting of an American soldier.

Q. Well, in any order—

The President. I told you that the Secretary has already launched the protest.

Q. All right, what about the Evil Empire? Mr. President, you have opposed it for years; why, now, are you ready to make a deal with them?

The President. Oh, I don't think it's still lily-white.

Q. What about the fact that the Senate has just voted to restrict SDI testing? How do you view that in terms of what's happening now between the U.S. and the Soviets? And how does that affect the negotiations, perhaps on strategic weapons—

The President. You just spoiled my day. [Laughter]

Q. What does it make—

The President. No, I think some foolish things are being attempted when Members of the Congress start to get into where they can interfere with what we're trying to negotiate and the progress that we've made. But listen—

Q. Well, has there been progress?

Q. Are you planning—at the ranch for Thanksgiving?

The President. What?

Q. Are you hoping to ask Mr. Gorbachev to the ranch for Thanksgiving?

The President. I'm afraid to say anything about a specific date, because there's still a tendency then to think that I've killed that date if I mention it.

Q. But has there been progress on strategic weapons?

Q. Mr. President, you didn't say whether or not the summit would be in the United States. It will be, I assume?

Secretary Shultz. Where else?

The President. Yes.

Q. But has there been progress on strategic weapons, on sublimits on the big missiles? And is there some flexibility on SDI, sir?

The President. These are questions that I

think he can speak specifically to because of the long hours of meetings. And I must say for all of the people who have been on our team here as well as their team—they really have gone beyond the call of duty with the hours that they have put in.

Q. Well, what tipped the balance on this?

The President. What?

Q. You don't know what actually caused this?

The President. I think you'll find that out from his——

Note: The President spoke to reporters at 9:03 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Nomination of Henry M. Ventura To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior

September 18, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Henry M. Ventura to be an Assistant Secretary of the Interior (Policy, Budget and Administration). He would succeed Gerald Ralph Riso.

Since 1985 Mr. Ventura has been Deputy Director of ACTION. Prior to this he was Executive Director of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education, 1982–1985. Mr. Ventura held various positions with the University of California, San Diego: director of development, 1981–1982; program direc-

tor, 1980–1981; director of finance, Reagan for President campaign, 1979–1980. Between 1973 and 1979, Mr. Ventura worked for the University of Southern California.

Mr. Ventura graduated from Los Angeles City College (A.A., 1966) and California State University, Los Angeles (B.A., 1968; M.A., 1970). He was born September 4, 1945, in Los Angeles, CA. Mr. Ventura is married, has two children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Nomination of O. Donaldson Chapoton To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

September 18, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate O. Donaldson Chapoton to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (Tax Policy). He would succeed J. Roger Mentz.

Since 1986 he has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary (Tax Policy) at the Department of the Treasury. Prior to this he was

senior partner, Baker & Botts, 1963–1986.

Mr. Chapoton graduated from the University of Texas (B.B.A., 1958) and the University of Texas School of Law (LL.B., 1960). He was born May 18, 1936, in Galveston, TX. Mr. Chapoton is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Charles Franklin Dunbar To Be United States Ambassador to the Yemen Arab Republic *September 18, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Charles Franklin Dunbar, of Maine, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, as Ambassador to the Yemen Arab Republic. He succeeds William Arthur Rugh.

Mr. Dunbar was a statistical coding clerk with the Department of Transportation from 1961 to 1962. He joined the Department of State in 1962 and first worked as a clerk in the Office of Communications. From 1962 to 1963, he took consular and Persian language training at the Foreign Service Institute. His first assignment abroad was as third secretary-vice consul at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, Iran, 1963-1964, followed as vice consul at our consulate in Isfahan, 1964-1967. He was then assigned as second secretary-political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan, 1967-1970. Mr. Dunbar returned to Washington in 1970 as an associate watch officer, then staff officer, in the Executive Secretariat until he took Arabic language training at the Foreign Service Institute in 1972. He

was assigned as first secretary-political officer in 1973 at the U.S. Embassy in Rabat, Morocco, and then at the U.S. Embassy in Algiers, Algeria, as chief political officer, 1975-1978. From 1978 to 1980, he was Deputy Chief of Mission in Nouakchott, Mauritania, and then became a midcareer fellow at the Princeton University School of Public and International Affairs, 1980-1981. Mr. Dunbar was acting Deputy Chief of Mission, then acting Chargé d'Affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan, 1981-1983. In 1983 he was appointed U.S. Ambassador to the state of Qatar, where he served until 1985, when he returned to the State Department as special assistant for Afghanistan in the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

Mr. Dunbar graduated from Harvard College (A.B., 1959) and Columbia University School of International Affairs (M.I.A., 1961). He was born April 1, 1937, in Cambridge, MA. Mr. Dunbar is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Accordance of the Personal Rank of Ambassador to Stephen J. Ledogar While Serving as United States Representative to the European Conventional Arms Negotiations and the Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations *September 18, 1987*

The President today accorded the personal rank of Ambassador to Stephen J. Ledogar, of Connecticut, in his capacity as United States Representative to the European Conventional Arms Negotiations, and the Representative of the United States of America for Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations. The President nominated him for rank of Ambassador on July 13, 1987.

Mr. Ledogar has spent most of his Foreign Service career dealing with Europe

and political-military affairs. His first assignment following his 1960 entry into the Service was as consular and economic officer in Montreal. Subsequent foreign postings were in Milan and Vietnam and to our Mission to NATO at Brussels, where he was political-military officer from 1973 to 1976, and deputy chief of mission from 1981 to the present. His early assignments in the Department of State included tours in the Operations Center, the Office of the Secretary, and as public affairs officer. He later

served as special assistant to the Under Secretary for Security Assistance programs and as Director of the Office of European Security and Political Military Affairs. His training assignments have been as visiting fellow at Stanford University and to the senior seminar of the Department of State. Since 1981 he has been deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Mission to NATO in Brussels. In February of this year, he was appointed to serve as U.S. Representative to the prelimi-

nary talks on the new conventional arms negotiations mandated by NATO as well as the plenary negotiations which would follow. Mr. Ledogar also represents the United States at the Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations.

Mr. Ledogar graduated from Fordham University (B.S., 1954; LL.B., 1958). He was born September 14, 1929, in New York, NY. Mr. Ledogar is married, has two children, and resides in Brussels, Belgium.

Nomination of Alan Greenspan To Be Alternate United States Governor of the International Monetary Fund

September 18, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Alan Greenspan to be the United States Alternate Governor of the International Monetary Fund for a term of 5 years. He would succeed Paul A. Volcker.

Mr. Greenspan is currently Chairman and member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Prior to this he was president and chairman of Townsend-Greenspan Co. & Inc., 1954-1974 and

1977-1987. He served on the Council of Economic Advisers, 1970-1974; Chairman of the Council, 1974-1977; and was a member of the President's Economic Policy Advisory Board, 1981.

Mr. Greenspan graduated from New York University (B.S., 1948; M.A., 1950; and Ph.D., 1977). He was born March 6, 1926, in New York, NY, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of William H. LeBlanc III To Be a Commissioner of the Postal Rate Commission

September 18, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate William H. LeBlanc III to be a Commissioner of the Postal Rate Commission for the remainder of the term expiring November 22, 1988. He would succeed Henrietta Faye Guiton.

Since 1980 Mr. LeBlanc has been president and general manager, Baton Rouge

Supply Co., Inc. Prior to this he was general manager, Baton Rouge Plumbing Supply Co., Inc., 1972-1980.

Mr. LeBlanc graduated from Louisiana State University (B.S., 1972). He was born May 15, 1948, in Baton Rouge, LA. Mr. LeBlanc is married, has three children, and resides in Baton Rouge, LA.

Nomination of Alfred A. DelliBovi To Be Urban Mass Transportation Administrator *September 18, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Alfred A. DelliBovi to be Urban Mass Transportation Administrator, Department of Transportation. He would succeed Ralph Leslie Stanley.

Since 1984 he has been Deputy Administrator, Urban Mass Transportation Administration, Department of Transportation. Prior to this he was regional administrator, Urban Mass Transportation Administration,

Department of Transportation, in New York, NY, 1981–1984; and a member of the New York State Assembly, 1971–1978.

Mr. DelliBovi graduated from Fordham College (B.A., 1967) and Baruch College, City University of New York (M.P.A., 1973). He was born February 1, 1946, in New York, NY. Mr. DelliBovi is married, has two children, and resides in Burke, VA.

Letter Accepting the Resignation of Beryl W. Sprinkel as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers *September 18, 1987*

Dear Beryl:

It is with the deepest regret that I accept your resignation as Chairman and a Member of my Council of Economic Advisers, effective upon a date to be determined in late November. As one of the original members of my team, you have served this Administration selflessly for what will be almost seven years. During that time, you have been one of the most articulate advocates of its philosophy and one of its most able officials. You are someone who has truly made a difference.

Your accomplishments at the Treasury Department were extremely significant. You smoothly led debt management through a difficult period, developing innovative financing techniques, including the first foreign-targeted Treasury bond and the redesigned, market-oriented savings bond, reducing government expenditures by millions of dollars. In 1981, you helped to develop the strategy to handle the savings and loan crisis. In 1982, you devised the initial strategy, still largely in place today, to deal with the international debt crisis, encouraging market-oriented economic policy reforms in debtor countries. In both of these cases, through your adroit management skills, you ensured that there would be no

massive government bail-out and saved the taxpayers billions of dollars.

Time and again, you proved yourself a formidable negotiator, and the American people were fortunate to have you defending their interests. You represented our country with great ability at five economic Summits and in negotiations to establish new lending facilities for the International Monetary Fund and the Inter-American Development Bank. Perhaps your most significant negotiation resulted in the path-breaking yen-dollar agreement with Japan, in which the Japanese agreed to deregulate their domestic and international capital markets.

You were in the forefront in redefining international monetary relations. Your innovative suggestion in 1982 at the Versailles Summit resulted in the first efforts of the major industrial nations to coordinate their economic policies to achieve both strong growth and low inflation. That process of international policy coordination, which was subsequently expanded by Secretary Baker, now plays an established role in promoting sound, long-term economic policies around the world, which should result in more stable exchange rates.

September 10, 1987

Some of your accomplishments are less tangible, but no less significant. I remember the skepticism we faced in 1981, both here and abroad, when this Administration began advancing the basic tenets of a market-oriented economy, including deregulation, tax reduction, and restrictions on the size and role of government. You persuasively explained our philosophy through countless meetings and speeches, as well as quiet diplomacy, and I have watched with pleasure as so many countries gradually have begun to change their own domestic economic policies in positive ways. At home, you have helped to keep us on the path toward economic growth and price stability consistently advocating adherence to sound economic policies. I will particularly miss your presence in Washington as a forceful champion of my economic philosophy. You have played a major part in helping to achieve what promises to be the longest peace-time expansion in history, with almost 58 months of unbroken prosperity and 14 million new jobs to date.

Finally, Beryl, as a result of your consistent good judgment and sound advice, you have strengthened the Council of Economic Advisers as a respected and influential institution in setting national economic policy. You have had an important influence in shaping our positions on tax reform, trade, agriculture, and many other issues. You will be sorely missed by the Cabinet, by the White House staff, and by me.

Nancy joins me in extending our thanks, our appreciation, and our warmest wishes to you and Barbara for every future happiness and success.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Dear Mr. President:

It is with great reluctance that, for personal reasons I have decided to submit today my resignation as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

It has been my highest privilege and honor to serve in your administration since January 1981, first as Under Secretary of the Treasury for Monetary Affairs and, most recently, as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

I accepted the original invitation to serve in your administration because of my high regard for you and for the philosophy and positions which you have for many years so ably articulated. It has been a treasured experience to participate in the countless important initiatives which your administration has undertaken in the area of economic policy which have restored the strength of our great nation. I will always be grateful for this opportunity which you have given me.

My wife, Barbara, and I plan to return to our hometown of Flossmoor, Illinois. It is my intention to remain at the Council until late November to help ensure an orderly transition. I would be honored, on my return to the private sector, to be of any assistance that you or your administration may request.

Barbara joins me in extending our very best wishes to you and Mrs. Reagan.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

BERYL W. SPRINKEL

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on Strategic Technology Export Controls *September 18, 1987*

The United States Government welcomes recent measures taken by the Japanese Government, and those soon to be enacted in Norway, to strengthen export controls. Diversions of strategic technology by Toshiba Machinery and the Norwegian firm Kongsberg Vappenfabrik have undermined our common security and demonstrated the inadequacy of existing national laws and procedures. Japanese legislative and administrative actions increase criminal penalties and statutes of limitations, mandate new and stricter licensing procedures, provide for tight export control procedures by companies, and for close governmental monitoring of these. The Norwegian Government will this month introduce a new comprehensive export control law in the Parliament, or Storting, that will strengthen Norway's national laws and procedures along these same lines.

The Paris-based Coordinating Committee (COCOM), which is composed of 16 allies, including the United States, serves the common security of its member nations by preventing militarily useful technologies from reaching the Soviet Union. COCOM reflects the principle that the security of the West and of Japan is based on the qualitative technology edge that we are able to maintain in our weapons systems. COCOM exists to protect that critical advantage. The serious diversion of nine-axis milling ma-

chines and numerical controllers for use in the Soviet program to quiet submarines serves as an unfortunate, yet graphic, example of the damage which can be done to our collective security.

The Congress has offered a number of bills and amendments that would punish Toshiba and Kongsberg through mandatory sanctions and compensation. But the technology diversion problem is broader than the specific violations of the firms that are currently the targets of legislation. The real problem lies in the shortcomings of national export control systems, and responsibility rests with allied governments to make and enforce the necessary changes. Therefore, the administration opposes these bills and amendments.

It is now essential that all COCOM partners strengthen their national export controls to prevent further diversions. High technology products in the 1980's are produced worldwide, and the Soviet Union targets its acquisition programs wherever the technology can be found. The administration has begun an aggressive and unprecedented effort to urge that all COCOM partners take steps to prevent further diversions and strengthen national export control systems. The administration plans to consult with the Congress on the progress made as well as on next steps to prevent and deter attempts at future diversions.

Radio Address to the Nation on Robert H. Bork, Arms Control, and the Budget *September 19, 1987*

My fellow Americans:

A great deal happened in Washington this past week, and I'd like to take a moment this afternoon to discuss with you three of the most important events.

First, the Senate opened the confirmation

hearings on Judge Robert Bork, my nominee to the Supreme Court. Before these hearings began, there had been a lot of talk to the effect that Judge Bork was some kind of political ideologue. In truth, Judge Bork's philosophy of judging is neither conserva-

tive nor liberal. He simply believes that a judge should keep his own views from interfering with an interpretation of the laws and the Constitution according to the intentions of those who enacted them, consistent with established precedent. One place this judicial philosophy will help is in the fight against crime.

On Tuesday, Judge Bork was introduced by no less distinguished a figure than former President Ford. And on Wednesday, President Carter's White House Counsel, a prominent Democrat named Lloyd Cutler, published a newspaper article endorsing Judge Bork. Mr. Cutler wrote of Judge Bork, and I quote: "His views were and are widely shared by justices and academics who are in the moderate center." The hearings themselves have already made it perfectly clear that Judge Bork is a man of reason, indeed, a brilliant legal scholar. I'm confident that when these hearings conclude, the Senate will confirm this fine judge, referred to by the Wall Street Journal as—and again, I quote: 'the most qualified American alive to serve on the Supreme Court.'"

The second of the week's big events was the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. In 3 full days of talks important progress was made. The United States and the Soviet Union have now agreed in principle to completing a truly historic treaty that will eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles. I expect to sign this treaty later this fall at a summit. We agreed to begin formal negotiations on verifying existing nuclear testing treaties and to forge ahead toward another historic objective—cutting our strategic nuclear arsenals in half.

I'm proud that these were American proposals, which the Soviets have come around to accept. But I made it clear to the Soviet Foreign Minister that I will not sacrifice our SDI program. Indeed, yesterday we announced that we're moving forward on SDI to demonstrate and validate six promising technologies. Nor will we let up on our insistence on better Soviet performance on human rights and regional conflicts like Afghanistan. Our agenda is both peace and freedom, and when I meet Mr. Gorbachev again later this year this is the agenda I will

pursue.

This brings me to the third item I'd like to discuss with you: the Federal budget. This week the House leadership worked out a bipartisan plan to continue providing humanitarian aid to the democratic resistance in Nicaragua. But I'm afraid I have to tell you that, when it comes to the Federal budget process itself, the news is not good. In less than 2 weeks, the Federal Government begins a new fiscal year. But has Congress even sent me so much as one of the 13 appropriations bills? The answer is no, even though the passage of these bills on time was required by law.

Instead, this week the Congress began to put together a continuing resolution. In plain terms, this means that since Congress can't get its act together on controlling spending, Congress simply keeps overspending at last year's pace for a few more weeks. After that, Congress will have to face the spending problem all over again—perhaps only passing yet another continuing resolution. Now, when Congress passes one of these continuing resolutions, it puts appropriated Federal funding into a huge lump. And when one of these massive continuing resolutions comes to my desk, it's a take-it-or-leave-it proposition. Sign the bill and, with it, accept the inability to get wasteful spending under some level of control or, reject it, and watch the United States Government run out of money and grind to a halt. I've felt for some time that no President should be placed in that position.

Our administration has proposed reforms that would fix the budget process: the line-item veto and a balanced budget amendment. But if we're going to run the Federal Government by continuing resolutions, then the very least Congress can do is this: Break them into separate parts, with each part dealing with a specific area of Federal funding. Doing so would provide me with at least some opportunity to exercise my rightful judgment as President—an opportunity I intend to insist on.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Statement on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork *September 19, 1987*

Judge Robert Bork has shown in his calm, direct, and candid answers that he is eminently qualified to sit on the Supreme Court. If the Senate uses the standards it

should—integrity, qualifications, and temperament—it will certainly move quickly, once the Judiciary Committee hearings are completed, to confirm Judge Bork.

Nomination of William W. Treat To Be an Alternate United States Representative to the 42d Session of the United Nations General Assembly *September 19, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate William W. Treat to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 42d Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Since 1958 Mr. Treat has been chairman of the Bank of Meridian in Hampton, NJ. From 1958 to 1984, he also served as presi-

dent of the Bank of Meridian.

He graduated from the University of Maine (A.B., 1940), Boston School of Law (J.D., 1946), and Harvard University (M.B.A., 1947). Mr. Treat was born May 23, 1918, in Boston, MA. He is married, has two children, and resides in Hampton, NJ.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the President's Meetings With United Nations Officials *September 21, 1987*

President Reagan met with Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar in his private office for approximately 5 minutes. Accompanying the President on this courtesy call were Ambassador Walters, Secretary Shultz, Chief of Staff Baker, and National Security Adviser Carlucci. The Secretary-General welcomed the President to the United Nations. The President responded that his visit is meant to demonstrate the importance that the United States attaches to the United Nations. He told the Secretary-Gen-

eral that he admired his recent efforts to bring an end to the Iran-Iraq war and thanked him for making a personal trip to those two countries.

The President then moved to the private office of the new President of the U.N. General Assembly Peter Florin of the German Democratic Republic. The President congratulated President Florin on his recent election to this post and asked for impartiality as he assumes important responsibilities.

Address to the 42d Session of the United Nations General Assembly
in New York, New York
September 21, 1987

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, Ambassador Reed, honored guests, and distinguished delegates: Let me first welcome the Secretary-General back from his pilgrimage for peace in the Middle East. Hundreds of thousands have already fallen in the bloody conflict between Iran and Iraq. All men and women of good will pray that the carnage can soon be stopped, and we pray that the Secretary-General proves to be not only a pilgrim but also the architect of a lasting peace between those two nations. Mr. Secretary-General, the United States supports you, and may God guide you in your labors ahead.

Like the Secretary-General, all of us here today are on a kind of pilgrimage. We come from every continent, every race, and most religions to this great hall of hope, where in the name of peace we practice diplomacy. Now, diplomacy, of course, is a subtle and nuanced craft, so much so that it's said that when one of the most wily diplomats of the 19th century passed away other diplomats asked, on reports of his death, "What do you suppose the old fox meant by that?"

But true statesmanship requires not merely skill but something greater, something we call vision—a grasp of the present and of the possibilities of the future. I've come here today to map out for you my own vision of the world's future, one, I believe, that in its essential elements is shared by all Americans. And I hope those who see things differently will not mind if I say that we in the United States believe that the place to look first for shape of the future is not in continental masses and sealanes, although geography is, obviously, of great importance. Neither is it in national reserves of blood and iron or, on the other hand, of money and industrial capacity, although military and economic strength are also, of course, crucial. We begin with something that is far simpler and yet far more profound: the human heart.

All over the world today, the yearnings of the human heart are redirecting the course

of international affairs, putting the lie to the myth of materialism and historical determinism. We have only to open our eyes to see the simple aspirations of ordinary people writ large on the record of our times.

Last year in the Philippines, ordinary people rekindled the spirit of democracy and restored the electoral process. Some said they had performed a miracle, and if so, a similar miracle—a transition to democracy—is taking place in the Republic of Korea. Haiti, too, is making a transition. Some despair when these new, young democracies face conflicts or challenges, but growing pains are normal in democracies. The United States had them, as has every other democracy on Earth.

In Latin America, too, one can hear the voices of freedom echo from the peaks and across the plains. It is the song of ordinary people marching, not in uniforms and not in military file but, rather, one by one, in simple, everyday working clothes, marching to the polls. Ten years ago only a third of the people of Latin America and the Caribbean lived in democracies or in countries that were turning to democracy; today over 90 percent do.

But this worldwide movement to democracy is not the only way in which simple, ordinary people are leading us in this room—we who are said to be the makers of history—leading us into the future. Around the world, new businesses, new economic growth, new technologies are emerging from the workshops of ordinary people with extraordinary dreams.

Here in the United States, entrepreneurial energy—reinvigorated when we cut taxes and regulations—has fueled the current economic expansion. According to scholars at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, three-quarters of the more than 13½ million new jobs that we have created in this country since the beginning of our expansion came from businesses with fewer than 100 employees, businesses started by ordinary people who dared to take a

chance. And many of our new high technologies were first developed in the garages of fledgling entrepreneurs. Yet America is not the only, or perhaps even the best, example of the dynamism and dreams that the freeing of markets set free.

In India and China, freer markets for farmers have led to an explosion in production. In Africa, governments are rethinking their policies, and where they are allowing greater economic freedom to farmers, crop production has improved. Meanwhile, in the newly industrialized countries of the Pacific rim, free markets in services and manufacturing as well as agriculture have led to a soaring of growth and standards of living. The ASEAN nations, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan have created the true economic miracle of the last two decades, and in each of them, much of the magic came from ordinary people who succeeded as entrepreneurs.

In Latin America, this same lesson of free markets, greater opportunity, and growth is being studied and acted on. President Sarney of Brazil spoke for many others when he said that "private initiative is the engine of economic development. In Brazil we have learned that every time the state's penetration in the economy increases, our liberty decreases." Yes, policies that release to flight ordinary people's dreams are spreading around the world. From Colombia to Turkey to Indonesia, governments are cutting taxes, reviewing their regulations, and opening opportunities for initiative.

There has been much talk in the halls of this building about the right to development. But more and more the evidence is clear that development is not itself a right. It is the product of rights: the right to own property; the right to buy and sell freely; the right to contract; the right to be free of excessive taxation and regulation, of burdensome government. There have been studies that determined that countries with low tax rates have greater growth than those with high rates.

We're all familiar with the phenomenon of the underground economy. The scholar Hernando de Soto and his colleagues have examined the situation of one country, Peru, and described an economy of the

poor that bypasses crushing taxation and stifling regulation. This informal economy, as the researchers call it, is the principal supplier of many goods and services and often the only ladder for upward mobility. In the capital city, it accounts for almost all public transportation and most street markets. And the researchers concluded that, thanks to the informal economy, "the poor can work, travel, and have a roof over their heads." They might have added that, by becoming underground entrepreneurs themselves or by working for them, the poor have become less poor and the nation itself richer.

Those who advocate statist solutions to development should take note: The free market is the other path to development and the one true path. And unlike many other paths, it leads somewhere. It works. So, this is where I believe we can find the map to the world's future: in the hearts of ordinary people, in their hopes for themselves and their children, in their prayers as they lay themselves and their families to rest each night. These simple people are the giants of the Earth, the true builders of the world and shapers of the centuries to come. And if indeed they triumph, as I believe they will, we will at last know a world of peace and freedom, opportunity and hope, and, yes, of democracy—a world in which the spirit of mankind at last conquers the old, familiar enemies of famine, disease, tyranny, and war.

This is my vision—America's vision. I recognize that some governments represented in this hall have other ideas. Some do not believe in democracy or in political, economic, or religious freedom. Some believe in dictatorship, whether by one man, one party, one class, one race, or one vanguard. To those governments I would only say that the price of oppression is clear. Your economies will fall farther and farther behind. Your people will become more restless. Isn't it better to listen to the people's hopes now rather than their curses later?

And yet despite our differences, there is one common hope that brought us all to make this common pilgrimage: the hope that mankind will one day beat its swords into plowshares, the hope of peace. In no

place on Earth today is peace more in need of friends than the Middle East. Its people's yearning for peace is growing. The United States will continue to be an active partner in the efforts of the parties to come together to settle their differences and build a just and lasting peace.

And this month marks the beginning of the eighth year of the Iran-Iraq war. Two months ago, the Security Council adopted a mandatory resolution demanding a cease-fire, withdrawal, and negotiations to end the war. The United States fully supports implementation of Resolution 598, as we support the Secretary-General's recent mission. We welcomed Iraq's acceptance of that resolution and remain disappointed at Iran's unwillingness to accept it. In that regard, I know that the President of Iran will be addressing you tomorrow. I take this opportunity to call upon him clearly and unequivocally to state whether Iran accepts 598 or not. If the answer is positive, it would be a welcome step and major breakthrough. If it is negative, the Council has no choice but rapidly to adopt enforcement measures.

For 40 years the United States has made it clear, its vital interest in the security of the Persian Gulf and the countries that border it. The oil reserves there are of strategic importance to the economies of the free world. We're committed to maintaining the free flow of this oil and to preventing the domination of the region by any hostile power. We do not seek confrontation or trouble with Iran or anyone else. Our object is—or, objective is now, and has been at every stage, finding a means to end the war with no victor and no vanquished. The increase in our naval presence in the Gulf does not favor one side or the other. It is a response to heightened tensions and followed consultations with our friends in the region. When the tension diminishes, so will our presence.

The United States is gratified by many recent diplomatic developments: the unanimous adoption of Resolution 598, the Arab League's statement at its recent meeting in Tunis, and the Secretary-General's visit. Yet problems remain.

The Soviet Union helped in drafting and reaching an agreement on Resolution 598,

but outside the Security Council, the Soviets have acted differently. They called for removal of our Navy from the Gulf, where it has been for 40 years. They made the false accusation that somehow the United States, rather than the war itself, is the source of tension in the Gulf. Well, such statements are not helpful. They divert attention from the challenge facing us all: a just end to the war. The United States hopes the Soviets will join the other members of the Security Council in vigorously seeking an end to a conflict that never should have begun, should have ended long ago, and has become one of the great tragedies of the postwar era.

Elsewhere in the region, we see the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. After nearly 8 years, a million casualties, nearly 4 million others driven into exile, and more intense fighting than ever, it's time for the Soviet Union to leave. The Afghan people must have the right to determine their own future free of foreign coercion. There is no excuse for prolonging a brutal war or propping up a regime whose days are clearly numbered. That regime offers political proposals that pretend compromise, but really would ensure the perpetuation of the regime's power. Those proposals have failed the only significant test: They have been rejected by the Afghan people. Every day the resistance grows in strength. It is an indispensable party in the quest for a negotiated solution.

The world community must continue to insist on genuine self-determination, prompt and full Soviet withdrawal, and the return of the refugees to their homes in safety and honor. The attempt may be made to pressure a few countries to change their vote this year, but this body, I know, will vote overwhelmingly, as every year before, for Afghan independence and freedom. We have noted General Secretary Gorbachev's statement of readiness to withdraw. In April I asked the Soviet Union to set a date this year when this withdrawal would begin. I repeat that request now in this forum for peace. I pledge that, once the Soviet Union shows convincingly that it's ready for a genuine political settlement, the United States is ready to be helpful.

Let me add one final note on this matter. Pakistan, in the face of enormous pressure and intimidation, has given sanctuary to Afghan refugees. We salute the courage of Pakistan and the Pakistani people. They deserve strong support from all of us.

Another regional conflict, we all know, is taking place in Central America, in Nicaragua. To the Sandinista delegation here today I say: Your people know the true nature of your regime. They have seen their liberties suppressed. They have seen the promises of 1979 go unfulfilled. They have seen their real wages and personal income fall by half—yes, half—since 1979, while your party elite live lives of privilege and luxury. This is why, despite a billion dollars in Soviet-bloc aid last year alone, despite the largest and best equipped army in Central America, you face a popular revolution at home. It is why the democratic resistance is able to operate freely deep in your heartland. But this revolution should come as no surprise to you; it is only the revolution you promised the people and that you then betrayed.

The goal of United States policy toward Nicaragua is simple. It is the goal of the Nicaraguan people and the freedom fighters, as well. It is democracy—real, free, pluralistic, constitutional democracy. Understand this: We will not, and the world community will not, accept phony democratization designed to mask the perpetuation of dictatorship. In this 200th year of our own Constitution, we know that real democracy depends on the safeguards of an institutional structure that prevents a concentration of power. It is that which makes rights secure. The temporary relaxation of controls, which can later be tightened, is not democratization.

And, again, to the Sandinistas, I say: We continue to hope that Nicaragua will become part of the genuine democratic transformation that we have seen throughout Central America in this decade. We applaud the principles embodied in the Guatemala agreement, which links the security of the Central American democracies to democratic reform in Nicaragua. Now is the time for you to shut down the military machine that threatens your neighbors and assaults your own people. You must end your

stranglehold on internal political activity. You must hold free and fair national elections. The media must be truly free, not censored or intimidated or crippled by indirect measures, like the denial of newsprint or threats against journalists or their families. Exiles must be allowed to return to minister, to live, to work, and to organize politically. Then, when persecution of religion has ended and the jails no longer contain political prisoners, national reconciliation and democracy will be possible. Unless this happens, democratization will be a fraud. And until it happens, we will press for true democracy by supporting those fighting for it.

Freedom in Nicaragua or Angola or Afghanistan or Cambodia or Eastern Europe or South Africa or anyplace else on the globe is not just an internal matter. Some time ago the Czech dissident writer Vaclav Havel warned the world that “respect for human rights is the fundamental condition and the sole genuine guarantee of true peace.” And Andrei Sakharov in his Nobel lecture said: “I am convinced that international confidence, mutual understanding, disarmament, and international security are inconceivable without an open society with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel and choose the country in which one wishes to live.” Freedom serves peace; the quest for peace must serve the cause of freedom. Patient diplomacy can contribute to a world in which both can flourish.

We're heartened by new prospects for improvement in East-West and particularly U.S.-Soviet relations. Last week Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze visited Washington for talks with me and with the Secretary of State, Shultz. We discussed the full range of issues, including my longstanding efforts to achieve, for the first time, deep reductions in U.S. and Soviet nuclear arms. It was 6 years ago, for example, that I proposed the zero-option for U.S. and Soviet longer range, intermediate-range nuclear missiles. I'm pleased that we have now agreed in principle to a truly historic treaty that will eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. We also agreed to intensify our diplomatic efforts in all

areas of mutual interest. Toward that end, Secretary Shultz and the Foreign Minister will meet again a month from now in Moscow, and I will meet again with General Secretary Gorbachev later this fall.

We continue to have our differences and probably always will. But that puts a special responsibility on us to find ways—realistic ways—to bring greater stability to our competition and to show the world a constructive example of the value of communication and of the possibility of peaceful solutions to political problems. And here let me add that we seek, through our Strategic Defense Initiative, to find a way to keep peace through relying on defense, not offense, for deterrence and for eventually rendering ballistic missiles obsolete. SDI has greatly enhanced the prospects for real arms reduction. It is a crucial part of our efforts to ensure a safer world and a more stable strategic balance.

We will continue to pursue the goal of arms reduction, particularly the goal that the General Secretary and I agreed upon: a 50-percent reduction in our respective strategic nuclear arms. We will continue to press the Soviets for more constructive conduct in the settling of regional conflicts. We look to the Soviets to honor the Helsinki accords. We look for greater freedom for the Soviet peoples within their country, more people-to-people exchanges with our country, and Soviet recognition in practice of the right of freedom of movement.

We look forward to a time when things we now regard as sources of friction and even danger can become examples of cooperation between ourselves and the Soviet Union. For instance, I have proposed a collaboration to reduce the barriers between East and West in Berlin and, more broadly, in Europe as a whole. Let us work together for a Europe in which force of the threat—or, force, whether in the form of walls or of guns, is no longer an obstacle to free choice by individuals and whole nations. I have also called for more openness in the flow of information from the Soviet Union about its military forces, policies, and programs so that our negotiations about arms reductions can proceed with greater confidence.

We hear much about changes in the Soviet Union. We're intensely interested in

these changes. We hear the word *glasnost*, which is translated as "openness" in English. "Openness" is a broad term. It means the free, unfettered flow of information, ideas, and people. It means political and intellectual liberty in all its dimensions. We hope, for the sake of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., that such changes will come. And we hope, for the sake of peace, that it will include a foreign policy that respects the freedom and independence of other peoples.

No place should be better suited for discussions of peace than this hall. The first Secretary-General, Trygve Lie, said of the United Nations: "With the danger of fire, and in the absence of an organized fire department, it is only common sense for the neighbors to join in setting up their own fire brigades." Joining together to drown the flames of war—this, together with a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, was the founding ideal of the United Nations. It is our continuing challenge to ensure that the U.N. lives up to these hopes. As the Secretary-General noted some time ago, the risk of anarchy in the world has increased, because the fundamental rules of the U.N. Charter have been violated. The General Assembly has repeatedly acknowledged this with regard to the occupation of Afghanistan. The charter has a concrete practical meaning today, because it touches on all the dimensions of human aspiration that I mentioned earlier—the yearning for democracy and freedom, for global peace, and for prosperity.

This is why we must protect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from being debased as it was through the infamous "Zionism is Racism" resolution. We cannot permit attempts to control the media and promote censorship under the ruse of a so-called "New World Information Order." We must work against efforts to introduce contentious and nonrelevant issues into the work of the specialized and technical agencies, where we seek progress on urgent problems—from terrorism to drug trafficking to nuclear proliferation—which threaten us all. Such efforts corrupt the charter and weaken this organization.

There have been important administra-

tive and budget reforms. They have helped. The United States is committed to restoring its contribution as reforms progress. But there is still much to do. The United Nations was built on great dreams and great ideals. Sometimes it has strayed. It is time for it to come home. It was Dag Hammarskjöld who said: "The end of all political effort must be the well-being of the individual in a life of safety and freedom." Well, should this not be our credo in the years ahead?

I have spoken today of a vision and the obstacles to its realization. More than a century ago a young Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville, visited America. After that visit he predicted that the two great powers of the future world would be, on one hand, the United States, which would be built, as he said, "by the plowshare," and, on the other, Russia, which would go forward, again, as he said, "by the sword." Yet need it be so? Cannot swords be turned to plowshares? Can we and all nations not live in peace? In our obsession with antagonisms of the moment, we often forget how much unites all the members of humanity. Perhaps we need some outside, universal threat to make us recognize this common bond. I occasionally think how quickly our differences worldwide would vanish if we were facing an alien threat from outside this world. And yet, I ask you, is not an alien force already among us? What could be more alien to the universal aspirations of

our peoples than war and the threat of war?

Two centuries ago, in a hall much smaller than this one, in Philadelphia, Americans met to draft a Constitution. In the course of their debates, one of them said that the new government, if it was to rise high, must be built on the broadest base: the will and consent of the people. And so it was, and so it has been.

My message today is that the dreams of ordinary people reach to astonishing heights. If we diplomatic pilgrims are to achieve equal altitudes, we must build all we do on the full breadth of humanity's will and consent and the full expanse of the human heart. Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: President Reagan spoke at 11:02 a.m. in the General Assembly Hall. In his opening remarks, he referred to United Nations President Peter Florin, Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar de la Guerra, and Under Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs Joseph V. Reed, Jr. Following his address, President Reagan met with the Secretary-General in the Indonesian Lounge. He then went to the U.S. Mission for a meeting with allied Foreign Ministers and bilateral meetings with Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo of Pakistan, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone of Japan, and President Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo of Guatemala. Following the meetings, he returned to Washington, DC.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the United States Air Strike in the Persian Gulf *September 21, 1987*

United States Forces took defensive action in the Persian Gulf Monday evening, when an Iranian landing craft was discovered laying mines in international waters 50 miles northeast of Bahrain. We have previously communicated with the Iranian Gov-

ernment the way in which we would respond to such provocative acts which present an immediate risk to United States ships and to all ships. United States Forces acted in a defensive manner and in accordance with existing rules of engagement.

Nomination of Frank H. Conway To Be a Member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States

September 22, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frank H. Conway to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for the term expiring November 30, 1990. This is a reappointment.

Since 1987 Mr. Conway has been a sole practitioner of law in Wellesley, MA. Prior to this he was with the law firm of Jameson,

Locke and Fullerton, 1980–1987.

Mr. Conway graduated from Providence College (Ph.B., 1935) and Boston University School of Law (J.D., 1952). He was born May 2, 1913, in Providence, RI. Mr. Conway served in the U.S. Army, 1942–1945. He is married, has four children, and resides in Wellesley, MA.

Nomination of Cynthia Jeanne Grassby Baker To Be Superintendent of the United States Mint at Denver

September 22, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Cynthia Jeanne Grassby Baker to be Superintendent of the Mint of the United States at Denver, Department of the Treasury. She would succeed Nora Walsh Hussey.

Since 1985 Mrs. Baker has been a student in the M.B.A. program at the University of Colorado. She has also been Chairman of

the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 1985–present. Prior to this she was deputy to the chairman for private partnership, National Endowment for the Arts, 1982–1985.

Mrs. Baker graduated from Colorado University (B.A., 1985). She was born June 25, 1946, in Denver, CO. Mrs. Baker is married and resides in Denver, CO.

Proclamation 5705—Fire Prevention Week, 1987

September 22, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Fire is most often preventable, but this past year it killed almost 6,000 Americans, injured 300,000, and caused more than \$9.5 billion in direct property losses. Fire often affects the very young and the very old, and more than 80 percent of fires take place in the home. Such facts are exactly why our Nation observes a special week every autumn to remind ourselves that fire prevention and safety messages are vitally important to each of us and to our families.

This year the National Fire Protection Association, the originator of Fire Prevention Week, is encouraging families to be safe and to design and practice a home fire escape plan. Private sector initiatives in partnership with the public sector are complementing this effort. All who can should join with government officials at every level, fire service personnel, citizens' groups, and private citizens to develop and carry out public awareness and education programs about fires. Campaigns being formulated will reach high-risk populations, including inner city and rural residents, chil-

dren, and the elderly.

On Sunday, October 11, 1987, at the National Fallen Fire Fighters Memorial Service at the National Fire Academy in Emmitsburg, Maryland, the tribute of a proud and grateful Nation will be paid to the 114 American fire fighters who died in the line of duty in 1986. Let us honor these heroes in prayerful remembrance.

Now, *Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan*, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 4, 1987, as Fire Prevention Week,

and I call upon the people of the United States to plan and actively participate in fire prevention activities during this week and throughout the year.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:13 p.m., September 22, 1987]

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Reporting on the Cyprus Conflict *September 22, 1987*

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95-384, I am submitting to you a bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question.

During this period, we consulted directly with the parties to the dispute. Special Cyprus Coordinator M. James Wilkinson traveled to Cyprus in late July and met President Spyros Kyprianou and other officials of the Cypriot government. Mr. Wilkinson also talked with the leader of the Turkish Cypriot community, Rauf Denktaş, and his principal advisers. Mr. Wilkinson's visit to Cyprus directly followed a visit to Turkey and Greece by Under Secretary of State Michael H. Armacost, a visit in which Mr. Wilkinson also participated. These consultations enabled us to gauge more closely the positions of key leaders in the region and to make our views known to them on issues of special concern.

We continue to give the United Nations Secretary General our full support in his efforts to help the parties resume the negotiating process. He is working toward an overall agreement that would address all the issues of concern as an integrated whole. To that end, the Secretary General

met with Foreign Minister Iacovou on June 17 in Vienna. The upcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York also should provide further opportunities for the Secretary General to consult with those directly concerned in the dispute.

Regarding the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), the Secretary General is continuing his efforts to address the question of funding for the Force and to find replacements for the troops that Sweden plans to withdraw from the contingent it contributes to UNFICYP. The Secretary General continued to pay special attention to the issues he identified in his last report to the Security Council as having contributed to heightened tensions on the island, including the situation in Varosha and military buildups.

On the latter topic, we are pleased to note reports that there has been a decrease in the number of Turkish tanks on the island. This follows a period during which the Turkish government had informed us that a temporary increase in both tanks and troops had occurred as a result of the modernization of equipment and the rotation of troops. Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash

also reiterated this point in an early August public statement noting that Turkish troop and tank level fluctuations were temporary. We continue to make clear to all parties to the Cyprus question our concerns about quantitative and qualitative increases in arms anywhere on Cyprus.

Finally, I would like to note the departure from Cyprus of United States Ambassador Richard W. Boehm who served with distinction in that position for three years. I have selected as his replacement Bill K. Perrin, an individual who combines ability

with wide experience in government and business at the local, national, and international levels. Mr. Perrin's nomination has been submitted to the Senate for its consideration.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Letter Accepting the Resignation of William Henkel as Assistant to the President

September 22, 1987

Dear Bill:

It is with great regret that I accept your resignation as Assistant to the President, effective September 25, 1987.

I am deeply indebted to you for your outstanding efforts in the many roles you've played in my two terms of office and the campaign which preceded them. From your advance work in 1980 to your appointment in 1982 as a Special Consultant, and then as Special Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Advance, your assignment as Director of Operations for my second Inaugural and, finally, as Deputy Assistant and then Assistant to the President, you have carried out your important and sensitive responsibilities with unfailing professionalism, personal insight, and skill.

The demands that have been placed on your position have grown rapidly with the accelerating changes that have occurred not only in American domestic life but in our status as the leading nation of the Free World. Distance and time have been compressed, both in geographical terms and in the pace of political events that call for evaluation and response. In 1918, Woodrow and Edith Wilson spent 12 days on the steamer *George Washington* traveling from New York to Brest for the Paris Peace Conference. Today, my entire trips to Europe, Japan and the Far East, for Economic Sum-

mits or official state visits, have consumed less time than my early predecessors required merely to reach their destinations.

Despite the changes that technology has wrought, the arduous variety of your tasks—what Merriman Smith in *A President's Odyssey* called “problems of protocol, logistics and personal safety; detailed minute-to-minute schedules”—has remained fundamentally the same. As his phrases make clear, much more than travel is involved—your duties encompassed the safety of the President and those who accompany him, the public's interest in contact with the person they have chosen to lead them, the public's understanding of the national policies which so profoundly affect their lives, and the furtherance of U.S. goals and interests in its relations with its allies and the world community.

You have always recognized the scope of your responsibilities within this framework, and I have relied on you extensively, your advice and your experience, as we developed plans to communicate my agenda and to explain my policies both here at home and abroad. As a leading member of my White House Planning Group, you have helped guide the design and articulation of my Administration's themes and programs. Far from being an adjunct to policy, this planning lies at the heart of the success we

have enjoyed in turning ideas into proposals and proposals into legislation. Few people who deal so closely with the public have fewer opportunities for getting public credit than you have had, but I can assure you that your colleagues in the Administration, and I, personally, recognize how much credit for our success belongs to you.

If I'd had the opportunity, I might have counseled you against the offer of further service you included in closing, because I now feel free to call upon you from time to time to extend the yeoman's labors you've already given this Presidency. From the bottom of my heart, I want to thank you and Ali, and your entire family, for the long hours of separation you've endured and the many sacrifices you've made for me and for this Nation.

Nancy and I thank you, send our best wishes for the future, and pray that God will bless you always.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

September 14, 1987

Dear Mr. President:

After considerable thought and with mixed emotions, I have concluded I cannot delay any further my return to the private sector. The experiences of the past five years have been the most rewarding and fulfilling of my life. Because of these experiences and my deep respect and affection for you and Mrs. Reagan, the decision to submit my resignation effective September 25, 1987 has been extremely difficult. It has been an honor and privilege to serve as an Assistant to the President since January, 1986 and, prior to that, as Deputy Assistant to the President, Special Assistant to the President and Director of Presidential Advancement.

I have often contemplated returning to Merrill Lynch since my two-year leave of absence expired, over three years ago. However, I always concluded there were compelling challenges here at the White House and I might in some way be able to help. Now, however, family and personal considerations require me to end my full-

time commitment but not my continuing loyalty, devotion and dedication to the principles you have so vigorously and successfully represented. My decision has been made easier because of the excellent team now in place in the White House.

For over five years, I have had the unique honor to help you communicate to the American people your agenda and policies through your public events and travel. As a result, I have had the privilege to travel with you throughout this great nation and to have witnessed firsthand the dramatic resurgence of the American spirit. To have seen and felt firsthand this renewed pride in America—pride that is as a direct result of your leadership and example—has been an unforgettable reward. I have witnessed history unfold as you moved America forward, by restoring confidence in our institutions, our economy and ourselves. To chronicle even the highlights of these events would be impossible—there are so many—but my most indelible memory is the mutual love and respect between you and the American people. I have deeply admired your willingness to go to the people for what you believe in. For example, no one gave tax reform a chance—you did, you went to the people, and now we have a fairer tax system.

Another responsibility you entrusted to me was helping plan and direct your international travel and foreign public diplomacy. In five short years, the march of democracy worldwide and the growth of economic freedom are a direct result of your leadership and example. No one has represented America better than you, and I have never been prouder to be an American than to be with you at the DMZ, the Great Wall, Pointe du Hoc, Omaha Beach, Bergen-Belsen, Geneva, the Berlin Wall . . .

Domestically and internationally, your Presidency has made a dramatic difference. My family, but especially my new daughter, Jessica, will benefit from your efforts as America goes forward into the New Century.

I am confident that with your remaining time in office you will complete the framework for lasting world peace and genuine

economic prosperity in a freer nation and world.

Thank you for the confidence you have placed in me and the opportunity to serve you and this great country during the past five years. Hopefully, I can continue to help you, and I hope you will call upon me for

other assignments.

With the very best wishes for every future success to you and Mrs. Reagan.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM HENKEL

Nomination of Robert B. Costello To Be Under Secretary of Defense *September 23, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert B. Costello to be Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition. He would succeed Richard P. Godwin.

Since 1986 Mr. Costello has been Assistant Secretary of Defense (Acquisition and Logistics), Department of Defense. Prior to this, he was executive director (purchasing activities) for the General Motors Corp., 1982–1986; and director, material manage-

ment, Delco Electronics, General Motors, 1970–1982.

Mr. Costello graduated from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (B.S., 1947; M.S., 1948) and Cornell University (Ph.D., 1951). He served in the U.S. Navy, 1944–1946, and in the Navy Reserve, 1947–1978. He was born June 21, 1926, in New Rochelle, NY. Mr. Costello is married, has five children, and resides in McLean, VA.

Proclamation 5706—Emergency Medical Services Week, 1987 *September 23, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

We can all be extremely proud of and grateful for those who staff our Nation's emergency medical services (EMS). They make a tremendous difference in our land as they save lives and care for the injured and the critically ill. Dedicated physicians, nurses, paramedics, park rangers, fire fighters, law enforcement officers, and countless devoted volunteers form a system that works daily for the safety and well-being of all Americans. Many perform their tasks under severe conditions, and many risk their lives to rescue accident victims; all of them make EMS a national success.

Most of us can tell from personal experience of quick, efficient EMS teams who have saved the lives of people we know and love. Despite these many successes, however, more than 750,000 Americans continue

to lose their lives from emergencies each year. That is why EMS teams across our country strive constantly to improve their remarkable lifesaving record. They work to upgrade their training and skills, to find new methods and better equipment, and to establish nationwide standards for EMS training and the delivery of care. Additionally, they work to teach citizens what to do when emergencies confront us in our homes, places of work, or on the street.

We can all recognize, appreciate, encourage, and support our local emergency medical services teams. We can also improve the current EMS system by developing awareness of accident prevention, by following good health practices, and by learning CPR (cardiopulmonary resuscitation). These personal efforts can help make life safer for all of us.

The Congress, by House Joint Resolution 134, has designated the week of September

20 through September 26, 1987, as "National Emergency Medical Services Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of September 20 through September 26, 1987, as National Emergency Medical Services Week, and I call upon all Americans to participate in

appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:52 a.m., September 24, 1987]

Proclamation 5707—Veterans Day, 1987 September 23, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

For decades America has paused on the 11th of November, the anniversary of the armistice that concluded World War I, to remember and to honor our veterans of military service. We do so in proud and grateful recognition of the hardships and sacrifices demanded from and faithfully accepted by the millions of men and women who have defended our land in war and in peace.

Our observance of Veterans Day this year, the Bicentennial of the Constitution, reminds us in a special way of the service men and women who have made liberty's cause their own. Our fundamental charter lives on because through the years countless brave Americans have gladly willed to "provide for the common defence." No one is more responsible for securing "the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity" than our veterans. That is why, this November 11 and always, we let veterans know that their service is not forgotten, that their sacrifices are appreciated, and that America salutes its defenders.

In order that we may pay fitting homage to those who have served in our Armed

Forces, the Congress has provided (5 U.S.C. 6103(a)) that November 11 of each year shall be set aside as a legal public holiday to honor America's veterans.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Wednesday, November 11, 1987, as Veterans Day. I urge all Americans to recognize the valor and sacrifice of our veterans through appropriate public ceremonies and private prayers. I also call upon Federal, State, and local government officials to display the flag of the United States and to encourage and take part in patriotic activities throughout our country. I invite the business community, churches, schools, unions, civic and fraternal organizations, and the media to support this national observance with suitable commemorative expressions and programs.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:53 a.m., September 24, 1987]

Executive Order 12609—President's Commission on Compensation of Career Federal Executives

September 23, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in order to extend the period within which the President's Commission on Compensation of Career Federal Executives may complete its work, it is hereby ordered that Section 2(b) of Executive Order No. 12592 of April 10, 1987, is amended by striking out

“August 1, 1987” and inserting in lieu thereof “February 28, 1988”.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
September 23, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:54 a.m., September 24, 1987]

Remarks at a White House Barbecue for Members of Congress

September 23, 1987

I'm delighted to welcome the Members of Congress from both parties as well as our other guests to this annual White House Congressional Barbecue. First of all, I would like to thank the Marine Band for their toe-tapping rendition of “The Music Man” by Meredith Willson—[*applause*]—who posthumously received the Presidential Medal of Freedom this year. Once again, the Marines have made my day. From the halls of Montezuma to River City, U.S.A., wherever there's trouble, the Marines always have the situation well in hand.

We are honored to have Rosemary Willson with us this evening. Rosemary, as long as there's an American flag to wave and warm evenings with friends, Meredith's music will live on in our hearts. We elected officials are always trying to figure out the mood of the country. We look at polls, we see what the newspapers are saying, call in experts. But I suspect that if we just listen to a Meredith Willson composition, we would know the spirit and soul of our nation. I've been looking forward to this event, because, as you know, I enjoy the outdoors, good food, and good conversation.

And this evening we had all three. As you know, these bipartisan get-togethers help build a spirit of unity and amiability between those of us who must make govern-

ment work. But as I think back to other such after-six events, when the casual conversations with members of both parties led to bipartisan policy, I can't help remembering Lloyd George's observation that trying to enter an alliance with one of his political opponents was “like going for a walk with a grasshopper.” [*Laughter*]

And I know that some of my best friends from time to time think I'd been led both down and off the garden path by, if not a grasshopper, perhaps the occasional gypsy moth or even a boll weevil. [*Laughter*] Well, it's true that in American politics, some of us may prefer different paths from time to time, but we're all heading toward the same goal. And we're more likely to get there if we remember that at its core, the American political process is premised on friendly political competition between fellow citizens.

After all, only in America can a President of one party get together with congressional members of both political parties for a friendly feast right in the middle of a heated political struggle. We should be grateful for this tradition; we should work hard to maintain it. And in that spirit, Nancy and I are delighted to have been able to join you this evening for these mo-

ments of leisure, friendship, and good will. So, thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 7:50 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Negotiations *September 24, 1987*

In Vienna today representatives of the North Atlantic alliance and the Warsaw Pact opened the 43d session of the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks (MBFR). The United States remains committed to achieving a sound, verifiable agreement in MBFR to reduce and limit conventional forces. The main threat to security and stability in Europe is the substantial Warsaw Pact conventional superiority based on massive forward-deployed Soviet forces. In MBFR, the U.S. and its NATO partners seek to redress the conventional imbalance in central Europe through negotiated force reductions to equal levels.

The U.S. and the other Western MBFR participants believe that their proposal of December 5, 1985, provides for an effectively verifiable accord that meets this ob-

jective. The Western proposal accepts a time-limited, first-phase framework as suggested by the Eastern side. It calls for initial U.S. and Soviet troop reductions, followed by a 3-year, no-increase commitment on manpower in the central European zone, during which time both sides would verify remaining force levels.

The President has instructed the U.S. delegation to the negotiations to press for an Eastern response to this initiative. Thus far, the Eastern side has failed to give a meaningful response to the West's proposal. The United States and its allies call upon the East to acknowledge the benefits for both sides in the Western proposal and to respond positively in the new negotiating round.

Remarks on Signing the National Historically Black Colleges Week Proclamation *September 24, 1987*

The President. When our administration came to Washington, we were determined to make of our nation what I have many times referred to as an opportunity society, a land in which Americans, all Americans, would be able to develop their talents to the fullest. Today we honor a group of institutions that have long stood for just that—opportunity. I'm speaking, of course, about America's historically black colleges and universities.

Listen to this record of achievement: Black colleges and universities have educated 50 percent of our black business executives, 75 percent of our black military offi-

cers, 80 percent of our black judges, and 85 percent of America's black physicians. For decades, then, these institutions have been giving black Americans hope—hope for a better life, hope that they would be able to play a full and active part in the life of the Nation. With the unique role of these educational institutions in mind, our administration has made certain that, in an era of budget cuts, black colleges and universities actually received increased funding by 1986, up some 19 percent since we took office.

Then, too, we've worked to see to it that students would have economic opportunities

after graduation to complement the educational opportunities they benefited from while still in college. Indeed, in large measure because we've cut taxes and worked to limit the economic role of government, today our nation is enjoying one of the longest periods of peacetime economic expansion in history—57 months and still counting.

During these 57 months, black employment has moved forward twice as fast as white employment. Since 1982 the real income of black families has increased almost 40 percent faster than white family income, and the share of black families in the highest income brackets has nearly doubled. And this past August the percentage of blacks employed was the highest on record, as was the percentage of all Americans employed. Surveying this record, economist Warren Brookes concluded, and I'll quote: "On every front—jobs, income, even household wealth—this 1981 through 1986, has been the best 5 economic years in black history."

Just yesterday there was still more good news, right there on the front page of the New York Times. The Times reported that—and I'll be quoting again—"Black high school students across the country are making steady gains in the scores they achieve on standardized college admission tests." Well, there is something profound here in this connection between educational achievement and economic growth. You see, I'm convinced that the one has a great deal to do with the other, that education represents an investment in the future and that the investment becomes more inviting when the future itself looks brighter. In the words of author George Gilder: "Economic opportunities summon initiatives. Initiatives develop character and a sense of responsibility, a feeling of optimism. The future looks more open and promising to students than it did before for the simple reason that it is more open and promising."

You know, I can't help thinking that the goals Americans set for themselves in the days of my own youth seem so modest: indoor plumbing, electricity, a family car, a telephone. I remember living in a home without indoor plumbing. Today jet airplanes carry passengers—even those of

modest means—from coast to coast and overseas, while our engineers are busy developing crafts that one day will take off from a runway and carry us into space. And discoveries in the field of superconductivity are coming so rapidly that research results are often out of date before they're in print.

Yes, these are exciting days—exciting days above all for young Americans and those who educate them. For black Americans, there is additional excitement—the excitement that goes with breaking the bonds of prejudice, that goes with the defeat of discrimination. Perhaps, then, it's in the years ahead that our black colleges and universities will contribute the most to our nation, surpassing even the enormous contributions they've made in the past, making ever greater strides toward the achievement of a genuine opportunity society.

Today it's our privilege to have with us 30 students who represent this future, 30 students who have been chosen as the finest undergraduate students in mathematics, engineering, and science at historically black colleges and universities. They were nominated by the presidents of their colleges and selected by a distinguished panel of leaders in higher education. Later today they will receive awards sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York in recognition of their dedication and academic achievement.

To you 30 students: You represent the shining hope of America's future. In the technological age of the 21st century, your intellect, creativity, and skilled minds will keep our nation at the forefront of scientific research and technological development. The time and effort you're investing in your education will pay rich dividends to you and to the Nation. You're America's best and brightest hope for the future. Would you 30 please stand and accept our congratulations? [*Applause*]

Thank you. Now you may be seated. [*Laughter*] Because, if I may, there are two students in particular I'd like to recognize—I hope I have the name right: Mr. Patrick Lafontant and Mr. Gregory B. Owens.

Mr. Lafontant graduated from the U.S. Navy's broadened opportunity for officer selection and training program and is current-

ly attending Hampton University in Hampton, Virginia, majoring in chemical engineering. After graduation, Mr. Lafontant plans to pursue a graduate degree, followed by a career as an officer in the Navy's nuclear power program.

Midshipman Second Class Owens—and I have to look both ways—they've not been pointed out as to which is which—is a national scholarship midshipman majoring in chemistry at Savannah State College in Savannah, Georgia. Mr. Owens previously graduated from one of the Navy's programs in nuclear power and has received the Reserve Officers Association Award, given to the junior or sophomore student with the highest naval science grade-point average.

And, gentlemen, your achievements are truly remarkable, as is your dedication to the Nation. And your Commander in Chief would like to salute you. But now it's my

honor to sign the bill and the proclamation making the week of 21 to 27 September, "National Historically Black Colleges Week." And I think there are some people who should come up here and stand behind me while I do this signing. All right? I know it's going to be a little crowded back there. And I know what you've had to do with bringing about this day.

Now, the bill first, and the proclamation. Well, thank you all for being here. God bless you.

Reporter. Mr. President, will you also sign the Gramm-Rudman fix? Will you also sign the Gramm-Rudman bill, Mr. President?

The President. Can't you see the wheels turning? I'm still working on that. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 11:34 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

Proclamation 5708—National Historically Black Colleges Week, 1987

September 24, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

Setting aside a week in recognition of our country's historically Black colleges and universities is most appropriate because they are truly valuable national resources. During more than a century and a quarter they have educated hundreds of thousands of Americans who have gone on to contribute substantially to our Nation in every walk of life. Their alumni have included some of our most outstanding leaders and scholars.

This year, commemoration of the role of historically Black colleges and universities falls during our Nation's observance of the Bicentennial of the Constitution. That cherished document is the guarantor of liberty, union, and self-government for all Americans. Thanks to it we remain a strong people united in the richness of our diversity. We can all be proud of the role of his-

torically Black colleges and universities in strengthening our country. Keeping these fine institutions a vital force in American education is a worthy national goal.

To acknowledge the accomplishments of historically Black colleges and universities and the appropriateness of focusing national attention on their contributions, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 22, has designated the week of September 21 through September 27, 1987, as "National Historically Black Colleges Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this commemoration.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of September 21 through September 27, 1987, as National Historically Black Colleges Week. I urge all Americans to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities to express our respect and appreciation for the outstanding academic and social accomplish-

ments of our Nation's historically Black institutions of higher learning.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 24th day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of

the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:28 p.m., September 24, 1987]

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate on the United States Air Strike in the Persian Gulf

September 24, 1987

Dear Mr. President: (Dear Mr. Speaker:)

At approximately 4:00 p.m. (EDT) on September 21, 1987, Armed Forces of the United States assigned to the Middle East Joint Task Force observed an Iranian landing craft, the "IRAN AJR", engaging in nighttime minelaying near U.S. forces in international waters of the Persian Gulf. This hostile action posed a direct threat to the safety of U.S. warships and other U.S.-flag vessels. Accordingly, acting in self-defense and pursuant to standing Peacetime Rules of Engagement for the region, two U.S. helicopters operating off the USS JARRETT engaged the Iranian vessel, which subsequently resumed its minelaying activities. Thereupon, the helicopters re-engaged the AJR, disabling it with rocket and machine gun fire, and curtailed the further release of mines.

Subsequently, at first light in the Persian Gulf on September 22, U.S. forces boarded the disabled craft, which proved to have been manned by regular elements of the Iranian navy. Three crewmen were found dead on the vessel and nine mines were found on deck. Twenty-six survivors were recovered from the water and from lifeboats and taken to U.S. naval ships for examination and medical treatment. Arrangements are being made to turn the survivors over to an appropriate humanitarian organization. Two members of the crew of the IRAN AJR are believed missing. Search and rescue operations for them have been undertaken, as well as operations to find and clear a number of mines that, according to

discussion with surviving crewmen of the IRAN AJR, were laid prior to action against the vessel by U.S. forces.

The actions taken by U.S. forces were conducted in the exercise of our right of self-defense under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Mining of the high seas, without notice and in an area of restricted navigation, is unlawful and a serious threat to world public order and the safety of international maritime commerce. These Iranian actions were taken despite warnings given to the Government of Iran, subsequent to the recent mine damage done to the U.S.-flag vessel BRIDGETON, that the U.S. Government would take the action necessary to defend U.S. vessels from attacks of this nature.

U.S. forces in the area have returned to their prior state of alert readiness. They will remain prepared to take any further defensive action necessary to protect U.S. vessels and U.S. lives from unlawful attack.

These limited defensive actions have been taken by our Armed Forces in accordance with international law, and pursuant to my constitutional authority with respect to the conduct of foreign relations and as Commander-in-Chief. While being mindful of the historical differences between the Legislative and Executive Branches of government, and the positions taken by all of my predecessors in office, with respect to the interpretation and constitutionality of certain of the provisions of the War Powers Resolution, I nonetheless am providing this

report in a spirit of mutual cooperation toward a common goal.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and John C. Stennis, President pro tempore of the Senate.

Statement on United States Policy in the Persian Gulf *September 24, 1987*

I have today sent the attached letter to the Congress concerning defensive actions by our Armed Forces taken on September 21-22, 1987, against the Iranian naval vessel *Iran Ajr*. We regard this incident as closed and are currently taking steps to repatriate the 26 Iranian survivors and return the bodies of the 3 Iranians killed in the incident.

Eight Presidents over four decades have recognized that the United States has vital interests in ensuring free world access to the energy resources of the Persian Gulf and in preventing hostile domination of the Gulf region. Today those interests are threatened by the Iran-Iraq war and Iran's continued belligerent behavior in the region.

Iraq has made clear its willingness, with-out preconditions, to negotiate an equitable settlement of the war and to implement U.N. Security Council Resolution 598. To date, Iran has refused to implement it. Meanwhile, by aggressive military action and terrorism, Iran has continued its efforts to intimidate the nonbelligerent nations of the Gulf, to close Gulf waters to neutral shipping, and to export a destabilizing blend of religion and politics in and even beyond the region. Iranian policies create a threat that could seriously interrupt freedom of navigation and the free flow of oil in the Gulf.

Recognizing these facts, we must continue steadily to pursue our established, three-part policy in the Gulf:

1. Bringing ever-increasing international pressure to bear for a negotiated end to the war and to stop its spillover;

2. Steadfastly continuing to help our friends, the nonbelligerent nations of the Gulf, to defend themselves against Iranian

threats; and

3. Prudently pursuing cooperative efforts with the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) States and other friends to protect U.S.-flag ships and to prevent Iran from seriously jeopardizing freedom of nonbelligerent navigation.

Our overriding aim is peace and stability in the region. We have no interest in provoking Iran or anyone else, although we will defend ourselves as necessary. Indeed, the United States hopes that more normal relations with Iran will evolve as Iranian belligerence and tensions in the area diminish. We have made these points known repeatedly to Iran through diplomatic channels as well as by public statements.

The continuation of the Iran-Iraq war is the major cause of increasing tensions in the Gulf, to which our forces and those of other nations have responded. We look to the United Nations Security Council for a negotiated settlement to this war in its entirety through the rapid implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 in all its parts. We hope that the Soviet Union will cooperate as the Council moves to create conditions for such implementation by adopting a second resolution rather than delaying and seeking opportunities to expand their own influence at the expense of peace in the region.

The success of our policy will depend to a great extent on the consistency and care with which we carry it out. Our resolve to date has begun to pay off: through increased European naval contributions to protect freedom of navigation in the Gulf, through quiet but essential and effective GCC support for our naval efforts and those of other nations, through diplomatic

progress in the U.N. Security Council, and through deterrence of even more reckless Iranian actions. We must continue to do our best to protect our interests and to reassure

our friends, as well as our adversaries, of the continued resolve and leadership of the United States as we move ahead.

Remarks to the United States Olympic Hockey Team September 24, 1987

Well, we're delighted to have all of you here today. My thanks to the players and the coaches and managers and supporters of the U.S. hockey team for coming by and, also, to all of the Washington Capitals. I see Dave Christian is here. Dave is a Cap, of course, but he was also on the 1980 championship Olympic team. And his dad, who is with us here today, as well, was on the 1960 gold medal team. And, Dave, I don't know if you're feeling any divided loyalties about Friday's game, but I certainly am. So I think I'll stick to the heroic political posture I struck the last time all of you were here, and I'll refuse to take a position. *[laughter]*

But all of us are here today to boost the Olympic effort and especially our hockey team. I don't have to tell you what a great privilege it is to be on this team. I think you know the U.S. Olympic team seems to have permanently captured the American imagination. Surely, the storybook victories of 1960 and 1980, when young American athletes, given little chance for the gold medal, won against far more experienced opponents. And they have a great deal to do with that, but it goes even deeper. I think Americans see in this team a national symbol, a symbol of what might be called the corny, homegrown conviction that victory can come to those who live by the amateur spirit, who play fair and by the rules, that nice guys in a tough world can finish first.

So, obviously, we wish all of you well. I know you've been working hard. You've been traveling far and wide and getting some terrific experience. In fact, Dave Peterson has said, "You're a team with strength, size, talent, and even some trick-

ery." Fellows, I could use you on Capitol Hill. *[Laughter]*

Now, I'm told that this year we're going to have another display of hockey expertise out here in the Rose Garden. The last time we tried that I was talked into hitting a puck, and I actually got it by the goalie for a score. At that time, I made my famous Shermanesque declaration: "You will never see me hit another puck again as long as I live." And I was very firm about that. In fact, I think I told somebody my feet were set in cement on that issue. So, the sound you are about to hear is that of cement breaking up around my feet. *[Laughter]*

So, in addition to wishing all of you well, thanking your generous supporters, urging all Americans to get behind you, I will now proceed to hit another hockey puck—or try to. *[Laughter]*

[After the President hit several hockey pucks, Coach David Peterson of the U.S. Olympic hockey team gave the President a team jersey. Rod Langway, a Washington Capitals team member, then gave the President a crystal replica of the U.S. Capitol.]

I can't say anything except the prayer that we once taught in my football team, when I was playing football. What we would always say was—you knew you couldn't ask Him to help you win—*[laughter]*—both sides belonged to Him—so, it used to be, "May everyone do their best, may there be no injuries, and may everyone feel good about the result, whatever it is, because they will have done their best."

Note: The President spoke at 1:16 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

Statement on the Death of H.R. Gross

September 24, 1987

H.R. Gross was a dedicated and hard-working public servant. Referred to as "the conscience of the House," he met his responsibilities with care, wisdom, and old-fashioned common sense. He did his homework and earned the respect of his colleagues on both sides of the aisle. As a Representative, he sought to do what was best

for his constituents and always thought long and hard about spending taxpayers' money.

Before coming to Washington, he was a journalist in Iowa, where we worked together at radio station WHO in Des Moines. I have many fond memories of H.R. Gross, and Nancy joins me in extending our deep sympathy to Hazel and their family.

Nomination of Joshua M. Javits To Be a Member of the National Mediation Board

September 24, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Joshua M. Javits to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring July 1, 1989. He will succeed Charles L. Woods.

Since 1985 Mr. Javits has been an associate at the law firm of Cades, Schutte, Fleming & Wright in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was an associate at Mulholland &

Hickey, 1983–1985, and an attorney with the National Labor Relations Board, 1978–1983.

Mr. Javits graduated from Yale College (B.A., 1972) and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1978). He was born January 2, 1950, in New York City. Mr. Javits is married and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Joseph Trippe Nall To Be a Member of the National Transportation Safety Board

September 24, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Joseph Trippe Nall to be a member of the National Transportation Safety Board for the term expiring December 31, 1992. This is a reappointment.

Since 1986 Mr. Nall has served as a member of this Board. Prior to this he was in the private practice of law in the law

firm of the Joseph T. Nall, P.A., 1981–1986.

Mr. Nall graduated from Furman University (B.A., 1964), Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary (master of divinity, 1968), and Wake Forest School of Law (J.D., 1973). He was born May 16, 1942, in Atlanta, GA. Mr. Nall has two children and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Herbert Stuart Okun To Be a United States Representative to the 42d Session of the United Nations General Assembly

September 24, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Herbert Stuart Okun to be a Representative of the United States of America to the 42d Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Since 1985 Mr. Okun has been Deputy United States Representative to the United Nations. Prior to this he was the Ambassa-

dor to the German Democratic Republic, 1980–1983. Mr. Okun entered the Foreign Service in 1955.

Mr. Okun graduated from Stanford University (B.A., 1951) and Harvard University (M.P.A., 1959). He was born November 27, 1930, in New York, NY. Mr. Okun has three children and resides in New York City.

Nomination of Mark D. Siljander To Be an Alternate United States Representative to the 42d Session of the United Nations General Assembly

September 24, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mark D. Siljander to be an Alternate Representative of the United States of America to the 42d Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Since 1986 Mr. Siljander has been a consultant in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served in the United States House of Representatives from the Fourth District of the

State of Michigan, 1981–1986. Mr. Siljander served in the Michigan House of Representatives for two terms, 1977–1981.

Mr. Siljander graduated from Western Michigan University (B.S., 1972; M.A., 1973). He was born June 11, 1951, in Chicago, IL. Mr. Siljander is married, has two children, and resides in Reston, VA.

Nomination of Everett Alvarez, Jr., To Be a Member of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences

September 25, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Everett Alvarez, Jr., to be a member of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences, Department of Defense, for a term expiring May 1, 1993. He would succeed Perry Albert Lambird.

Since 1986 Mr. Alvarez has been vice president of government services at the Hospital Corporation of America in Arling-

ton, VA. Prior to this he was Deputy Administrator, Veterans Administration, 1982–1986; Deputy Director, Peace Corps, 1981–1982; and assistant program manager, A–4 aircraft program, Director, U.S. Naval Air Production Management Project Office, U.S. Naval Air Systems Command, in Washington, DC.

Mr. Alvarez graduated from the University of Santa Clara (B.S., 1960), the U.S. Naval

Postgraduate School (M.S., 1976), and the George Washington University (J.D., 1982). He served in the U.S. Navy, 1961–1973. Mr.

Alvarez was born December 23, 1937, in Salinas, CA. He is married, has two children, and resides in Rockville, MD.

Remarks at the Annual Convention of Concerned Women for America

September 25, 1987

Thank you all very much, and believe me, welcome to Washington. [*Laughter*] It's wonderful to see you all here. Makes me feel as if the reinforcements have just arrived. I have to tell you that back there, and hearing those songs before I came out, put a lump in my throat. And I was trying to control that when I came in, and you just enlarged it. [*Laughter*] I want to congratulate you on your fourth national convention. In just a few short years you've become the largest politically active women's organization in the Nation.

A lot of the credit, of course, has to go to one woman. She's one of the powerhouses on the political scene today and one of the reasons that the grassroots are more and more a conservative province. Because of her, the great majority of women once again have a voice in the issues of the day. You can no longer be ignored by the media or by their elected representatives. Beverly LaHaye is changing the face of American politics, and she deserves our thanks and congratulations. [*Applause*]

You know, thinking of this convention brought back to mind one of my favorite stories about Calvin Coolidge. Some of you may know that after Cal Coolidge was introduced to the sport of fishing by his Secret Service detail—[*laughter*—it got to be quite a passion with him, if you can use that word about Silent Cal. [*Laughter*] Anyway, he was once asked by reporters how many fish were in one of his favorite angling places, the River Brule. Coolidge said the waters were estimated to carry 45,000 trout. And then he said, "I haven't caught them all yet, but I sure have intimidated them." [*Laughter*] Well, there are only 535 Senators and Congressmen up on Capitol Hill. And as Beverly might say, we

haven't caught them all yet, but we've sure got their attention.

One of the things we're going to keep their attention focused on is—well, you might say it's making sure that justice is done, that Justice Bork is confirmed by the Senate as our next Supreme Court Justice.

Now, I'm going to talk about him a little bit here, but I feel like I'm preaching to the choir. [*Laughter*] The Wall Street Journal called Judge Bork, and I quote: "the most qualified American alive to serve on the Supreme Court." And I think his testimony, which was completed last Saturday, demonstrated that to the Nation. The American people saw not only a brilliant legal mind at work but also a wise man who was prudent and fair, a man of careful consideration and deep learning.

Before the hearings began, there was a lot of talk by certain interest groups to the effect that Judge Bork was a political ideologue. On TV's across the Nation, those who tuned into the hearings saw something very different indeed. They saw a judge who impressively argued against ideology—and that is, against the current fashion in some legal circles that says a judge should bend the law to suit his own political agenda. We've had too much of that already. Judge Bork clearly spelled out his philosophy: that a judge should keep his own views from interfering with an interpretation of the laws and the Constitution according to the intentions of those who enacted them, consistent with precedent. In other words, a judge should interpret the laws and not make them. [*Applause*] Well, I was going to start the next sentence with "I think." I'm switching. [*Laughter*] I know you'll agree we need more judges like that.

Now, before the hearings, these same in-

terest groups also argued that Judge Bork was outside the mainstream. But recently, in an article on the op-ed page of the Washington Post, President Carter's White House Counsel, Lloyd Cutler, threw that canard out the window. I have a hunch that maybe the Post was thinking they would get a different view than they got when they accepted his op-ed piece. [Laughter] Mr. Cutler wrote of Judge Bork, and I'll quote again: "His views were and are widely shared by justices and academics who are in the moderate center." Well, it's clear now that the charges that Robert Bork is too ideological are themselves ideologically inspired and that the criticism of him as outside the mainstream can only be held by those who are themselves so far outside the mainstream that they've long ago lost sight of the moderate center.

And there's one subject I wish the hearings had dealt with more thoroughly, and that's crime. Nearly one-third of the Supreme Court's docket is devoted to criminal cases. As a judge on one of our nation's most important appellate courts, Judge Bork has handed down tough but fair decisions that have not only protected the rights of the accused but the rights of the victims, as well. And they've been too long ignored. And I know you'll agree: our Constitution requires no less.

And if people want a measure of how the American public feels on the nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court, they should ask this organization about the 72,000 petitions, pro-Bork petitions, that have flooded in over the last 3 weeks—with more coming in all the time. Now, I don't usually make predictions. I've always been a little superstitious about that, but in this case I feel confident that reason will prevail over politics. So, I'm going to make this prediction: Not only that Judge Bork will be confirmed, but that he will go down in history as one of the finest Supreme Court Justices our nation has ever known.

And now, even though I'm going to change subjects here, I'm still preaching to the choir. [Laughter] The next item on our agenda—and nothing we've done in the last 6½ years has been more important—is the survival of freedom in Central America. Believe me, I know how much your organiza-

tion has done in that cause: setting up schools, medical clinics, and farms to help refugees fleeing Communist oppression; \$4 million worth of clothes in one shipment alone. And over the last few years, you've been vital in getting the message out to the American people. But this is the crucial moment, now is the time we must redouble our efforts to make sure that the hope for freedom in Nicaragua is not betrayed once again.

In the latest issue of Public Opinion magazine, they printed the results of an extensive polling of American attitudes towards Central America. And the numbers make it very clear the message is getting across. The American public recognizes the great danger posed by an aggressive Communist government in Nicaragua and, by a large majority, favors continued aid to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters battling to liberate their nation from Communist tyranny. Of those who had an opinion, a huge majority described Central America as "very important to the defense interests of the United States." And they agreed that the situation in Nicaragua is a threat to the security of the United States. Huge majorities believe there is a danger of Nicaragua becoming another Cuba, an aggressive Soviet outpost exporting revolution to its neighboring countries. And that is the real problem: Communist Nicaragua is, in fact, a Soviet beachhead in the Americas.

And on the subject of aid to the freedom fighters, the numbers were impressive. Asked the question: Should the United States aid the rebels to prevent Communist influence from spreading to other countries in Central America?—58 percent said yes, and only 29 percent were opposed. Well, I can tell you, aid to the freedom fighters must and will continue. The American people want it, justice demands it, and it's the only way to make the Marxist-Leninists in Managua sincerely talk peace. In the months ahead, as the Central American peace progress—or process undergoes its inevitable complications, it'll be even more vital to keep the central issue before the American people: democracy in Nicaragua. We can accept nothing less.

Only with freedom and democracy in

Nicaragua will there be true peace and a chance for real, lasting economic development in Central America. Anything short of true democracy in Nicaragua will at best bring only a false peace to Central America. The wound will fester, and the infection will break out once again. Remember back when they were trying to tell us in certain areas of the media that Castro was the George Washington of Cuba? [Laughter]

There's only one fair path to peace: free and fair elections open to all. Now the Sandinistas have promised to end all censorship. Well, that's a good beginning, and we must hold them to it. But it's only a beginning. The next steps are obvious: Open up the jails and let the thousands of political prisoners free; let the exiles come home; allow freedom of worship, free labor unions, a free economy; dissolve the so-called neighborhood watch committees; and give the people of Nicaragua back their basic human rights; and last, but not least, send the Soviets and the Cubans home. Anyone who demands anything less of the Sandinistas, anyone who does not insist on true democracy in Nicaragua, is not serving the cause of peace. We'll not be satisfied with mere show, with "Potemkin" reforms. Until these conditions are met, democratization will be no more than a fraud. And until they're met, we'll press for true democracy by supporting those who are fighting for it.

Well, I've talked long enough—[ap-*plause*]*]*—I know, but I'd like to leave you with one thought. In this bicentennial year, I keep being drawn back to George Washington's first Inaugural Address. He said: "There is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness." America will prosper, America will succeed, he was saying, only so long as she is good. For the "propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which heaven itself has ordained." He reminded his countrymen that there is something more at stake here than our own advantage, and that something is the "preservation of the sacred fire of liberty" which he said was deeply, finally "staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American

people."

These words ring just as urgently true today, perhaps even more so. And it's individuals and groups like yours who have responded to that sense of urgency, who've taken up Washington's call, who will keep America good and therefore prospering. Working from the grassroots through all the branches of government, it is people like you who are keeping that sacred fire of liberty alive.

I've said many times before and will repeat again before I leave here—you may call it mysticism if you will—but I have always believed there had to be some divine plan that put these great continents here in the Western Hemisphere between the two great oceans to be found by people who had such a love of freedom and a desire for that kind of freedom in their hearts that they would uproot themselves from their homelands and, from every part of the world, come here to create this country. And the other day I received a letter; a line in it so eloquent from a man that I have to quote it. He said: "You can go to live in France, but you cannot become a Frenchman. You can go to live in Japan, you cannot become Japanese. In Turkey or Greece or anyplace else, you cannot become one of them. But everybody or anybody from every corner of this world can come to the United States and become an American."

I thank you all, and I God bless you all. And I ask His blessing on all of you. And then I'm just going to leave you with one little thing about some of those other parts of the world. I have become a collector of stories that are told among the people of the Soviet Union, that reveal that they have a sense of humor, but also some cynicism about their present system. And I've collected quite a number of them, and they're just wonderful. And one that I think is kind of interesting is the question that was asked in school over there about how do you tell a Communist? He said, "Well, it's someone who reads Marx and Lenin." And how do you tell an anti-Communist? "It's someone who understands Marx and Lenin." [Laughter] Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11 a.m. in the Arlington Ballroom at the Crystal Gateway Marriott Hotel in Arlington, VA. Beverly

LaHaye was president of Concerned Women for America.

Statement on the Senate Confirmation of William Steele Sessions To Be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

September 25, 1987

I am pleased that the Senate today unanimously confirmed my nomination of Judge William Steele Sessions to be the new Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. We can be sure that he will continue to distinguish himself as he has since 1974 on the United States District Court for the Western District of Texas, where he served as Chief Judge for the last 7 years. His background on this court as well as his prior experiences as U.S. attorney and Chief of the Government Operations Section of the Criminal Division in the Department of Justice have prepared him well to carry on the Bureau's great tradition of "Fidelity, Brav-

ery, Integrity."

In this bicentennial year of our Constitution all Americans can be proud to have a man of Judge Sessions' character and integrity leading the FBI in the fight against crime, all the while bearing witness to the Nation's unswerving commitment to due process of law. Judge Sessions embodies the ideal that the enforcement of our laws must be very tough, but very fair. Under the direction of Judge Sessions, the FBI will carry on its crucial responsibility to safeguard our persons, our property, and our constitutional rights.

Statement on United States Policy in the Persian Gulf

September 25, 1987

The Senate is considering legislation that would force a retreat from the Persian Gulf by the United States. This ill-conceived legislation could have disastrous effects for the U.S. commitment to the Persian Gulf and to our strategic interests in keeping those waters safe for navigation. Ultimately, it could provide a means for Iran to achieve what cannot be achieved by any other means, namely, our complete withdrawal from the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of Oman.

We are making real progress in our diplomatic efforts to end the Iran-Iraq war. Allied cooperation in protecting the Gulf has been very helpful. Now is the time to show steadfastness in our commitment, not vacillation and timidity. I will veto this legislation should it reach my desk. I want to make it clear that, despite the damage this legislation could do just by its consideration, we will not abandon our strategic interests or our friends in the Persian Gulf.

Radio Address to the Nation on the Federal Debt Ceiling Increase and Deficit Reduction *September 26, 1987*

My fellow Americans:

There's good news. The Federal deficit for this year is expected to drop by some 30 percent compared to last year. That could be a whopping \$65 billion reduction, and it happened without a tax increase. There's also some disappointing news. The Congress, once again, has passed a bill that puts me in the position of accepting legislation with which I fundamentally disagree.

The bill would continue the authority of the United States Government to borrow funds which we must do to avoid the default on our obligations. This legislation also includes a so-called fix of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction law, but it really is an attempt to force me eventually either to sign a tax bill or to accept massive cuts in national defense, or both. I would have no problem with signing an extension of the debt limit. But the choice is for the United States to default on its debts for the first time in our 200-year history, or to accept a bill that has been cluttered up. This is yet another example of Congress trying to force my hand, and it's one more reason why the President needs the line-item veto to separate the good from the bad.

Unfortunately, Congress consistently brings the Government to the edge of default before facing its responsibility. This brinkmanship threatens the holders of government bonds and those who rely on Social Security and veterans benefits. Interest rates would skyrocket, instability would occur in financial markets, and the Federal deficit would soar. The United States has a special responsibility to itself and the world to meet its obligations. It means we have a well-earned reputation for reliability and credibility—two things that set us apart from much of the world.

Some in Congress will claim that if I reject this bill with its Gramm-Rudman-Hollings fix, then I'm against deficit reduction. But, of course, nothing is farther from the truth. Since 1980 when you first elected me

to this office, I have led efforts to control Congress' appetite to spend in deficit. Over a 5-year period, while revenues went up 28 percent, congressional spending went up 46 percent. From 1982 to 1987, for every dollar Congress cut from our national defense, they added \$2 for domestic spending. Now, that's not fiscal restraint. Two years ago, Congress took a first step to curb spending with Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, and I agreed. Its purpose was to get on a track to lower deficits and eventually a balanced budget. Well, the ink was not even dry before Congress walked away from its own plan. Instead of facing the tough choices to reduce Federal spending, Congress attempted to shift the burden to our national security and to you, the American taxpayers, in the form of new taxes.

For those who say further responsible spending reductions are not possible, they are wrong. For those who say the only choice is undermining our national security at a time when the United States is close to an agreement with the Soviet Union on reducing nuclear weapons, they are wrong. For those who say more taxes will solve our deficit problem, they are wrong. Every time Congress increases taxes, the deficit does not decrease, spending increases. It's time for a clear and consistent policy to reduce the Federal budget deficit.

In the weeks ahead, Congress will have the opportunity to meet this commitment. So today, let's get some things clear. I will not hesitate to use my veto to hold down excess spending, and I will spell out the impact that defense cuts will have on our long-term security interests. You don't need more taxes to balance the budget. Congress needs the discipline to stop spending more, and that can be done with the passage of a constitutional amendment to balance the budget. Congress needs to reform its budget process, at least by breaking up those massive, catch-all spending bills into individual parts. That way, each part can stand on its own. And to meet the new

deficit target in Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, if Congress insists on lowering defense spending, then I will certainly insist on lowering domestic spending as well.

This decision is not easy. I have no choice but to sign this bill to guarantee the United States Government's credit. But I also will not permit Congress to dismantle our na-

tional defense, to jeopardize arms reduction, or to increase your taxes. I am determined that will not happen.

Until next week, thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Remarks at a White House Reception Honoring Vladimir Feltsman September 27, 1987

Well, Vladimir Feltsman, one critic has called you "extraordinary, brilliant," while another has written, "He must be counted among the great musicians of the world." Well, after listening to your performance this evening—well, if anything, those critics were guilty of understatement. But on this the occasion of your first concert in the United States, I know that everyone here wants to join Nancy and me in extending the warmest congratulations.

I called this your first concert in the United States, but that isn't quite accurate. Your first concert took place 5 years ago at Lincoln Center. As a spotlight shone upon an empty stage, an audience listened to recordings of your music, because you had not been permitted to leave your own country for that performance. Your request for immigration led to artistic exile in your homeland. Long and difficult years followed. And of these long years you've said, and I quote, "I worked very hard. I studied a lot of

music I had never played before, like 'Maple Street Rag'—[laughter]—and God knows I had the time for it. I had nerves and fits of depression, but the experience taught me a lot. I now understand life and the nature of people and the values of real friendship, which means, also, that I understand music better. In all honesty I can say that I'm playing better now than 8 years ago."

Well, Vladimir Feltsman, that you manifest no bitterness, that you speak instead of the good you found in the midst of your suffering, this proves that you're not only a great musician, this proves that you are a hero of the human spirit. And, Vladimir, with all our hearts, we welcome you and Anna and Daniel to the United States and to freedom. And God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 5:57 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his closing remarks, he referred to Mr. Feltsman's wife, Anna, and son, Daniel.

Written Responses to Questions Submitted by the Swedish Newspaper Svenska Dagbladet September 22, 1987

The President's Political Philosophy

Q. Would you tell us some key tenets of your political philosophy so that the Swedes can compare it with the philosophy of their own Premier, Ingvar Carlsson?

The President. I was elected, and reelected, on a platform that pledged to decentralize Federal programs, reduce the size and spending of the Federal Government, strengthen the national defense, restore economic prosperity through private enter-

prise, and foster individual initiative. As you know, I believe that individual initiative is the key to a vibrant, strong, and healthy nation. People who decide for themselves what risks to take and how hard to push for what level of personal fulfillment are the people who contribute the most to society. I strongly believe the best way to encourage economic growth is through private enterprise.

The United States has many very good programs to provide help to those who really need it and to do those things that are more effectively done by governments than by individuals. I believe there should be as direct a connection as possible between the government and the people. As you know, I have taken my message many times directly to the American people. I believe strongly in as much local community control as possible of those necessary programs—the closer the administration of the programs is to the people who receive the help, the more effective those programs will be.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. The distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union was apparently greater during your first term as President than during the second. A long time has passed since you used phrases such as “evil empire” about the Soviets. Why is the distrust on your part less today?

The President. I think that we are still a long way from the point where either the United States or the Soviet Union will be prepared to rely on simple trust in dealing with each other. We have fundamentally different political and social values. You cannot compare the totalitarian nature of the Soviet system, which lacks basic democratic and personal freedoms, with the open societies of the United States or Sweden, which are based on the rule of law and the rights of the individual. Clearly, we and the Soviets must manage our differences in a common effort to avoid the danger of conflict in this nuclear age. But that does not mean we should abandon our efforts to promote democratic values wherever possible—quite the opposite.

East-West Relations

Q. The prospect of nuclear disarmament gives the European public an enhanced sense of psychological security. But our real security, in terms of coping with the legacy of historical hostilities—imbalance of conventional armed forces, territorial claims, ethnic loyalties, trading restrictions, etc.—is hardly affected by a mutual and balanced scaling-down of nuclear capabilities. What advice do you have to Europeans to turn the psychological security of denuclearization into a real security of removed sources of conflicts?

The President. The real source of East-West tension is the fundamental difference between societies that are based on freedom and those that are not. Weapons, even nuclear weapons, are a result of this difference, not the cause of it. I have often spoken of our ultimate goal of ridding the world of nuclear weapons. But we must not delude ourselves; to achieve this goal will be a long and slow process. For the foreseeable future, all of us will continue to depend on nuclear deterrence to preserve both peace and freedom.

Thus, even if we are able to reach a verifiable INF agreement to eliminate a whole category of nuclear weapons, it is very misleading to talk about denuclearization. The United States will maintain its nuclear commitment to NATO. Meanwhile, we must deal with the problems created by the Warsaw Pact's advantage in conventional weapons. We must also look for ways to open up human contacts to break down ignorance and distrust. We must continue to encourage the East to permit the basic freedoms and individual liberties that we take for granted in our own societies.

Soviet-U.S. Summit Meeting

Q. What are the remaining obstacles, if any, for your next summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev?

The President. I would very much like for the General Secretary to see this country. At Geneva I invited Mr. Gorbachev to visit the United States. But naturally we believe that meetings on the highest level must be well prepared and justified in terms of substance. I am pleased to note that an agree-

ment in principle was reached to conclude an INF treaty during Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Washington last week. Secretary Shultz will meet Mr. Shevardnadze again in Moscow next month to continue the efforts and to work out the details of a summit later this fall.

Central American Peace Process

Q. What role will the United States play in the peace process in Central America?

The President. The United States has been involved in the regional negotiating process in Central America for several years. We have important security interests in Central America that will be well served by a resolution of the conflict in Central America that brings genuine democracy, peace, and stability to the region. The test of any agreement lies in its implementation, and we will watch closely to see whether the provisions of the agreement are carried out in letter and spirit.

Nicaraguan acceptance of full democracy—including political pluralism; freedom of the press, religion, and assembly—is an essential element of the peace plan adopted by the five Central American Presidents. I believe that all democratic states need to do everything they can to encourage this development. In particular, they need to press the Sandinistas to fulfill the commitments they have made under the Guatemala agreement to open the Nicaraguan system. We want to see the Central American nations tackle their serious economic and social problems free from outside interference, and this means the withdrawal of the large number of Soviet and Cuban advisers in Nicaragua.

Without democracy in Nicaragua, it will be difficult to bring peace and security to Central America. Internal democracy is the only effective means of assuring that the Sandinistas abide by their commitments. As it now stands, the agreement contains sufficient ambiguities that the Sandinistas might use it to eliminate the resistance without bringing democracy to Nicaragua. The pressure of the resistance is what moved the peace effort forward to begin with. Withdrawal of this pressure would remove all incentives for the Sandinistas to negotiate in good faith and could leave the Sandinis-

tas virtually free to violate whatever they agree to. The United States is committed to helping the peace process move forward, and we will be watching very carefully to see that it is implemented fully and comprehensively.

International Concerns

Q. Do you accept the idea that small countries have a common cause in the world today and should give voice to it?

The President. Your question implies that there is somehow a difference between the cause or causes small countries should stand for—or that simply because they are small countries—in the ones they are compelled to stand for—and those that large countries support. I'm not at all sure I accept that premise.

Fundamentally all countries, large or small, should have common cause in the world today to live in peace and to prosper. Domestically, people have a right to a system based on a government of choice. Internationally, we have a right to an environment which allows people to live free from the constant fear that their national sovereignty will be encroached upon through the aggressive actions of others. The small countries certainly do have a common interest in the preservation of peace, and believe me, the big countries share the same interest.

Insofar as one considers the idea of common cause from the perspective of those broad principles, I think all countries share a common cause, and of course they should give voice to it. The United States, too, though not a small country, speaks out often and with great intensity on many causes. The term "small countries" is a very general one encompassing many different individual situations, so I'm not sure that even in moving the discussions from very broad principles to more immediate, pragmatic concerns, one can really talk about a common concern of small countries per se.

Northern European Nuclear-Free Zone

Q. Do you think that a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe would add to or subtract from Scandinavian security?

The President. I do not think that a north-

ern European nuclear-free zone would increase security in Scandinavia. The best way to maintain security in Scandinavia, and in all of Europe, is for NATO to remain strong in order to be able to deter any threat of conflict initiated by the Warsaw Pact. NATO is a defensive alliance of free and sovereign nations; all of its members contribute according to their abilities. International agreements that would appear to create two categories of NATO members would weaken the alliance and thereby increase instability and undercut deterrence.

Public Opinion Polls

Q. It has been generally noticed that the influence of your arguments with Congress is higher when your rating in the polls is higher. The very same or an equally good White House argument seems to carry less weight when your rating goes down. Do you have any comments on the conditions of a President's effectiveness set by the opinion polls?

The President. The United States system of government is very responsive to the opinions of the American people. I think this is the bedrock foundation of its strength as a system. Public opinion polls, while

often not on the top of a politician's list of favorite things, do reflect the mood and feelings of the American people—granted sometimes more, and sometimes less, accurately.

Again, one of the key features and greatest strengths of our system—and one particularly worth noting now at the 200th anniversary of our Constitution, the document which provides for the system itself—is the checks and balances between the different branches of the Government. While I may not always like a particular point of opposition, I don't think it's too surprising that some segments of Congress respond very quickly to the opinion polls and perhaps feel they can push harder at some times than others. I don't think, however, that a President's decisions regarding central issues of peace, security, and the economic health of this nation are really determined by the shifts, up and down, in the opinion polls. That's something every modern President just has to live with, and you go on and put through the programs you know are the right ones.

Note: The questions and answers were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 28.

Written Responses to Questions Submitted by the Swedish Newspaper Tidningarnas Telegrambyra September 28, 1987

Visit of Swedish Prime Minister Carlsson

Q. Why is it important to the United States to receive the Swedish Prime Minister as a visitor? Will this visit produce any tangible results?

The President. In view of the friendly relations between the United States and Sweden, it is only natural that there should be meetings at the highest level from time to time. The meeting is symbolic of the basic friendship that underlies the relations between our two countries, and it is also of practical value. It is useful to examine our bilateral relationship and to share views on a range of global issues where both the

United States and Sweden take an active interest. We need to continue to work even more closely together in a common effort to promote our shared democratic goals and objectives throughout the world.

Swedish Criticism of U.S. Policies

Q. Sweden has criticized the United States sharply over disarmament issues, Vietnam, Central America, and South Africa. Could you explain what effect, if any, this kind of criticism has on American decisions?

The President. No one expects that two independent countries are always going to

see eye-to-eye on every issue. Responsible, constructive criticism is accepted as such. The United States has global responsibilities and often sees issues from a different perspective than does a neutral country like Sweden. The point is that we should be able to express our differences clearly but also see if there are ways that we could work together to bring about a solution of the issue. For instance, I understand that Sweden does not agree with American support of the democratic resistance in Nicaragua, but we both share the goal of bringing about a true and full democratic system.

Q. Do you expect Sweden to be less vocal in its criticism of the United States after the visit of the Prime Minister?

The President. No country likes to hear itself criticized, but I cannot think of any country that has not been criticized. Americans do not expect that Sweden will in the future agree with every American policy or action. But I think that when two friendly countries disagree it is only natural that they first discuss their differences privately. They are then, of course, free to express themselves publicly if they choose.

Soviet Military Threat to Sweden

Q. Do you think there is a Soviet military threat against Sweden? If so, what is your opinion of the Swedish countermeasures?

The President. I believe that the Soviet Union has not abandoned its stated objective of promoting its Communist ideology throughout the world. I also think that the Soviets have built up a massive military force that far exceeds their requirements for simple defense. Continuing Soviet aggression in Afghanistan cannot be forgotten. Sweden itself is the best judge of whether or not there is a Soviet military threat towards it. I am aware that Sweden has long had a policy of armed neutrality and that you have built up a strong military force. However, Sweden itself must judge whether its forces are adequate to the task it faces.

Swedish Neutrality

Q. What is your view of Sweden's policy of neutrality? Do you fear a slide toward "Finlandization" in Sweden?

The President. I do not like the term

"Finlandization," and I do not think the Finns do either. The United States understands and respects Sweden's policy of armed neutrality. I know that this is a policy that is supported by a very large majority of the Swedish people. But I trust that Swedes are not neutral when it comes to promoting the values they cherish, values such as democracy, individual freedom, and respect for the rule of law. I believe that Sweden can and should do what it can to promote these fundamental beliefs and values. This is an area where the independent policies of the United States and Sweden overlap, and I hope that we can work together wherever possible.

Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev

Q. What is your opinion of Gorbachev, both as a person and as a reformer?

The President. General Secretary Gorbachev is an impressive Soviet leader with whom I have personally always gotten along well. As for the reform policies pursued by him and his government, I can only hope that they succeed in bringing greater openness, respect for human rights, and eventually, genuine democracy to Soviet society. This would benefit not only Soviet citizens but also U.S.-Soviet relations and the cause of peace. I have mentioned in some of my recent speeches steps which the Soviet Government could take to show that the new thinking in the Kremlin is supported by action as well as words. These steps include dismantling the Berlin Wall, renouncing the Brezhnev doctrine, or—most urgently—ordering a prompt and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. All of these steps are, unfortunately, long overdue and would be a credit to any Soviet leader who takes them.

U.S. Security Interests

Q. If Gorbachev is successful in his efforts to make the Soviet Union more efficient and if you achieve a disarmament agreement, might this not make the Soviet Union much stronger politically and economically? Is it really in the United States interest to contribute to that?

The President. It is in the United States interest to do whatever it can to deter war

and promote a more peaceful and democratic world. Properly negotiated and fully verifiable arms reduction agreements can be an important means of strengthening security, but of course, it is equally important to ensure that our defensive forces remain fully capable of deterring any danger of conflict.

Arms Control

Q. How close are you to a disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union on INF and START? After solving the Pershing 1A issue, are there any remaining obstacles?

The President. We have agreed in principle now on concluding a treaty eliminating an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles, and I hope that we will be able to accomplish this soon. Of

course, verification remains an essential issue on which important details still have to be worked out. We also agreed to seek progress on a START treaty that would cut in half the number of strategic arms held by the United States and the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the Soviets have not been willing to permit those negotiations to progress as far as I would like and are continuing to link progress to their efforts to cripple the United States SDI program, even though the Soviets themselves continue to conduct extensive strategic defense programs of their own.

Note: The questions and answers were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on September 29.

Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the Boards of Governors of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group September 29, 1987

Well, I appreciate this opportunity to speak with you today, and I thank you for that greeting. And I still remember when we first met together, not that long after my arrival in Washington. And then we talked about a revolution in economic thinking, a revolution whose ideas have proven themselves in the years since. And while progress has been made, formidable challenges remain. It's fitting then, on this occasion, that we make an assessment and discuss our vision of the world's economic potential, as mankind, quite literally, moves toward a new millennium.

Making an assessment and setting goals are, of course, nothing more than good management. And if there's anything that the working people, whose taxes contribute to the support of our institutions, have a right to insist upon, it is just that: good management. The world looks to us for leadership, to set a standard of honesty and responsibility and rational decisionmaking. I'd like to take this opportunity to thank each of you for the exemplary work that you've been doing and to express my deep

appreciation to Barber Conable and Michel Camdessus for their outstanding service.

You know, when I mention good management, that doesn't mean that everything always goes as expected. There is a story about a man who was invited to the opening of a new branch office of a business owned by his friend. And the man ordered some flowers sent over for the occasion but was shocked when he arrived to see that the inscription on the floral bouquet read, "Rest in Peace." [Laughter] Well, on the way home, he stopped at the florist to complain. And the florist simply said, "Well, you know, don't get upset. Just look at it this way: Today someone in this city was buried beneath a floral bouquet with the inscription, 'Good Luck in Your New Location.'" [Laughter]

But when I first addressed these institutions 6 years ago, the United States was suffering from economic decisions that can only be described as bad management. Inflation, stagnation, and 21-percent interest rates were the order of the day. Good management must be built on sound principle.

And before our economic revolution, the decisionmakers increasingly put their faith in solutions that, no matter how well-intended, did not work. Instead of encouraging enterprise and production, the emphasis was on bureaucratic planning and redistribution. Instead of demanding measurable results and strict accounting from public spending, the Federal spigot was turned on. Resources were drained from productive, job-creating enterprise in the private sector and siphoned to questionable, ineffective, and often counterproductive government programs. Decentralized decisionmaking in the private sector and in local and State government was supplanted by Federal planning, as new power and resources were centralized in the Federal bureaucracy.

But as we found out to our detriment, good management should never be mistaken with the expansion of government control and power over an economy. Good management, if it means anything, must bring a country closer to reaching its full potential and must improve the well-being of its people. Now, that's obviously not what was happening in the United States in the late 1970's. Policies then in place led to declining productivity, a drop in the gross national product, lower real take-home pay, and a dramatic rise in poverty. In 1980 the American people called for fundamental change, reform that would put this country solidly back on the road to growth, expansion, and long-term stability.

Our goal was to increase economic activity from the bottom up. And again, good management doesn't mean amassing control and authority; it means finding ways of achieving one's objectives. In dealing with a national economy, it means opening opportunity for the people and giving them the incentive to work more efficiently and to invest in economy-building projects and job-creating businesses; it means making certain that excessive regulation doesn't strangle enterprise; it means leaving enough resources in the private sector to serve the needs of investment; it means competition, even from foreign companies; and more than anything else, it means expanding freedom and opportunity for individuals instead of increasing the power of the state.

You know, it's said that an economist is the only professional who sees something working in practice and then seriously wonders if it works in theory. [*Laughter*] I can say things like that, because my degree was in economics. [*Laughter*] Whether one agrees with the theory, the results have been undeniable. The people of the United States have now enjoyed 57 straight months of growth, which will shortly be the longest peacetime expansion in our postwar era. Inflation, which was public enemy number one in 1980, has been cut by nearly two-thirds. Unemployment is down, and employment in our country is at the highest level in our history. Interest rates are down. Productivity is up. Real family income is up. And we've at last reversed the rise in poverty that began in 1979. Credit for these accomplishments belongs to the American people themselves, because as is often the case, the best thing government can do is get out of the way. And that's just what we've tried to do.

Our expanding economy has not only improved the well-being of our own citizens but has served as an engine for progress throughout the world. The expansion of trade and international commerce during the last 6 years has helped keep our prices low and industry and manufacturing competitive and our economy growing. At the same time, expanding trade with the United States has helped many countries weather an economic storm. Earnings from exports to the United States, in some cases, made all the difference. The central themes of our relations, especially with developing countries, have been, and should continue to be, trade rather than aid, mutual benefit rather than charity, a hand up rather than a handout.

There is, of course, the trade deficit, something of justifiable concern both in this country and abroad. Corrections are necessary, and there are strong signs that corrections are underway. It is vital, however, that policymakers not be stampeded into self-destructive action. There has been a chorus of American politicians playing to the fears of working people, singing the song of protectionism and charging that, as a result of the trade deficit, jobs will go overseas, un-

employment will rise, and the United States will be deindustrialized. It sounds good as part of a political campaign speech, but as an old Virginia lawyer once told his hometown jury, "tain't so." Unemployment has declined in the United States by 40 percent since late 1982, even as our trade deficit has grown. In Japan and Germany, countries with large trade surpluses, unemployment has gone up. And a long-term analysis shows us holding our own in manufacturing jobs. Importantly, from the end of 1982 to the present, during a time of large trade deficits, manufacturing jobs in the United States grew by more than a million. Furthermore, real wages in manufacturing, which declined by 7 percent from 1977 to 1981, increased by 2½ percent from 1981 to 1986.

The trade deficit is symptomatic of structural problems that we as managers need to address. Self-destructive protectionism, however, is definitely not the answer. I pledge to you that any protectionist legislation reaching my desk is going to be returned to the Congress with "Veto" on the cover. Part of the answer lies here at home. As I noted at the economic summit in Venice last June, it's imperative that the United States consistently reduce its Federal deficit spending. And today I will sign a bill that reinstates our deficit reduction targets as part of an extension of the borrowing authority of the United States Government. Now, this was not an easy decision. On one hand was the responsibility to preserve our 200-year history of meeting our obligations and maintaining credibility and reliability to our own citizens and to the world. On the other hand was the political debate being waged between those who favor either raising taxes or cutting defense—or both—and those of us committed to further reductions in domestic spending, reductions that will bring down the deficit and keep our economy strong.

As I said, it was a tough decision. It should be seen as a signal that America is not backing down from its responsibilities. But having made this decision, I call on the surplus countries to do the same: to find the political gumption to stimulate their economies without reigniting the fires of inflation. It must be recognized that the health

of the world economy does not hinge solely on U.S. budget policy. As U.S. budget and trade deficits decline, other countries must pick up the slack, particularly on imports from developing countries. Our focus—and this means all of us—must be on achieving balanced growth and more open economies. Secretary Baker and finance ministers from other major countries have been working hard to devise ways to achieve these dual goals. This is a true test of our ability to manage the international economy.

Certainly we cannot succeed without an open and fair world trading system. As the pace of change picks up, it is essential that the guidelines for trade, the rules of the road for international commerce, be kept up to date and that reoccurring areas of friction be dealt with. And that's why our government is totally committed to the success of the Uruguay round of trade negotiations. GATT has played a major role in expanding world trade and economic growth in these last four decades. Now it must address new areas, as technology and changing circumstances vastly increase the potential and scope of economic dealings between the peoples of the world. Services, investment, and intellectual property protection, formerly of only domestic concern, are now economic activities that are part of the arena of world commerce and must be included in any overall trade agreement.

The management decisions are ours to make. This is a time of tremendous opportunity to set in place a world trading structure that will carry mankind to new levels of enterprise, opportunity, and well-being. A good place to start achieving that laudable goal is with the substantive proposals the United States has set forth concerning agriculture. For too long, our farm policies have managed us instead of us managing them. Unless decisive and common action is taken, this growing burden could well overwhelm us. In the major Western economies, farm subsidies alone have jumped from \$10 to \$15 billion in 1970 to \$100 billion in 1986, and that is just the direct costs. Billions of dollars are being spent by governments for capital investment in agriculture that would be totally unnecessary with an open trading system. Consumers in nations

that limit agricultural imports are forced to pay higher prices, using family resources that could be put to much better use.

The unnecessary costs, market distortions, and the inefficiencies of current agriculture policy are part of the political and economic landscape throughout much of the Western World. And for this very reason—the commonality of the problem—we believe a broad-based, cooperative, international solution is the only answer. We're asking the people of the world to consider not piecemeal reform but revolutionary change in the production and distribution of food and fiber. We propose a total phaseout over the next 10 years of farm export subsidies, quotas, nontariff barriers, and all distortions of agricultural markets. In doing so, world food costs will be cut, government budgets spared, wasteful practices eliminated, and economic growth boosted on a broad international scale. We envision by the end of the century an open and free trading system in agricultural products throughout the vast expanses of the world. People of every land, communicating, cooperating and competing with each other, buying and selling, producing and distributing, finding more efficient ways of meeting the universal challenge of keeping food on the table.

And what we accomplish in agriculture may someday be used as a blueprint for opening borders throughout the planet to the totality of trade and commerce of every nation, a global free and fair trading system uniting and uplifting all mankind. And today, as we reaffirm our goals, let us underscore that as mankind moves forward we go together. No nation will be excluded, no people left behind. The United States remains fully committed to doing its part in working with those developing nations that are struggling to improve the well-being of their people. Overcoming the obstacles to progress in these poorer nations is, perhaps, the greatest management challenge in the world today. A cooperative solution to the debt problem is the only real answer. It involves a partnership among developing countries, commercial banks, and international financial institutions.

The huge debt burden carried in the Third World is not just their problem; it's our problem. And today let us pledge we

will solve it together. First and foremost, let us move forward with the understanding that there are no easy answers or quick fixes. Those who counsel otherwise are either mistaken or malicious. Now is the time for rational decisionmaking and responsible action. Those who choose to follow false prophets, to live in an illusion instead of seeking a solution, will be left with the consequences of their actions.

What the United States has proposed is a positive program, a forward strategy, if you will, that will see debt retired not by extracting wealth from nations that are already too poor but by increasing the level of economic activity and servicing the debt from new wealth. Last week Secretary Baker announced added U.S. support for this program with his endorsement of expanding the resources of the World Bank. A number of proposals to strengthen the IMF's ability to promote growth-oriented reform will be advanced soon. But this alone will not be enough. Leaders in debtor nations have tough decisions to make. Our slogan must be: It can be done.

And let no one suggest that some peoples are condemned by culture or race to misery and deprivation. Victor Hugo once wrote that "people do not lack strength; they lack will." And the will comes from a realization that one can accomplish what one sets out to do, that great deeds are possible. What's needed is commitment [and], as in all good management plans, a model that works. The world is not without such models. In the last 30 years there's been extraordinary growth and economic advancement in what were underdeveloped nations around the Pacific rim, some of which are poor in every significant natural resource, including adequate territory. These peoples have overcome great difficulties, improved their living standards, and become a major force in the world economy. They've done so using economic concepts similar to those that helped reinvigorate America's economy these last 5 years. Tax structures and regulatory policies designed to encourage investment and enterprise are the magic behind the miracle. And debt, coincidentally, has not been the serious roadblock to growth on the Pacific rim that it has been

elsewhere.

The success I'm talking about is in stark contrast to the misery and decline so evident in nations that have followed statist development models. In many parts of Africa, collectivism has brought decline even in countries rich in natural resources. There are, however, reasons for hope that the corner has been turned in Africa. A growing commitment to economic free reform is one of the most promising developments in years. Senegal, Ghana, Cameroon, and Malawi are some of the countries where market-oriented reforms are being put in place. The World Bank and the IMF are supporting these efforts. The United States will do all we can. U.S. economic efforts in sub-Saharan Africa are aimed toward ending hunger through economic growth, policy reform, and private sector development. My hope is that cooperative support for policy reform in Africa, including the active participation of other donor countries and institutions, can eliminate hunger in Africa by the end of the century.

The promise in some African countries is in stark contrast to the continuing plight of Ethiopia. It's time to admit that in Ethiopia statism, as well as drought, were the cause of a human tragedy that touched the hearts of people throughout the world. Yet even as food, medicine, and other humanitarian support has poured into Ethiopia, donated by caring people in Western countries, the Marxist government there, supported by the Soviet Union, has barreled down a path that obliterates hope for the future. Sadly, famine again is returning to that land, and it is becoming ever more clear that fundamental changes must occur if their 2,000-year-old society is to survive. Ethiopia, of course, is an extreme example. Nevertheless, there's an undeniable relationship between freedom and human progress in every part of the world. The more repressive the government, the more controlled the economy, the more confiscatory the taxation, the more likely a society is to sink into poverty and despair. John Dos Passos was so right when he observed: "Marxism has not only failed to promote human freedom. It has failed to produce food."

Leaders in China understand this—well, understood it, I should say, when they

began easing their country toward a freer economic system. Reform in China is now widespread and dramatic. From 1979 to 1985, the value of agricultural output in China rose at more than double the rate of the previous 15 years. Rural per capita income more than doubled. The total grain harvest went from 300 million tons in 1978 to over 400 million tons in 1984. In fact, in 1985, for the first time in 25 years, China became a net grain exporter. Similar progress is being enjoyed in other parts of the economy where reforms have been instituted.

Throughout the world, people are realizing that moving forward will require cutting themselves free from statist controls and from the weight of heavily subsidized government enterprises. In many industrialized countries, and in Third World countries as well, deregulation is the order of the day. Instead of looking at private enterprise as the adversary, many governments now see it as their best hope for progress and development. Tax rates are being lowered from New Zealand to France, from India to England. Government corporations are being privatized, denationalized, and cut off from subsidies from Ghana to Argentina, from the Philippines to Mexico.

The impetus for privatization directly complements efforts to reduce the net burden—the debt burden, I should say. Debt-equity swaps can offer a method of turning money-losing government operations into tax-paying private businesses. The debt is reduced, and a budget obligation is eliminated. The government is, thereby, free to use its resources and focus its attention on other matters. My Presidential Task Force on Project Economic Justice, headed by Ambassador William Mitterand, recommended that this method could be used not only to bring down the debt and stimulate privatization but to expand employee ownership, as well. Bold, innovative ideas like this are consistent with the overall American debt strategy and deserve to be given serious consideration. What is not needed now is business-as-usual. The United States will continue working with all those who are putting forth an honest effort to deal with the debt dilemma.

As vexing as our problems are, let no one doubt that democracy works. The unbridled energy of free people is the most powerful, creative, and moral force on this planet. And through all the political maneuvering and public debate, through the arduous negotiations, compromises, and balloting, one cannot but feel that he or she is part of something far more grand, far more historic. There is more evidence everyday that the future is on the side of the free. In the Western Hemisphere, the 1980's has seen an historic shift to democracy. Today 90 percent of the people of the Western Hemisphere live in countries that are either democratic or in transition to democracy. All who love liberty are heartened by the return to democracy in the Philippines and by recent events in South Korea. All this is reason for confidence that mankind is truly moving into a new era of freedom and prosperity, these two mutually reinforcing goals.

Andres Bello, intellectual giant of the last century, once wrote: "All truths touch on one another, from those that govern in the

path of planets in space to those that delineate the actions and reactions of political forces. Progress in one line attracts progress in all others. All are connected and propel one another forward." Today we are part of that process of free men and women that is propelling mankind forward. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and each of you are playing a vital role; and it has been my honor to speak with you today.

Thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: *The President spoke at 10:13 a.m. in the Plenary Hall at the Sheraton Washington Hotel at the meeting of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), the International Development Association, and the International Finance Corporation. In his opening remarks, he referred to Barber Conable, President of the World Bank, and Michel Camdessus, Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund.*

Nomination of William S. Rose, Jr., To Be an Assistant Attorney General

September 29, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate William S. Rose, Jr., to be an Assistant Attorney General (Tax Division), Department of Justice. He would succeed Roger Milton Olsen.

Since 1981 Mr. Rose has been an attorney with the McNair law firm in Hilton Head Island, SC. Prior to this he was with the firm of Frost and Jacobs, 1977-1981. From 1973 to 1976, Mr. Rose was an attorney

with the Office of Chief Counsel, Tax Court Litigation Division, Internal Revenue Service.

Mr. Rose graduated from the University of the South (B.A., 1970), the University of South Carolina Law School (J.D., 1973), and Georgetown University Law Center (LL.M., 1976). He was born March 9, 1948, in Columbia, SC. Mr. Rose is married, has three children, and resides in Hilton Head, SC.

Nomination of John R. Silber To Be a Member of the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba

September 29, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate John R. Silber to be a member of the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba for a term expiring October 27, 1989. This is a reappointment.

Since 1971 Dr. Silber has been president of Boston University. He was the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Texas at Austin, 1967–1970. Dr. Silber has written and published on the mainte-

nance of academic standards, the financing of higher education, and the philosophy of law. He has lectured extensively in the United States and Europe.

Dr. Silber graduated from Trinity University (B.A., 1947) and Yale University (M.A., 1952; Ph.D., 1956). He was born August 15, 1926, in San Antonio, TX. Dr. Silber is married, has seven children, and resides in Brookline, MA.

Remarks on Signing the Bill To Increase the Federal Debt Ceiling

September 29, 1987

The President. Good afternoon. Most bill signing ceremonies are happy occasions; this one is not. This is a bill that I'll sign with great reluctance, and this is a bill that does not do justice to the American people. The bill contains two main provisions.

The first provision extends the Federal Government's authority to borrow funds. This is an action that we just take to prevent the Government from defaulting on its obligations, and I have no objection whatsoever to doing so. In short, this extension of the debt limit is necessary and unavoidable.

But the second provision is one to which it is my duty as President to voice the strongest possible objection. For this second provision involves a so-called fix of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction law—a fix that doesn't fix things in the right way. Putting the country on a reliable track to lower deficits and, eventually a balanced budget—well, that's my goal. Unfortunately, the majority in Congress have already shown the inability to make the tough choices to reach those goals.

This administration's tax cuts fostered economic growth, so that over a 5-year period, Federal revenues have actually gone up more than 25 percent. But during the same period, Federal spending went up 46 percent. From 1982 to 1987, for every

dollar cut from the defense budget, Congress added two dollars—and I repeat, two dollars—to domestic spending. Pork-barrel spending, spending for pressure groups, spending with utter irresponsibility—that is the main cause of the Federal deficit. And now Congress sends me this bill, a bill that I must sign to keep the Federal Government from default.

The Gramm-Rudman-Hollings “fix” is different from the original version. This measure says that, if by a certain date Congress and the administration have failed to agree upon a budget that cuts the Federal deficit by \$23 billion, then that amount—\$23 billion—will automatically be sequestered, a fancy term for an across-the-board budget cut. The catch is this: In this version, even larger portions of the domestic budget will be exempt.

This means that the cuts in the defense budget will be deep—very deep. Our nation's security would be undermined, and my hand in dealing with the Soviets would be weakened at a time when we're engaged with the Soviets in sensitive and significant nuclear arms reduction talks. With this bill, then, Congress is telling me that we must pay for its uncontrolled domestic spending by endangering our national security or by raising your taxes, or both. Under

their arrangement, the bill would go directly to the American people, but I will not allow the American people to be blackmailed into higher taxes. There are some in Congress who think that they have me trapped—that this time I'll have no choice but to raise taxes or gut our defenses.

But, well, I'm reminded of a story. It's a true story. It concerns an American commander during the Second World War. In the Battle of the Bulge, the enemy entered the American perimeter with a surrender ultimatum. They demanded this surrender, and the commander sent back a response that consisted of only one word. The word was "nuts." To those who say we must weaken America's defenses: They're nuts. To those who say we must raise the tax burden on the American people: They, too, are nuts.

For there's a third choice, the right choice. It's the choice I campaigned for in '80 and again in '84. It's the choice embodied in the Economic Bill of Rights that I proposed this past Fourth of July weekend. It is to cut the excesses from the domestic budget, to impose upon the domestic budget, once and for all, a sense of responsibility, and the national good. The whole notion of fair treatment that forms such an essential part of our national character—the whole notion of fair treatment that demands that if defense spending is reduced, then a wider range of domestic accounts must be reduced as well.

The responsibility is on the shoulders of the majority in Congress. And I'm directing my Cabinet and my staff to do everything they can to cooperate and to reduce unnecessary spending on domestic programs. America can avoid a fiscal disaster, but Congress will not do it by putting their hand in your pocket or with a get-soft defense program. There are some in Congress who support our goals to reduce the deficit. And let's take a pledge today to stand together with a common goal, a common purpose: to reject those who continue to want to spend more, tax more, and defend less; to protect America's interests, and not the special interests.

Yes, I'll sign this bill. As I do so, from this moment on, the big spenders in Congress will have a fight on their hands.

[At this point, the President signed the bill.]

Reporter. Are there any big spenders in Congress up there, Mr. President?

The President. What did he say?

Q. Any big spenders up here? [Laughter]

Q. You're not President yet.

Q. He's the President.

The President. No, if you want to show your pleasure with what I said, give them a hand. [Applause] They're on our side.

Note: The President spoke at 3:21 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. H.J. Res. 324, approved September 29, was assigned Public Law No. 100-119.

Statement on Signing the Bill To Increase the Federal Debt Ceiling

September 29, 1987

I am today signing H.J. Res. 324, which raises the debt ceiling and amends the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985. In addition to the views expressed in my public remarks on this occasion, certain provisions of this joint resolution require technical comment as a matter of legislative history.

First, the Supreme Court's recent decision in *Bowsher v. Synar*, which struck

down portions of the original Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law, makes clear that the Comptroller General cannot be assigned executive authority by the Congress. In light of this decision, section 206(c) of the joint resolution, which purports to reaffirm the power of the Comptroller General to sue the executive branch under the Impoundment Control Act, is unconstitutional. It is only on the understanding that section

206(c) is clearly severable from the rest of the joint resolution, under the reasoning of the Supreme Court's 1987 decision in *Alaska Airlines v. Brock*, that I am signing the joint resolution with this constitutional defect.

Second, I wish to make clear my understanding that sections 252(a) (1) and (2) of the amended act—which direct the President to issue in strict accordance with the report submitted by the Office of Management and Budget—do not preclude me or future Presidents from exercising our authority to supervise the execution of the law by overseeing and directing the Director of OMB in the preparation and, if necessary, revision of his reports. If this provision were interpreted otherwise, so as to require the President to follow the orders of a subordinate, it would plainly constitute an unconstitutional infringement of the President's authority as head of a unitary executive branch.

Third, section 106(f) of the joint resolu-

tion purports to require the President to submit a budget that complies with certain conditions concerning reductions in spending. In light of the President's plenary power under Article II, sec. 3 of the Constitution to submit to the Congress any legislation he deems necessary and expedient, this provision must be viewed as merely precautionary.

Finally, to preserve the President's right to be presented with the full text of bills, resolutions, and orders submitted for his approval, I am construing section 251(a)(6)(C)(i) of the amended act—which contains parenthetical language that could be viewed as attempting to incorporate committee reports by reference into legislation—consistently with my understanding that material intended to have the force of law must itself be presented to the President.

Note: H.J. Res. 324, approved September 29, was assigned Public Law No. 100-119.

Proclamation 5709—AIDS Awareness and Prevention Month, 1987 *September 29, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and the disease AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) into which it can develop are a severe public health problem in the United States and elsewhere. HIV destroys the immune system and attacks the central nervous system, leading to devastating physical consequences and then to death. Because the virus has a long incubation period and the progress of the disease varies sharply from individual to individual, people can unwittingly carry and spread it for years.

AIDS afflicts thousands of Americans, and an unknown number are infected with HIV without showing any symptoms. The deadly virus is most commonly spread through sexual contact with an infected person, es-

pecially through homosexual practices; through intravenous drug use with contaminated needles; and through other transmissions of infected blood. Our country's huge and vital public health task of AIDS prevention and treatment is underway. Massive public and private efforts have already led to definite advances in research and treatment. Our understanding of AIDS remains incomplete, however, and much remains to be done before any vaccine or cure is found.

A Presidential Commission is studying the public health dangers of the HIV epidemic, including the medical, legal, ethical, social, and economic impact, and will issue a report next year, focusing on Federal, State, and local measures to protect the public from contracting the virus, to help find a cure for AIDS, and to care for those already afflicted.

Both medicine and morality teach the

same lesson about prevention of AIDS. The Surgeon General has told all Americans that the best way to prevent AIDS is to abstain from sexual activity until adulthood and then to restrict sex to a monogamous, faithful relationship. This advice and the advice to say no to drugs can, of course, prevent the spread of most AIDS cases. Millions already follow this wise and timeless counsel, and our Nation is the poorer for the lost contributions of those who, in rejecting it, have suffered great pain, sorrow, and even death.

Education is crucial for awareness and prevention of AIDS. Parents have the primary responsibility to help children see the beauty, goodness, and fulfillment of chastity before marriage and fidelity within it; know the blessings of stable family life; and say yes to life and no to drugs. Educational efforts should be locally determined and consistent with parental values. Educators can develop and relay accurate health information about AIDS without mandating a specific curriculum on this subject. Parents and educators should teach children not to engage in premarital sex or to use drugs, and should place sexuality in the context of marriage, fidelity, commitment, and maturity.

Prevention of AIDS also demands responsibility from those who persist in high-risk behavior that is spreading AIDS. While many of these individuals apparently have not been convinced by educational efforts, some have begun to modify their behavior. AIDS is a fatal communicable disease of wide proportions, and all people of goodwill

must realize that it is a public health problem whose prevention requires, at minimum, measures of detection, testing, and treatment now routinely taken against less dangerous communicable diseases. Our goal must be to protect the lives, the health, and the well-being of all our citizens. Public officials are entrusted with and sworn to the sacred duty of such protection. Our country needs wisdom and courage in this effort.

We also need to remember that the battle against AIDS calls for calmness, compassion, and conviction—calmness, to remember that fear is the enemy of just solutions; compassion, for all AIDS victims; and conviction, for the understanding and the willingness to combat this major public health threat effectively.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the month of October 1987 as AIDS Awareness and Prevention Month, and I call on Americans to observe this month with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 29th day of Sept., in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:26 p.m., September 30, 1987]

Proclamation 5710—National Lupus Awareness Month, 1987 *September 29, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Systemic lupus erythematosus or lupus is often called “the great impersonator” because it can mimic so many other diseases. A disorder of the body’s immune system, lupus may affect the joints, the skin, and

one or more internal organs (such as the kidneys, heart, and brain) in varying combinations. As many as 500,000 Americans—mostly women in their childbearing years—may suffer from this autoimmune disorder.

Normally, an individual’s immune system protects him or her from infection by producing antibodies that react with and elimi-

nate foreign substances. In autoimmune diseases such as lupus, however, the immune system can harm the individual by making antibodies that react against the person's own tissues.

Scientists are not yet sure why the body's antibody-producing system behaves this way, but they are conducting extensive research seeking the cause of the disease. Their research studies include: investigations on genes that underlie the development of the disease; research on a wide variety of immune system components and chemical messengers; research on initiation of abnormal immune reactivity; and hormonal studies. Such fundamental studies will lead to the design of improved treatments that alleviate the symptoms of lupus, or even better, attack the disease itself.

Thanks to recent research progress, lupus has become more a chronic disease than the acute and often fatal disorder it was decades ago. Nevertheless, deaths do occur, and new research findings and new approaches to diagnosis and treatment are needed to eliminate lupus. A concerted Federal-private research effort is working

to ultimately uncover the cause and cure for this distressing disease.

The Congress, by Public Law 100-106, has designated the month of October 1987 as "Lupus Awareness Month" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the month of October 1987 as Lupus Awareness Month. I urge the people of the United States and educational, philanthropic, scientific, medical, and health care organizations and professionals to observe this month with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:27 p.m., September 30, 1987]

Proclamation 5711—Child Health Day, 1987 *September 29, 1987*

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

For nearly 6 decades, Americans have observed Child Health Day in reaffirmation of our private and public national commitment to the good health of every child. During this year's observance, we should resolve to redouble our efforts to ensure that all aspects of health services needed by mothers, babies, and older children are properly identified, provided, and used, when and where needed. Appropriate perinatal, medical, nutritional, and educational services should be made available in accordance with family needs, including specialized services for those at risk for poor pregnancy outcomes such as low birth weight, delivery complications, or developmental

problems.

Babies and older children with special health needs such as severe chronic illnesses, birth impairments, and related conditions often require early intervention and highly specialized care. A family-centered, comprehensive program of medical, educational, and social services in the community and in the home may also be needed.

It is vital that approaches such as these be fostered throughout our country. Preventing low birth weights and infant mortality from other causes; reducing disability levels; and increasing the feasibility of home care in cases of severe chronic illness are objectives of high priority. Health professionals and staff members of State and local social service agencies can improve the effectiveness of health care delivery as they cooper-

ate fully in these approaches.

Federal health services, research, and financing agencies continue to focus upon support of such endeavors. For instance, the recently created Bureau of Maternal and Child Health and Resource Development has as a central element of its mission the promotion of case-managed perinatal care as well as care for babies and older children who have special health care needs. Real progress can be made through the combination of State and local action and cooperation and Federal encouragement and support.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, Presi-

dent of the United States of America, pursuant to a joint resolution approved on May 18, 1928, as amended (36 U.S.C. 143), do hereby proclaim Monday, October 5, 1987, as Child Health Day.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-ninth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:28 p.m., September 30, 1987]

Nomination of Beverly Fisher White To Be a Member of the National Museum Services Board *September 29, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Beverly Fisher White to be a member of the National Museum Services Board, National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, for a term expiring December 6, 1990. She would succeed Caroline H. Hume.

Mrs. White is currently involved with community and civic activities. Prior to this, she was chief of the bureau of rehabilitation, division of workers' compensation, at

the Florida Department of Labor and Employment Security, 1979-1980; was a candidate for Florida Secretary of State, 1977-1978; and was a business representative, economic development, in the Florida Department of Commerce, 1976-1977.

Mrs. White graduated from Florida State University (B.A., 1955; M.S., 1973). She was born November 2, 1932, in Branford, FL. Mrs. White is married, has two children, and resides in Palm Beach, FL.

Nomination of Six Members of the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace *September 29, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace for terms expiring January 19, 1991.

William Roscoe Kintner, of Pennsylvania. This is a reappointment. Since 1985 Mr. Kintner has been professor emeritus, political science, at the University of Pennsylvania. Prior to this he was a professor of political science at the Whar-

ton School, University of Pennsylvania, 1961-1985. From 1973 to 1975, Mr. Kintner was the United States Ambassador to Thailand. He served at the Foreign Policy Institute in Philadelphia as president, 1976; director, 1969-1973; and deputy director, 1961-1969. He has been a member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, 1970-1973, and a member of the academic board of the Inter-American Defense College, 1967-1972. Mr. Kintner graduated from the United States Military Academy (B.S.,

1940) and Georgetown University (Ph.D., 1949). He served in the United States Army, 1940–1961. Mr. Kintner was born April 21, 1915, in Lock Haven, PA. He has four children and resides in Bryn Athyn, PA.

Morris Irwin Leibman, of Illinois. This is a reappointment. Mr. Leibman was with Leibman, Williams, Bennett, Baird & Minnon in Chicago, IL, from 1945 until the firm merged in 1975 with Sidley and Austin, where he is currently a partner. Mr. Leibman graduated from the University of Chicago (Ph.D., 1931; J.D., 1933). He was born February 8, 1911, in Chicago, IL. Mr. Leibman is married and resides in Chicago, IL.

Sidney Lovett, of Connecticut. This is a reappointment. Mr. Lovett is currently a clergyman and president of Advisors Unlimited in Holderness, NH. Prior to this he was the senior minister at the First Church of Christ Congregational in West Hartford, CT, 1976–1986. Mr. Lovett graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1950) and received a master of divinity at Union Theological Seminary in 1953. He was born May 1, 1928, in Boston, MA. Mr. Lovett is married, has five children, and resides in Holderness, NH.

W. Bruce Weinrod, of the District of Columbia. This is a reappointment. Since 1982 Mr. Weinrod has been director, foreign policy and defense studies at the Heritage Foundation in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was legisla-

tive director/counsel for Senator John Heinz, 1979–1982. Mr. Weinrod graduated from American University (B.A., 1969), the University of Pennsylvania (M.A., 1973), and Georgetown University Law School (J.D. 1978). He served in the United States Army, 1969–1972. Mr. Weinrod was born January 7, 1947, in Washington, DC, where he currently resides.

Richard John Neuhaus, of New York. This is a reappointment. Since 1984 Mr. Neuhaus has been director of the Rockford Institute Center on Religion and Society in New York, NY. Prior to this he was program director for the Council on Religion and International Affairs, 1980–1984. Mr. Neuhaus graduated from Concordia Seminary (B.A., 1956; master of divinity, 1960). He was born May 14, 1936, in Ontario, Canada. Mr. Neuhaus currently resides in New York, NY.

Elsbeth Davies Rostow, of Texas. This is a new position. Since 1985 Mrs. Rostow has been Stiles Professor in American studies at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin. Prior to this she was dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, 1977–1983. Mrs. Rostow graduated from Barnard College (B.A., 1938), Radcliffe College (M.A., 1939), and Cambridge University (M.A., 1949). She was born October 20, 1919, in New York, NY. Mrs. Rostow is married, has two children, and resides in Austin, TX.

Remarks on Federal Loan Assets Sales September 30, 1987

The President. Well, thank you, Secretary Lyng. Jim, you have it now, so that ought to reduce this fiscal year's deficit by over \$3 billion. And I welcome Professor Linowes and the members of the Privatization Commission. These loan assets sales were very successful, as you can see, and they sold easily and on very favorable terms because of a great deal of hard work on the part of officials at the Departments of Education and Agriculture and by people like Joe Wright at OMB.

The loan sales proceeds of approximately \$3.41 billion constitute a significant step toward reducing the Federal Government's deficit, as I've said, and even more can be done to privatize Federal loans. Presently,

the Federal Government is the Nation's largest lender, with \$252 billion in direct loans, \$450 billion in loan guarantees, and \$453 billion in government-sponsored loans. We will be taking a close look at these assets to determine which loans can be better handled by the private sector.

But while all agree that the deficit must be cut, there is a new roadblock to the promising approach of asset sales. As part of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings "fix" in the debt ceiling extension, Congress prohibited counting the proceeds of asset sales toward reducing the deficit. This reflects the choice of some in Congress to achieve deficit reductions through higher taxes or lower national defense. Others agree with our posi-

tion to reduce the deficits through cuts in wasteful domestic spending and through privatization measures such as the one that we announce here today. Any congressional restriction on deficit reduction which would increase the tax burden on every taxpayer is wrong.

The difference in perspective here is useful. There are those who believe in less government and low taxation, and there are those who believe in big government and high taxation, and that's a choice I've always felt we could confidently leave to the American people. They've made their feelings known in the past, and I think they will do so again. So, we're going to carry on, and you, I think, are contributing nobly to this task that we have of getting the Government back into the business of government and getting it out of the hair of private business in this country.

So, God bless you all, and thank you for what you are doing.

Supreme Court Nomination

Reporter. Mr. President, it sounds like your Judge Bork nomination is in trouble.

The President. Well, I'm very optimistic. I think that common sense will prevail, and they will realize he's the best choice on the market today for that post.

Q. Senator Cranston says that he's licked already. He's counted the votes.

The President. Well, Senator Cranston's been wrong before. [*Laughter*]

CIA Covert Operations

Q. What do you think of Casey's off-the-books operations, which has stunned this town and the country?

The President. What?

Q. Off the books, Casey's operations?

The President. I think that there's an awful lot of fiction about a man who was

unable to communicate at all and is now being quoted as if he were doing nothing but talk his head off.

Q. Well, did you sign the directive that led to a massacre in Beirut?

The President. No. And I have a copy of the measure that I signed.

Q. Can we see it?

The President. It was nothing but that we were all approving a plan requested of us by the Government of Beirut—of Lebanon, I should say—to help them counter terrorism. Never would I sign anything that would authorize an assassination. I never have, and I never will, and I didn't.

Q. Did he carry on any actions without your knowledge, Mr. President?

The President. You're keeping all these people from getting back—[*laughter*]—

Q. Did he carry out any covert actions without your knowledge—Mr. Casey?

The President. Not that I know of.

Q. Well, don't you think you should have known? It seems to me that he did a lot of things you didn't know about.

The President. No, I think I did know, and there are a lot of things he's being charged with right now. I was going to say credited with, but you couldn't describe them as charged with. And I don't think any of them have a basis in fact.

Note: The President spoke at 10:22 a.m. to the President's Commission on Privatization in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his opening remarks, the President referred to a check for the profits from the sale of Federal loan assets. He also referred to Secretary of Agriculture Richard Lyng; James C. Miller III, Director of the Office of Management and Budget; David F. Linowes, Chairman of the President's Commission on Privatization; and Joseph R. Wright, Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Remarks at a White House Briefing on the Nomination of Robert H. Bork To Be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States

September 30, 1987

The President. Well, welcome to the Old Executive Office Building. I'm told that this grand old building is considered part of the White House these days, but it wasn't so many years ago that this building housed the entire Departments of War and Navy and the Department of State. They call it progress, but I'm not so sure.

Well, a lot of historic decisions have been taken in this building, but none more important than the reason that we rally today. Americans who are committed to a Supreme Court with the highest standards speak with one voice. Judge Bork is not the conservative or liberal nominee; he is America's nominee to the United States Supreme Court. And just like my other nominees to the Court, he's not going to promote my political views; he's going to apply a superb legal mind to the task of interpreting the Constitution and the laws of the United States. The support for him reveals the fact that he is superbly qualified, an individual of unsurpassed integrity, and a principled advocate of judicial restraint. We will not be satisfied with allowing special interests to determine the qualifications to serve on our country's highest court.

In the realm of legal philosophy and jurisprudence, as you know, labels can be deceiving. There's a little story about the great Supreme Court Justice, Benjamin Cardozo, that makes the point. Many years ago, when he was serving on the Court, he received a letter from a member of the public, and it read: "Dear Judge Cardozo, I read in the newspaper that you are a liberal judge. Will you send me \$10, as I'm really very hard up. Sincerely." I don't have the name. [*Laughter*]

But more relevant than a political label are the qualifications of the nominee, and all of us better understand the significance of that point. Our history commands that the nomination of a Supreme Court Justice by a President and the act of confirmation by the United States Senate be carried out

with the highest level of statesmanship. Whether President, Senator, or concerned citizen, when we enter the halls of justice and select the next steward of our Constitution, Americans traditionally leave outside their partisan leanings and the narrow special interests. Each of us owes a sacred debt to our ancestors, who established the rule of law in this Republic, and to the citizens of the future, to whom we entrust our nation's destiny. In a special way, this duty now falls upon the United States Senate as it nears a crossroad, a crossroad of conscience, as it prepares to decide on the confirmation of Robert Bork. Let us insist that the Senate not give in to noisy, strident pressures and that elected officials not be swayed by a deliberate campaign of disinformation and distortion.

Retired Chief Justice Warren Burger took the unprecedented step of addressing the Senate Judiciary Committee because of, in his words, "the hype and disinformation on Bork." And today all of us join Chief Justice Warren Burger in urging the Senate to reject those who want a Justice who makes law and approve Robert Bork, who believes a Justice should interpret the law. [*Applause*] It's apparent that Chief Justice Burger is not alone.

Other noteworthy people are coming forward. In his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Howard Krane, managing partner of one of our nation's most prestigious law firms and long-time associate of Justice Bork—Judge Bork, I should say—stated that Judge Bork has proven to be "a man free from prejudice toward any group, who has exemplified the values of equality throughout his life." Well, Mr. Krane told this compelling story of how, as a young associate in a major law firm, Robert Bork courageously confronted the senior partners in that firm who had decided to deny employment to Mr. Krane simply because he was Jewish. Robert Bork

urged those partners to consider Mr. Krane solely on the merits, and today Mr. Krane is the managing partner of that law firm.

Last week President Carter's counsel, Lloyd Cutler, testified in support of Judge Bork's nomination. Although he disagrees with Robert Bork on some political issues, Lloyd Cutler is convinced that Judge Bork's judicial philosophy represents the mainstream of contemporary thought. He believes, as I do, that Robert Bork's training, experience, character, and sheer intellectual capacity give him the potential to be a great Supreme Court Justice, like the legendary Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Brandeis.

This is high praise, indeed, from a Democrat. But it's in keeping with a well-respected tradition that we Americans apply to the selection of Supreme Court Justices: a President, whether Republican or Democrat, liberal or conservative, seeks out the best qualified person who generally shares the President's judicial philosophy. The Senate then decides whether the nominee meets the qualifications to serve. This way, over the years, the Supreme Court becomes composed of the best minds reflecting varied but accepted judicial philosophies. Now is not the time to change the standard, to break that tradition. And I know you join me in calling for statesmanship, not partisanship, in the confirmation of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court.

There's a growing and impressive list of other leaders of our society who support the confirmation of Judge Bork: two sitting Justices of the Supreme Court, Justices Stevens and White; four former Attorneys General; legal scholars from around the country; the American Farm Bureau; the Concerned Women of America, and last week, leaders of law enforcement organizations representing over 400,000 peace officers and prosecutors. This diverse and distinguished group, among many others, has stepped forward, because they recognize an eminent and honorable legal scholar and jurist and resent the unfair and unfounded attacks that are being made.

Beyond his scholarship and judicial qualifications, there's nothing more significant for his confirmation than the war on crime. Last week, Fred Foreman, representing the

Nation's district attorneys, observed that there is a large group in this country made up of women, minorities, the weak, and the aged. Although not well-organized, he reckoned they were in Judge Bork's corner, because they are the victims of crime. And I guess he ought to know; he and the thousands of young prosecutors around the country are the ones who have to vindicate the rights of the victims and send the criminals to jail. Now, both as Solicitor General and as judge, Robert Bork has been a principled champion in the fight against crime, and that's the kind of Justice honest citizens deserve to have on the Court.

You know, sometimes we may not always hear of some of the ridiculous decisions that are handed down and why we need judges like Judge Bork. Out in my own State, when I was Governor of California, there were two officers on the drug detail. They had, based on certain evidence, a warrant to legally go and inspect a home for drugs. And they went in, and they couldn't find the drugs. It was supposed to be heroin. The husband and wife stood there. And as they were just going out the door, one of them turned. There was a baby there in the crib. And he removed the baby's diaper, and there was the heroin. The case was thrown out of court, because the baby hadn't given its permission to be searched. We've had enough of that.

Judge Bork has argued for more reasonable interpretations of criminal procedures that assure both justice and the prompt conviction of criminals rather than allowing dangerous criminals to go free on unjustified technicalities. He has not hesitated to overturn convictions where genuine constitutional rights have been violated. He has consistently rendered judgment in a clear-eyed manner with the aim of protecting the rights of the innocent. And that's what justice should be all about—protecting our rights as Americans. And that's why 400,000 law enforcement officers have thrown their support behind Judge Bork, the battle against crime, and for the rule of law. Criminals terrorize the streets in too many of America's cities.

It's time to decide whether our children and our children's children deserve an

America in which the concern is for their safety and not just the protection of the criminal. I saw a surprising statistic the other day. Nearly one-third of the Supreme Court's cases involve matters of criminal justice. The next Justice on that Court better be ready to deal with that challenge; the next Justice better be Robert Bork.

Now, we all have a lot of work to do getting out the message for Judge Bork. And I'd like to thank those of you who have already devoted so much time and energy to our cause. If he's going to overcome the storm of distortions that have swirled up against him, each of us, and Americans across the country, are going to have to double the effort on behalf of the truth. Three choices are what this battle is all about: the choice between liberal judges who make up the law or sound judges who interpret the law; the choice between liberal judges whose decisions protect criminals or firm judges whose decisions protect the victims; the choice between liberal judges selected by the liberal special interests or distinguished judges selected to serve the people.

But before closing, it's worthy considering why Judge Bork's scholarly criticism of some court rulings has aroused such an attack. Over 50 years ago, the English legal scholar Sir Frederick Pollock wrote regarding our Oliver Wendell Holmes: "Some people seem to think that Mr. Justice Holmes is always dissenting. Does he really dissent much oftener than his learned brethren, or is the impression due to the weight rather than the number of the dissents?" I can't help suspecting that it is the strength of Judge Bork's judicial analysis that has driven some to try to defeat the man after failing to defeat his ideas. It would be a sorry day for this country if fear of an idea well expressed were to deny the country the wisdom of that idea.

I do not believe the United States Senate will succumb to allowing the special interests to choose Supreme Court members. The men and women raised up by the people to that great chamber will listen and will recognize that Judge Robert Bork will enrich and invigorate that court and the Constitution it guards. Again, I thank all of you, and God bless all of you.

Gentleman has a question?

Q. I'm a black pastor. My name is George Lucas, and I'm the pastor of the Race Street Baptist Church and a veteran of two wars, the Korean war and the Vietnam war. I support you, and I've been a supporter of the President. However, we have a statement by Dr. J. Vernon McGee that says this country is either facing revival or revolution. And I think that the Judge Bork nomination is indicative of the times that we have, that we as Americans need to get back to revival, to the word of God, and to the traditional things that we have in our society.

We have an overabundance of people that support pornography, sex, liquor, drugs, the whole bit. And until we bring revival back into the Nation, we need our Congressmen, our Senators, the State government—I ordered you a Bible, Mr. President, from California, and, God, I don't know what happened. It didn't come in time. [*Laughter*] I'll send it with your name on it. It's the Dr. J. Vernon McGee "Through the Bible Bible." And this is what we need: We need revival in this country so that the people know what this country's about, what we are for, so that when a nomination like Judge Bork comes up we can get behind it and do this.

What happens: We allow certain black leaders who are not really black leaders. Jesse Jackson's not a leader; he's not my leader. I don't cotton to the fact of black leaders going to Communist countries, putting their arms around Fidel Castro and the rest of these rascals, talking about they love America.

I came up in the ghetto of New York City. My mother was on welfare. And I live down in Petersburg. Thank God for all that He has done for me and this country. I would give my life to this country anytime, and I thank God for the privilege to even be here today. I promised the Lord Jesus Christ that if he allowed me an opportunity to speak today I would say what's on my heart. And America needs to get back to the word of God and the study of the word of God so that we can do what's right and have this country go on upwards and onward to the destiny that it's destined to

do.

We need to support you, and I call on Americans, black Americans, today, of all persuasions, some that are poor. And you were right, Mr. President; they do support you. But we don't have a forum, and the only time that I had a chance to speak was today. And I want to just use it and say, God bless you, and keep on keeping on, and we're calling on Americans all over to support you.

The President. May I just respond to the reverend and tell you that when I came into this office, I came in with a declaration that I believed this nation was hungering for a spiritual revival. And I believe all over the country that is happening, and I've tried every way I can to help bring it about. You're so absolutely right. And Abraham

Lincoln—who they tell me is still in the White House over there—[laughter]—that Abraham Lincoln said that he could not conduct the duties of this office for 15 minutes if he did not believe that he could call upon one who is stronger and wiser than all others and that he had been driven to his knees many times because there was no place else to go. Well, I subscribe to that. And the only thing that worries me is that sometimes I wonder if maybe I'm going to call and He's going to give me a busy signal, because I do it so often. [Laughter]

Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:34 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Proclamation 5712—Implementation of Agreement Concerning Certain Pasta Articles From the European Community *September 30, 1987*

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

1. On September 15, 1987, the United States and the European Community (EC) entered into an agreement to resolve the long-standing dispute over EC exports of subsidized pasta products to the United States. I have now determined, pursuant to section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (Act) (18 U.S.C. 2411), to take action necessary to implement the agreement. In accordance with the agreement, certain pasta articles the product of any member country of the EC, exported on or after October 1, 1987, will be denied entry into the customs territory of the United States unless accompanied by documentation establishing that such imports are receiving reduced refund payments from the EC or are benefitting solely from Inward Processing Relief from the EC.

2. Section 301(a) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2411(a)) authorizes the President to take all appropriate and feasible action within his

power to enforce the rights of the United States under any trade agreement, or to respond to any act, policy, or practice of a foreign country or instrumentality that is unjustifiable, unreasonable, or discriminatory and burdens or restricts U.S. commerce. Pursuant to section 301(a), such actions can be taken on a nondiscriminatory basis or solely against the foreign government or instrumentality involved. Section 301(d) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2411(d)) authorizes the President to take action on his own motion and on an expedited basis if required.

3. I have decided, pursuant to section 301(a) and (d) of the Act, to direct the United States Trade Representative to take such actions as he deems necessary and appropriate to enforce the provisions of the agreement. The U.S. Customs Service shall exclude from entry, or withdrawal from warehouse for consumption, into the customs territory of the United States all shipments the product of any member country of the EC, exported on or after October 1, 1987, of macaroni, noodles, vermicelli, and similar alimentary pastes composed primari-

ly of wheat, provided for in items 182.35 and 182.36 part 15B, schedule 1 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) (19 U.S.C. 1202), unless accompanied by such documentation as is determined by the USTR to be necessary to ensure compliance with the agreement. The U.S. Customs Service shall collect and assemble such data as are necessary to monitor compliance with the agreement.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, including but not limited to section 301(a) and (d) of the Trade Act of 1974, do proclaim that:

1. The U.S. Customs Service shall exclude from entry, or withdrawal from warehouse for consumption, into the customs territory of the United States all macaroni, noodles, vermicelli, and similar alimentary pastes composed primarily of wheat, provided for in items 182.35 and 182.36, part 15B, schedule 1 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States, the product of any member country of the European Community unless accompanied by such documentation as the

United States Trade Representative determines necessary and appropriate to enforce the agreement.

2. The United States Trade Representative shall determine what actions are necessary to enforce the agreement and shall notify the U.S. Customs Service of the documentary requirements necessary to permit entry, or withdrawal from warehouse for consumption, into the customs territory of the United States of such pasta articles.

3. The U.S. Customs Service shall collect and assemble such data as are necessary to monitor compliance with the agreement.

4. This Proclamation shall be effective with respect to such pasta articles exported from the EC on or after October 1, 1987.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 30th day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:50 a.m., October 1, 1987]

Memorandum on the Restriction of Pasta Imports From the European Economic Community September 30, 1987

Memorandum for the United States Trade Representative

Subject: Determination under Section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974

Pursuant to section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (19 U.S.C. 2411), I have determined to take actions necessary to implement an agreement signed on September 15, 1987, with the European Community (EC) with respect to exports of certain pasta products to the United States. In accordance with the agreement, the U.S. Customs Service shall exclude from entry, or withdrawal from warehouse for consumption, into the customs territory of the United States all shipments the product of

any member country of the EC, exported on or after October 1, 1987, of macaroni, noodles, vermicelli, and similar alimentary pastes composed primarily of wheat, provided for in items 182.35 and 182.36 part 15B, schedule 1 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) (19 U.S.C. 1202), unless such shipments are accompanied by appropriate documentation establishing that such imports are receiving reduced refund payments from the EC or are benefitting solely from Inward Processing Relief from the EC. The United States Trade Representative (USTR) shall determine what actions are necessary to enforce the agreement and shall notify the U.S. Customs Service of the documentary evidence neces-

sary to permit entry of such pasta articles. The U.S. Customs Service will collect and assemble such data as are necessary to monitor the agreement. I have determined to take this action on my own motion on an expedited basis under the authority of section 301(d)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2411(d)(1)).

Statement of Reasons

The agreement implemented by this determination resolves a long-standing dispute over certain EC subsidy practices I previously determined to be unfair (47 FR 31841). On November 30, 1981, the USTR initiated an investigation of export subsidies on certain pasta products from the EC (46 FR 59675), on the basis of a petition filed by the National Pasta Association under section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974. The United States pursued this matter under the dispute resolution procedures of the Subsidies Code. In 1983, a Subsidies Code panel found, after lengthy and careful examination of the arguments of both sides, that EC export subsidies on pasta products are inconsistent with Article 9 of the Subsidies Code. The EC and certain other countries declined to permit adoption of the panel ruling. Subsequent efforts to achieve a settlement through bilateral negotiations were unsuccessful.

In the context of a separate dispute with the EC concerning tariff preferences granted by the EC on certain citrus products, I

imposed increased duties on certain pasta products under Proclamation 5354 of June 21, 1985 (50 FR 26153), as modified by Proclamation 5363 of August 15, 1985 (50 FR 33711). These increased duties on pasta products were withdrawn, effective August 21, 1986, by action of the USTR under authority delegated by Proclamation 5363, as a result of the negotiation of a satisfactory settlement of the dispute concerning citrus preferences (51 FR 30146). One of the terms of that settlement with the EC was that the United States and the EC would negotiate a satisfactory settlement of the dispute over EC pasta subsidies.

The agreement implemented by this determination and accompanying Proclamation is the result of those negotiations. The agreement reasonably restricts the EC subsidies on pasta exported to the United States, and therefore is an appropriate and feasible response to enforce the rights of the United States under the trade agreements of the United States or to respond to EC acts, policies, and practices that are unjustifiable, unreasonable, or discriminatory and burden or restrict U.S. commerce.

This determination shall be published in the *Federal Register*.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:51 a.m., October 1, 1987]

Note: The memorandum was printed in the "Federal Register" of October 2.

Executive Order 12610—Continuance of Certain Federal Advisory Committees

September 30, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, and in accordance with the provisions of the Federal Advisory Committee Act, as amended (5 U.S.C., App.), it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Each Advisory Committee listed below is continued until September

30, 1989:

(a) Advisory Committee on Small and Minority Business Ownership; Executive Order No. 12190 (Small Business Administration).

(b) Committee for the Preservation of the White House; Executive Order No. 11145, as amended (Department of the Interior).

(c) Federal Advisory Council on Occupa-

tional Safety and Health; Executive Order No. 12196, as amended (Department of Labor).

(d) President's Committee on White House Fellowships; Executive Order No. 11183, as amended (Office of Personnel Management).

(e) President's Committee on the International Labor Organization; Executive Order No. 12216 (Department of Labor).

(f) President's Committee on Mental Retardation; Executive Order No. 11776 (Department of Health and Human Services).

(g) President's Committee on the National Medal of Science; Executive Order No. 11287, as amended (National Science Foundation).

(h) President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports; Executive Order No. 12345, as amended (Department of Health and Human Services).

(i) President's Economic Policy Advisory Board; Executive Order No. 12296 (Office of Policy Development).

(j) President's Export Council; Executive Order No. 12131, as amended (Department of Commerce).

(k) President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee; Executive Order No. 12382, as amended (Department of Defense).

Sec. 2. Notwithstanding the provisions of any other Executive order, the functions of the President under the Federal Advisory Committee Act that are applicable to the committees listed in Section 1 of this Order, except that of reporting annually to the Congress, shall be performed by the head of the department or agency designated after each committee, in accordance with guide-

lines and procedures established by the Administrator of General Services.

Sec. 3. The following Executive Orders, which established committees that have terminated or whose work is completed, are revoked:

(a) Executive Order No. 12490, establishing the National Commission on Space.

(b) Executive Order No. 12427, establishing the President's Advisory Council on Private Sector Initiatives.

(c) Executive Order No. 12526, establishing the President's Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management.

(d) Executive Order No. 12511, establishing the President's Child Safety Partnership.

(e) Executive Order No. 12503, as amended by Executive Order No. 12529, establishing the President's Commission on Americans Outdoors.

(f) Executive Order No. 12435, establishing the President's Commission on Organized Crime.

(g) Executive Order No. 12575, establishing the President's Special Review Board.

(h) Executive Order No. 12546, establishing the Presidential Commission on the Space Shuttle Challenger Accident.

Sec. 4. Executive Order No. 12534 is superseded.

Sec. 5. This Order shall be effective September 30, 1987.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
September 30, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:56 a.m., October 1, 1987]

Message to the Congress Reporting Budget Deferrals October 1, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report 13 deferrals of budget authority totaling \$1,776,737,627.

The deferrals affect programs in the

Funds Appropriated to the President and the Departments of Agriculture, Defense (Military and Civil), Health and Human Services, State, Transportation, and Treasury.

The details of these deferrals are con-

tained in the attached report.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 1, 1987.

Note: The attachments detailing the proposed deferrals were printed in the "Federal Register" of October 8.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Soil and Water Resources Conservation

October 1, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

Transmitted herewith is the annual report required by Section 7(b) of the Soil and Water Resources Conservation Act of 1977 (P.L. 95-192) as amended by P.L. 99-198.

The Soil and Water Resources Conservation Act of 1977 (RCA) requires the Secretary of Agriculture to appraise the condition of the soil, water, and related resources on the non-Federal lands of the Nation, and to develop a national soil and water conservation program for assisting landowners and land users in their future conservation activities on these lands.

The first appraisal, completed in 1980, was based primarily on the Department of Agriculture's (USDA) 1977 Natural Resources Inventory (NRI). The 1977 NRI was the most comprehensive and refined body of such data that had ever become available. It provided a solid foundation for the appraisal of the program.

The first program report, a National Program for Soil and Water Conservation, was completed in 1982. It set national conservation objectives and priorities, focused corrective action on the areas of the country with the most critical problems, and strengthened the existing partnership among local and State agencies, organizations, and the Federal Government for

dealing with resource problems. Guided by this program, USDA has extended more technical and financial assistance than ever before in areas with the most serious problems of soil erosion and dwindling water supplies.

The USDA has been reshaping its conservation programs, using the 1980 appraisal and 1982 program as its blueprint. In addition, these two vital tools have enabled the USDA to analyze how its other programs, aside from those specifically for conservation, affect the condition of soil and water resources.

This annual report summarizes fiscal year 1986 soil and water conservation programs and activities, and progress being made under the 1982 National Program for Soil and Water Conservation. Accomplishment data included in the report are consistent with those reported in the 1988 budget request and the accompanying explanatory notes. I would like to reaffirm my support for the ongoing effort against soil erosion and other resource problems. I am confident that further progress can be made towards the goal of reasonable and judicious use of this country's important natural resources.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 1, 1987.

Nomination of Earl E. Gjelde To Be Under Secretary of the Interior *October 1, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Earl E. Gjelde to be Under Secretary of the Interior. He would succeed Ann Dore McLaughlin.

Mr. Gjelde has been Chief Operating Officer at the Department of the Interior since February 1987. Prior to this he was Counselor to the Secretary of the Interior, 1985–1987. He was Chief Operating Officer and Special Assistant for Policy and Pro-

grams at the Department of Energy, Washington, DC, 1982–1985. He was Acting Administrator and Deputy Administrator at Bonneville Power Administration in Portland, OR, 1981–1982.

Mr. Gjelde graduated from Oregon State University (B.S., 1966). He was born August 1, 1944, in Portland, OR. He is married, has two children, and resides in Falls Church, VA.

Nomination of Melvin N.A. Peterson To Be Chief Scientist of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration *October 1, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Melvin N.A. Peterson to be Chief Scientist of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration at the Department of Commerce. This is a new position.

Since 1971 Mr. Peterson has been director and principal investigator, Deep Sea Drilling Project at Scripps Institute of Oceanography, University of California, San Diego. Prior to this, he was chief scientist at Deep Sea Drilling Project, 1967–1971; as-

sistant and acting chairman at Scripps Institution's graduate department of oceanography, 1967; and assistant / associate professor of oceanography at Scripps Institution, 1962–1967.

Mr. Peterson graduated from Northwestern University (B.S., 1951; M.S., 1956) and Harvard University (Ph.D., 1960). He served in the United States Navy, 1951–1954. Mr. Peterson was born May 27, 1929, in Evanston, IL. He is married, has four children, and resides in Del Mar, CA.

Proclamation 5713—National Poison Prevention Week, 1988 *October 1, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

In the 27 years our Nation has observed National Poison Prevention Week, thousands of children under age five have been saved from accidental poisonings thanks to greater public awareness of poison prevention and the use of child-resistant bottle and container closures. This success story is due to the combined efforts of consumers,

health professionals, and government and industry. All these groups are represented on the Poison Prevention Week Council. Through the annual observance of National Poison Prevention Week, parents have been urged to keep household chemicals and medicines out of the reach of young children. Poison control centers have helped save lives by offering emergency advice to consumers who call when a poisoning occurs. The United States Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) has required

that potentially hazardous household chemicals and medicines be packaged with effective child-resistant closures.

Data recently compiled by CPSC show that the number of child poisonings has decreased since child-resistant packaging began to be used. In 1972, when the first drugs were required to have child-resistant packaging, 96 children died from accidental drug ingestion. By 1974, the first year in which child-resistant packaging was required for most prescription drugs, there were 57 fatalities. In subsequent years, other products were required to have child-resistant packaging, and the number of deaths due to ingestion of these drugs continued to decline. In 1984, the last full year for which we have received information on drug ingestion fatalities, there were 31 deaths.

Child-resistant packaging has saved many lives, but there is more to do. We must remind new parents and grandparents of the need to keep medicines and household chemicals out of the reach of children. Underlying our poison prevention program is the assumption that virtually all childhood poisonings are preventable.

To encourage the American people to learn more about the dangers of accidental poisonings and to take more preventive measures, the Congress, by a joint resolution approved September 26, 1961 (75 Stat. 681), authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation designating the third week of March of each year as "National Poison Prevention Week."

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the week beginning March 20, 1988, as National Poison Prevention Week. I call upon all Americans to observe this week by participating in appropriate ceremonies and events and by learning how to prevent childhood poisonings.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this first day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:36 p.m., October 2, 1987]

White House Statement on Endorsements of the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork

October 1, 1987

During the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on the confirmation of U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Robert Bork to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, which concluded yesterday, 63 individuals appeared in his behalf. These 63 individuals and the groups they represent demonstrate the broad-based support Judge Bork's con-

firmation enjoys. Endorsements from such an impressive array of, among others, former high government officials, members of the legal establishment, and academics are a testament to Judge Bork's outstanding qualifications to serve as an Associate Justice and conclusively illustrate the great respect his judicial philosophy commands.

Informal Exchange With Reporters on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork

October 1, 1987

Q. Have you lost the Bork nomination?

The President. I don't think that's decided yet, and I'm working my head off to make sure that we don't lose it.

Q. The numbers are against you, sir, don't you think? The numbers seem to be going the other way.

The President. I don't think we have an accurate count yet because of the large number that claim to be undecided.

Q. Mr. President, there's a real perception on the Hill, sir, that this is headed downhill at an ever-increasing rate.

The President. Well, if it is, I'm going to try to interrupt it. But I haven't seen signs of that as yet. Frankly, I think it has been a disgraceful situation.

Q. Why? Why is that, sir?

The President. Because I think that the process of confirming a Supreme Court Justice has been reduced to a political, partisan struggle.

Q. But shouldn't you have just let Bork be Bork?

Q. But, Mr. President—excuse me—you've said that—but people like Arlen Specter gave very legal explanations on the floor of the Senate today. He's not a part of this liberal, special interest lobby, is he?

The President. I don't know what his decision was based on, but I think that four former Attorneys General, a former Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and their wholehearted endorsements of the qualifications of Robert Bork are something that should be heeded—plus the fact that every national law enforcement group, such as the whole National Society of Police Chiefs and things of this kind, have all endorsed Robert Bork.

Q. Would you consider withdrawing him, sir? Would you consider withdrawing the nomination if it appears that he's going to be embarrassed or is going to lose badly?

The President. I don't think there's anything—withdrawing, no. As I said, I'm spending my time working as hard as I can to see that he gets confirmed, as he de-

serves to be.

Q. Well, what are you going to do to save the nomination?

Q. Why do you think he's really losing out? I mean, what has happened really that he seems to have really gone down the drain today?

The President. Well, I don't seem to feel that way, and I haven't noticed him shedding any tears.

Q. Shouldn't you have let Bork be Bork, sir?

Q. How many are undecided, Mr. President?

Q. Is this a referendum on your clout, sir?

The President. I told you that I think that what is going on is strictly partisan.

Q. Shouldn't you let Bork be Bork instead of trying to paint him like some moderate? Shouldn't he have been presented as the strictly conservative, strict constructionist, that you nominated?

The President. I haven't painted him in any light. He happens to be a man who handed down some 400 decisions, none of which have ever been overthrown by an appeals court or the Supreme Court.

Q. But your strategists, sir, seemed to try to present him as if he were a moderate. Why not mobilize conservative support behind him?

The President. No, we were simply trying to respond to the charges, the raucous charges, from some that he was some kind of a radical.

Q. What's your reaction to Republican Specter's—

The President. What?

Q. What's your reaction to Senator Specter coming out—a Republican on the Committee—against Bork?

The President. You wouldn't want me to answer that now.

Q. Yes.

Q. Yes.

Q. Now's the time.

The President. Why, naturally, I am going

to try to change his mind.

Q. Mr. Attorney General, about Wedtech, sir?

Q. Did you call Judge Bork himself?

Q. Did you talk to Bork today? You said he isn't shedding any tears.

The President. Well, I saw him briefly today.

Q. Today? What did he say? Fight?

The President. He just is waiting for the decision.

Q. Did you consider withdrawing it today? Did you discuss it?

The President. No.

Q. Does he want to withdraw, sir?

The President. He made no indication of anything of that kind.

Q. Are you compiling a list of people—in case he doesn't make it—that you would nominate in his stead?

The President. No, I haven't even thought of that.

Note: The exchange began at 5:06 p.m. on the South Lawn at the White House.

Proclamation 5714—National Medical Research Day, 1987

October 1, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Once, childhood diseases such as diphtheria, polio, and tetanus claimed the lives of thousands of American youngsters each year. Now, vaccines developed through biomedical research have virtually eliminated these killers from the United States. In addition to their contributions to the creation of these and many other vaccines, U.S. medical researchers have designed new drugs and surgical techniques and identified environmental and life-style factors that lead to illness. All of these advances have helped to bring America's death rate to an all-time low and its life expectancy rates to all-time highs.

America is an acknowledged world leader in promoting health and preventing disease and disability. Research conducted in this country has contributed enormously to the worldwide control of epidemic diseases such as cholera, smallpox, yellow fever, and bubonic plague. The common goal of better health for all has helped to foster a productive research partnership among government, academia, industry, and voluntary organizations.

America's preeminence in biomedical and behavioral medical research is greatly encouraged by more than a century of continuing commitment by the Government of

the United States. For example, this year marks the 100th anniversary of the National Institutes of Health, our Nation's largest biomedical research agency. The returns from the cooperative efforts of the Federal government and the private sector in medical research—in terms of reduced illness and improved individual productivity for many Americans—are immense. More than 90 Americans have been rewarded with international recognition in the form of the award of Nobel Prizes for work in physiology, medicine, and chemistry.

Today, America's medical researchers are studying the basic workings of cells and organisms in ever finer detail. Someday, these inquiries into the fundamental aspects of life may unravel the mysteries of cancer, AIDS, Alzheimer's disease, heart and lung diseases, mental illnesses, and many other diseases that claim or severely impair the lives of Americans. To fulfill the promise of current investigations and to ensure that the caliber of American medical research remains high, it is imperative that the United States continue to foster the training of the scientists of the future.

We all acknowledge with pride the accomplishments of America's medical researchers and look to them for continued progress in relieving human suffering. In recognition of the many successes of the American medical research enterprise, the

Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 142, has designated October 1, 1987, as "National Medical Research Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this occasion.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 1, 1987, as National Medical Research Day, and I call upon the people of the United States and all Federal, State, and local government officials to observe the day with appropriate events and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this first day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:32 p.m., October 2, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 2.

Proclamation 5715—General Pulaski Memorial Day, 1987 October 1, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The American people proudly and gratefully observe every October 11 in memory of General Casimir Pulaski, because on that date in 1779 this young Polish count and cavalry officer, wounded two days before while leading a charge during the siege of Savannah, gave his life for our country.

Before casting his lot with America, Casimir Pulaski had fought bravely against tyranny and foreign domination in his beloved Poland and had been forced into exile. He and other Polish freedom fighters well understood that humanity's battle for liberty and self-government is indivisible around the world; with the immortal cry, "For Your Freedom and Ours," they went forth to many nations in support of freedom, justice, independence, and individual rights. These ideals are forever part of Poland's heritage; they are dear to the Polish people, and this devotion continues to inspire America and the rest of the world.

The freedoms for which General Pulaski fought and died—the freedoms he helped America win—have not yet been realized in many parts of the globe. The United States of America will always champion religious,

political and economic liberty, tolerance, and human rights around the world. Whenever mankind's fight for freedom continues, there stands the spirit of Pulaski and there stands the hope, the commitment, and the help of the United States—"For Your Freedom and Ours."

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim Sunday, October 11, 1987, as General Pulaski Memorial Day, and I direct the appropriate government officials to display the flag of the United States on all government buildings on that day. In addition, I encourage the people of the United States to commemorate this occasion as appropriate throughout our land.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this first day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:33 p.m., October 2, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 2.

Proclamation 5716—Columbus Day, 1987 October 1, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Every October the people of the United States celebrate the day nearly 500 autumns ago when Christopher Columbus and the crews of the *Nina*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria* found a New World. That world is our Western Hemisphere, and we in the United States trace the history and development of our country and our culture back to Columbus and his daring exploration, his initiative, his faith, and his courage.

Columbus continues to inspire the United States and the rest of the world for almost half a thousand years because of his great understanding and vision and because of his single-minded determination to let no disappointment, ridicule, or risk keep him from a goal he knew to be sensible, feasible, and of great promise. He viewed the unknown as an opportunity, not as a danger.

The Admiral of the Ocean Seas is remembered as well for challenging the horizons of his time and place, for his spirit of reaching beyond the obvious, for defying the pessimists and expanding the frontiers of knowledge. That spirit animated those who followed him to the New World through the centuries and brought untold energy, boldness, and ingenuity with them. We Americans are risk-takers; like Columbus, we have a vision of the world as it can be, and of the future as an opportunity and a challenge.

Italian Americans have special reason to celebrate Columbus Day with great pride. Columbus was the first of many Italian travelers who have made contributions to the New World. Columbus is one of many links binding the United States and Italy in a special relationship.

This tribute also has special meaning for Americans of Spanish descent. Without Spanish support, Columbus's voyage of discovery would not have been possible. Spain's contribution to the New World and to its cultural and economic heritage went on to be even larger, as the recent visit by

Their Majesties King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia of Spain to the American Southwest reminded us.

The year 1992 will be the 500th anniversary of Columbus's first voyage to the Americas. The Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission, a distinguished group of Americans aided by representatives from Spain and Italy, prepared a report that I transmitted to the Congress in September of this year, making recommendations for our Nation's observance of the Quincentenary, including themes that embody the broad significance of this anniversary and suggestions for Quincentenary programs that will extend to communities, organizations, and institutions around the United States.

In tribute to Christopher Columbus, the Congress of the United States, by joint resolution approved April 30, 1934 (48 Stat. 657), as modified by the Act of June 28, 1968 (82 Stat. 250), has requested the President to proclaim the second Monday in October of each year as "Columbus Day."

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Monday, October 12, 1987, as Columbus Day. I invite the people of this Nation to observe that day with appropriate ceremonies in honor of this great explorer. I also direct that the flag of the United States be displayed on all public buildings on the appointed day in honor of Christopher Columbus.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this first day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:34 p.m., October 2, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 2.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the
Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Transmitting
a Report on Apartheid in South Africa
October 1, 1987

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

Pursuant to Section 501(b) of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, I hereby transmit the first annual report on the extent to which significant progress has been made toward ending the system of apartheid.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Executive Summary

Pursuant to Section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (The Act), the President has transmitted to the Speaker of the House and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a report on the extent to which significant progress has been made toward ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy in South Africa. Included is the President's recommendation on which suggested additional measures, if any, should be imposed on that country.

The report concludes that there has not been significant progress toward ending apartheid since October, 1986, and that none of the goals outlined in Title I of the Act—goals that are shared by the Administration and the Congress—have been fulfilled. Moreover, the South African Government's response to the Act over the past year gives little ground for hope that this trend will soon be reversed or that additional measures will produce better results.

In reviewing the twelve-month period since the Act became law, the report describes a continuing bleak situation for blacks in South Africa who face increased repression, harassment, and—even in the case of a significant number of minors—imprisonment. Press censorship has been intensified, and illegal cross border raids by South African security forces into neighbor-

ing countries have resulted in the loss of innocent lives.

In the economic area, the report points out that sanctions have had minimal impact on interrupting South Africa's external trade because of that country's ability to find substitute markets for its products outside the United States. Where there has been a significant impact, notably in the coal and sugar industries, the loss of export markets in the United States has caused hardship among black workers who are experiencing greater rates of unemployment. Overall, South Africa's economic performance has not been robust due to the poor investment climate, unfavorable international conditions, and drought in the farming areas. Sanctions have incrementally exacerbated an already existing problem.

The report also takes note of considerable disinvestment by American companies since the beginning of the recent unrest in South Africa. The report points out that the most painful impact of this trend toward disinvestment has been the disappearance of company-funded social, housing, educational, and job training programs designed to improve living standards and career opportunities for black South Africans.

In political terms, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which followed selective measures instituted by Executive Order in 1985, sent a strong message of abhorrence of apartheid on the part of the American people. The immediate result, however, was a marked reduction in our ability to persuade the South African Government to act responsibly on human rights issues and to restrain its behavior in the region. Perhaps the single ray of hope during the period under review was the appearance of ferment within the Afrikaner community where there is increasing public discussion of "power sharing." While this and similar terms being discussed are still devoid of quantifiable substance, they may

be a precursor to eventual negotiations between the South African Government and the black leadership, a goal which the U.S. Government will be seeking to promote.

Because of the President's conclusion that the economic sanctions embodied in the 1986 Act have not been effective in meeting the goals on which the Congress and the Administration agree, and his conviction that additional measures would be counterproductive, the President recommends against the imposition of any additional measures at this time, including those mentioned in Section 501(c) of the Act, and continues to believe that the current punitive sanctions against South Africa are not the best way to bring freedom to that country.

What the United States now needs is a period of active and creative diplomacy—bilaterally as well as in consultation with our allies and with our friends in southern Africa—focusing on doing all that is possible to bring the peoples of South Africa together for meaningful negotiations leading to the creation of a democratic society. The essence of this process is to state clearly what goals and values the West supports, rather than simply to reiterate what it opposes. This was the purpose of Secretary Shultz's public articulation on September 29 of the concepts which must be addressed by all South Africans to undergird a settlement of political grievances and the formation of a just, constitutional, and democratic order in South Africa. His statement delineates precisely the values that the West stands for and wishes to see negotiated by South Africans as they chart a future free of apartheid.

Report to Congress Pursuant to Section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986

Pursuant to Section 501 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 (the Act), I am transmitting to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, a report on the extent to which significant progress has been made toward ending the system of apartheid and

establishing a nonracial democracy in that country. Included also is my recommendation on which suggested additional measures, if any, should be imposed on South Africa.

Background

In Executive Order 12571, I directed all affected executive departments and agencies to take all steps necessary, consistent with the Constitution, to implement the requirements of the Act. I am pleased to be able to report that the Act has been implemented fully and faithfully. Executive departments and agencies are to be complimented for their excellent work in carrying out this complex piece of legislation.

The legislation sets out yardsticks by which to measure the effectiveness of the approach it embodies. The specific goals are laid out in the legislation itself. The Act, in Section 101, states that it and other actions of the United States were intended to encourage the Government of South Africa to take the following steps:

- Bring about reforms leading to the establishment of a nonracial democracy in South Africa.
- Repeal the State of Emergency and respect the principles of equal justice under law for all races.
- Release Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, and Walter Sisulu and all political prisoners and black trade union leaders.
- Permit South Africans of all races the right freely to form political parties, express political opinions, and otherwise participate in the political process.
- Establish a timetable for the elimination of apartheid laws.
- Negotiate with representatives of all racial groups in South Africa the future political system in South Africa.
- End military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighboring states.

The Status of Apartheid: October 1986 to October 1987

I regret that I am unable to report significant progress leading to the end of apartheid and the establishment of a nonracial democracy in South Africa. Indeed, the following review of events in South Africa

since October, 1986 provides very little hope for optimism about the immediate future.

The State of Emergency has not been repealed. Instead, the earlier decree was toughened, press restrictions were tightened, and an increasing number of foreign journalists (including Americans) were expelled. Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, and other key prisoners have not been released. Instead, the number of political prisoners detained by the Government has vastly increased, including the detention of large numbers of minors, although some detained children were later set free.

South Africa is not any closer in late 1987 to respecting free speech and free political participation by all its citizens than it was one year ago. No timetable has been set for the elimination of the remaining apartheid laws. No clear and credible plan has been devised for negotiating a future political system involving all people equally in South Africa, and many of the legitimate representatives of the majority in that country are still "banned," in hiding, or in detention. The Government of South Africa has not ended military and paramilitary activities aimed at neighboring states. Instead, such activities have been stepped up, as can be seen by Pretoria's April, 1987 raid against targets in Livingstone, Zambia; its May, 1987 incursion into Maputo, the capital of Mozambique; and the increase in unexplained deaths and disappearances of anti-apartheid activists throughout the region. The cycle of violence and counter-violence between the South African Government and its opponents has, if anything, gotten worse.

Internal Political Situation: Status of Race Relations

The absence of progress toward the end of apartheid has been reflected in generally negative trends in South Africa's internal political-economic situation during the past year.

In the recent whites-only election in South Africa, the National Party attempted to exploit a nationalistic backlash to foreign interference. Without any doubt, external factors played some role in the sizable vote

totals for the National Party's right-wing opposition as well as for the ruling party itself. However the election results are interpreted, they appear to have put a brake on any inclination toward fundamental reform by the South African Government. They also helped to discredit the anti-apartheid stand of the Progressive Federal Party and have put the current government in the position of having to deal with an official opposition which for the first time in 40 years is to the right, not the left.

Even before the elections, and more so after their conclusion, the South African Government has spared no effort to stifle domestic unrest. This round of massive unrest, which began in 1984, has been put down with harsh states of emergency. The detentions and other measures taken by the security forces during this period severely damaged the opposition groups inside the country, particularly the United Democratic Front, an umbrella organization committed to the non-violent end of apartheid. The State of Emergency has resulted in the detention of much of the UDF leadership and the silencing of much of the organization's political expression. While the State of Emergency has failed to crush the organization, it has nevertheless powerfully affected its strategies and put the organization on the defensive.

The Government has also been cool to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, a convention representing all racial groups and a wide range of social and political organizations in the Natal Province. For many months the Indaba participants have been wrestling on a provincial basis with the great questions that must be addressed by South Africans, including the creation of a nonracial legislature and the drafting of a bill of rights. This process has shown that South Africans are capable of difficult mutual accommodation to advance the cause of racial justice and representative government. Regrettably, the government has been slow to see the wisdom of encouraging such efforts at negotiated change.

Equally disturbing has been the increase in regional tensions triggered in part by a sharp expansion of South African military, para-military, and covert operations. South

African security forces have in the last year raided Livingstone in Zambia and Maputo in Mozambique, in violation of international law and, in the case of Mozambique, in violation of the Nkomati Accords (which established a regime of peaceful cooperation between the South African and Mozambican Governments). These raids, purportedly directed at the African National Congress, resulted in the deaths of innocent civilians. South African forces have also been engaged in a variety of other largely covert efforts in Swaziland, Botswana, and Zimbabwe aimed at keeping their neighbors off-balance and deflecting public attention away from the imperative of change at home and toward foreign sources of support for its opponents. Our sanctions were followed by an increase in such ill-considered actions. We have made our views known clearly, but Pretoria appears less inclined to consider external views than was previously the case.

Ferment in the White Community

A positive development has been the continuing ferment in the white South African community, reflecting, among many other internal and external factors, the messages of outrage and frustration sent by the United States and other interested nations.

Particularly notable is the debate occurring within the subcommunity of Afrikaans-speakers. The last year has seen the candidates (during the May elections) of the "independents" who broke away from their traditional philosophical home in the ruling National Party; the "revolt" of the University of Stellenbosch academics who deserted the National Party as a show of protest against apartheid; the increasing visibility of the extraparliamentary opposition, exemplified by the former head of the Progressive Federal Party, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert; and, most recently, the meeting in Dakar between leading Afrikaners and representatives of the exiled African National Congress, sponsored by Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), and hosted by Senegal's President Diouf.

Even within the government, there have been hesitant, heavily qualified statements from the Cabinet concerning "power shar-

ing" and the need to negotiate with black leaders. South Africans have not yet identified a realistic formula on which to base and begin serious negotiations, but the issue is surfacing publicly and is being discussed. Such developments suggest that despite all the negative things that have occurred in recent years—the violence, killings, and repression—there continue to be forces at work in South Africa that yet may lead to progress toward a negotiated settlement. South Africans are continuing to seek ways out of the impasse. Today, it is clearer than ever that the travesty of apartheid is South Africa's to solve.

South African Economy

South Africa's economy is "open" by world standards in the sense that a relatively high percentage of its gross domestic product derives from a combination of exports and imports. South Africa is a trading nation, which suggests that its economy would be relatively vulnerable to our sanctions. Yet this is not necessarily the case. The nature of South Africa's exports is such that the majority of export earnings come from sales of primary products—gold and other metals and minerals—that have a ready market internationally whether or not we choose to buy them.

After years of contending with embargoes on arms and oil, South Africa has shown itself adept at evading sanctions. The easiest way to avoid sanctions is completely overt—simply shift to new export markets. The evidence available to us indicates that South Africa has been largely successful at developing new markets, both because of their willingness to undercut competitors' prices and because of the quality of their products and the perception by much of the world that South Africa is a reliable supplier. Although the sanctions voted by Congress in 1986 potentially affect a large percentage of South African industries, many still operate at capacity—albeit with somewhat lowered profit margins—because of their success in developing new export markets. New export markets for South African agricultural products, metals, and textiles have been found in the Far East, parts of the Middle East, and Latin America and, most ironic, in

the rest of Africa. In fact, South Africa's trade surplus has risen, not fallen, since we and our major allies imposed trade sanctions last year.

On the other hand, many of the commodities covered by U.S. sanctions were already facing difficult international market conditions and chronic oversupply. It seems clear that sanctions exacerbated these problems and that some of the South African export industries have suffered some damage, including the sugar, coal, and iron and steel sectors.

South Africa is slowly recovering from an economic recession that began in 1981. This recession and sanctions, combined with the absence of business confidence and the resulting decline in new investments, have been major elements in the country's poor economic performance. It is important to appreciate, moreover, that although the South African Government has been able to avoid some of the economic effects of our sanctions in the short term, the long-term effect on unemployment and growth rates may well be more serious. There is a growing consensus among economists that a combination of sanctions, South Africa's inability to attract foreign capital, and a variety of other factors will mean that, at best, South Africa's gross domestic product growth will likely hover between 2.5 and 3.5 percent per annum for the foreseeable future. Yet studies indicate that annual real growth of 5 to 6 percent will be necessary to create jobs for the 350,000 new workers who will enter the labor force each year. To the extent that our sanctions contribute to a slowdown in real growth, we will have contributed both to an increase in unemployment that will hit blacks hardest, as population growth continues to outstrip economic growth, and to an erosion of prospects for economic progress by blacks in the future, once apartheid has ended.

In fact, economic growth and the openness of the South African economy have been among the major forces eroding apartheid. They also offer the best chance of bringing about its end. Black economic empowerment is one of the keys to progress. An open and dynamic economy provides jobs and skills for the majority of the population, provides the indispensable

base for trade unions to address their grievances, and inevitably will improve educational possibilities for blacks as economic growth demands a better educated labor force.

In the overall economic context, a phenomenon worthy of note is the trend toward disinvestment among American-owned business firms in South Africa. The value of U.S. direct investment in South Africa has been cut nearly in half by disinvestment—from \$2.4 billion in 1982 to approximately \$1.3 billion in 1986. By now, it is probably less than \$1 billion. In most cases, U.S. firms have sold their South African holdings to their local managers and/or employees. Most of the rest have been sold to other firms, usually South African white-owned competitors, at fire-sale prices. In very few cases have these companies pulled up stakes altogether. Despite disinvestments, the products and services of departing U.S. firms remain generally available in South Africa. The main impact of disinvestment has been to damage fair labor standards programs. There is no question but that many projects in education, training, and community improvement funded by major foreign investors have been damaged or eliminated. During the past decade, U.S. companies have spent nearly \$200 million on such projects. Because of disinvestment, this vital source of manpower and community development assistance has been severely cut back.

The concentration through disinvestment of more of South Africa's wealth in local white hands has, at least in the short term, marginally enlarged the economic gap between the races. Blacks at present control only a minute fraction of the country's physical capital and share equity. Black-owned enterprises contribute only about 1 percent to the nation's gross domestic product (although much more black economic activity takes place in the informal sector and goes unrecorded), and we doubt that black ownership totals more than about 2 percent of South Africa's capital stock.

Presidential Recommendations

Section 501(c) of the Act states that if the Government of South Africa has not made

significant progress in ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy, the President shall include in this annual report recommendations on the imposition of additional measures from among the five listed in that sub-section.

The two sets of economic sanctions imposed against South Africa to date—by Executive Order in 1985 and by statute in 1986—have sent a clear message to the ruling white community that the American people are outraged by the institutional injustice of apartheid and the basic denial of human rights that it embodies. Although the South African white leadership has reacted defiantly toward these measures, and has chilled the bilateral diplomatic relationship as a result, the message has clearly been registered. The American people have made their feelings clear.

Yet the most important goal of the Act was to pressure the South African Government to meet the unambiguous prescriptions laid out in the Act itself. As indicated above, significant progress has not been made toward ending the system of apartheid and establishing a nonracial democracy in South Africa in the twelve month period since the enactment of the Act.

I have reviewed the suggested additional measures listed in Section 501(c) in light of what we hope to achieve in South Africa as well as the impact of those measures already taken. My conclusion is that the imposition of additional economic sanctions at this time would not be helpful in the achievement of the objectives which Congress, the American people, and I share. While the measures imposed by the 1986 Act have registered an important message to the white South African community, and have contributed to our efforts to broaden our contacts with black opposition groups, the impact has been more negative than positive. I am particularly concerned by evidence that these measures have caused increasing unemployment for black South African workers, especially in such industries as sugar production and coal mining. While our sanctions have accentuated the overall economic stagnation in South Africa, it is clear to me that their impact on the government itself and its political choices have not advanced our goals. The ability of that

country to evade sanctions by finding alternate markets for its exports indicates that it would be futile to impose additional measures that would also be harmful to United States strategic or economic interests. In addition, our sanctions measures have made it more difficult for the United States to persuade the South African Government to act responsibly on human rights issues, to move toward negotiations, and to restrain its behavior in the region. I believe that the imposition of additional measures, including those listed in Section 501(c), would exacerbate these negative developments without adding any additional positive benefits in support of our objectives. For these reasons, moreover, I continue to believe that punitive sanctions are not the best way to bring freedom to South Africa.

This experience has illustrated once again the very real constraints on the United States, or any other nation, that tries to impose its own solutions to South Africa's problems. It is clear that in the heat of debate over sanctions against South Africa, Americans on both sides of the issue overestimated the importance of the United States as a factor in the South African matrix. The impact of American sanctions to date has been significant neither in hastening the demise of racism in South Africa nor in punishing the South African Government.

What is needed on the part of the United States is a period of active and creative diplomacy bilaterally as well as in consultation with our allies and friends in Africa focusing on doing all that is possible to bring the peoples of South Africa together for meaningful negotiations leading to the building of a democratic society. The essence of this process is to state clearly what goals and values we in the West support, rather than simply to reiterate what we oppose.

This was the purpose of Secretary Shultz' public articulation on September 29th of the principles we believe must undergird a settlement of political grievances and the formation of a just, constitutional, and democratic order in South Africa. His statement delineates precisely the values that we in the West stand for and wish to see addressed by South Africans as they chart a

future free of apartheid. It constitutes an attempt to challenge all parties in the equation with a positive vision of a post-apartheid South Africa, and to lend our moral weight to those many South Africans—a majority, I believe—who have not given up hope.

It is crucial in the coming period that we work with and, where possible, coordinate policies with our principal OECD partners. Aside from the question of the 1986 sanctions measures—which few of our key allies have adopted—our positions and policies are complementary with those of the OECD countries, particularly the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Japan. We must work with these nations and others to buttress the Front Line States and the region against destabilization and economic decay. We must sup-

port and encourage those South Africans, white and black, that are already at work breaking down the barriers of fear, mistrust, and ignorance of each other. We must continue to strive together through public and private endeavors to assist the non-white communities in South Africa to prepare themselves for their rightful role after the inevitable end of apartheid. Most importantly, we must, together, push firmly for progress, change, and negotiation in South Africa, leading to a just and democratic future for that troubled nation.

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The letters were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 2.

Proclamation 5717—United Nations Day, 1987 *October 1, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

United Nations Day is an opportunity for us to reemphasize the principles upon which the United Nations was founded. The framers of the United Nations Charter envisioned a world where nations live together in freedom, justice, and peace, a world with universal and reciprocal respect for human rights and human dignity.

The United Nations General Assembly took a historic first step last year by adopting reforms aimed at strengthening the organization's effectiveness and efficiency. The ideals of the United Nations are important to the United States. We are committed to working closely with other member states and with the Secretary General to see that the reforms are faithfully implemented and to secure the organization's future.

We are pleased that reform efforts are extending to the specialized and technical agencies of the United Nations. These agencies are not well-known, but do affect us

directly and on a daily basis. For instance, the Weather Watch of the World Meteorological Organization helps us know when and where storms will hit American cities. The International Maritime Organization and International Civil Aviation Organization work for safety on the seas and in the skies for American travelers. The Food and Agricultural Organization saves U.S. farmers, foresters, and fishermen countless dollars in damage every year. The International Atomic Energy Agency helps promote international cooperation and safeguards regarding nuclear technology, and the World Health Organization coordinates global efforts against AIDS.

One of the youngest specialized agencies, the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), was established to mobilize financial resources and make them available for agricultural projects specifically designed to improve food production systems in the poorest food-deficient regions of the world. In just 10 years, IFAD has financed more than 200 projects in developing countries that, when fully implemented,

will boost food production by more than 22 million tons a year.

Our world—every nation, every people, every individual—can know the blessings of peace and see the light of freedom and justice in the future if we have the courage to build on the hope of the past—the hope upon which the United Nations was built.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim Saturday, October 24, 1987, as United Nations Day. I urge all Americans to acquaint themselves with the activities and accomplishments of the United Nations. I have appointed J. Willard Marriott, Jr., to serve as 1987 United States

Chairman for United Nations Day, and I welcome the role of the United Nations Association of the United States of America in working with him to celebrate this special day.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this first day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:35 p.m., October 2, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 2.

Proclamation 5718—Implementation of an Orderly Marketing Agreement on Ammonium Paratungstate and Tungstic Acid *October 2, 1987*

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

1. On June 5, 1987, the United States International Trade Commission (USITC) reported to the President the results of its investigation under section 406 of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2436) (the Trade Act) with respect to imports from the People's Republic of China (the PRC) of ammonium paratungstate (APT) and tungstic acid provided for in items 417.40 and 416.40, respectively, of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) (19 U.S.C. 1202). The USITC determined that market disruption within the meaning of section 406 of the Trade Act exists with respect to imports from the PRC of APT and tungstic acid. To remedy this market disruption, the USITC recommended that, for the next 5 years, the combined volume of imports of APT and tungstic acid from the PRC be limited to the larger of 1.116 million pounds of tungsten content per year or 7.5 percent of U.S. consumption.

2. On August 5, 1987, pursuant to sec-

tions 406, 202, and 203 of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2436, 2252, and 2253), and after taking into account the considerations specified in section 202(c) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2252(c)), I determined to provide import relief for the domestic industry in the form of a negotiated orderly marketing agreement. To this end, I directed the United States Trade Representative (the USTR) to negotiate and conclude an orderly marketing agreement with the PRC and to report the results of such negotiations to me within 50 days.

3. Section 406(b)(2) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2436(b)(2)) requires that if import relief consists of, or includes, an orderly marketing agreement, then such agreement shall be entered into within 60 days after a presidential determination to provide relief.

4. Pursuant to the authority vested in the President by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, including section 203(a)(4) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(a)(4)), an agreement for orderly trade was signed on September 28, 1987, between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the

People's Republic of China limiting the export from the PRC, and the import into the United States, of APT and tungstic acid provided for in items 417.40 and 416.40, respectively, of the TSUS.

5. Pursuant to section 203(k)(1) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(k)(1)), I have considered the relation of such action to the international obligations of the United States. Since February 1, 1980, the United States and the PRC have had in effect a bilateral trade agreement under which I have determined, pursuant to section 405 of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2435), a satisfactory balance of concessions has been maintained during the life of such agreement, and for which I reconfirm that actual or foreseeable reductions in U.S. tariffs and nontariff barriers to trade resulting from multilateral negotiations are, and continuously have been, satisfactorily reciprocated by the PRC. The present agreement for orderly trade is within the parameters of the safeguard measures envisioned by the bilateral trade agreement.

6. In accordance with section 203(d)(2) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(d)(2)), I have determined that the level of import relief hereinafter proclaimed permits the importation into the United States of a quantity or value of articles that is not less than the average annual quantity or value of such articles imported into the United States from the PRC in the 1982-1984 period, which I have determined to be the most recent representative period for imports of such articles.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, including sections 203, 406, and 604 of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253, 2436, and 2483), section 332 of the Tariff Act of 1930, and section 301 of title 3, United States Code, do proclaim that—

(1) An orderly marketing agreement was entered into on September 28, 1987, between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the People's Republic of China, with respect to trade in APT and tungstic acid, effective October 1, 1987. The agreement for orderly trade is to be implemented according to its

terms and as directed in this Proclamation, including the Annex thereto.

(2) Subpart A, part 2 of the Appendix to the TSUS is modified as set forth in the Annex to this Proclamation.

(3) The President's authority under section 203(e)(3) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(e)(3)) to determine that the agreement is no longer effective is hereby delegated to the USTR. In the event of such a determination, the USTR shall prepare such *Federal Register* notice as may be appropriate to implement import relief authorized by section 203(e)(3) of the Trade Act.

(4) The USTR shall take such actions and perform such functions for the United States as may be necessary concerning the administration, implementation, modification, amendment or termination of the agreement described in paragraph (1) of this Proclamation, and any action that may be subsequently required to implement paragraph (3) of this Proclamation. In carrying out his responsibilities under this paragraph, the USTR is authorized to direct and delegate to appropriate officials or agencies of the United States, authority to perform any functions necessary for the administration and implementation of the agreement, or in the event he determines the agreement to be no longer effective, such further action as he deems necessary and appropriate consistent with this Proclamation. The USTR is authorized to make any changes in part 2 of the Appendix to the TSUS that may be necessary to carry out the agreement or such other action as may be required should he determine the agreement to be no longer effective. Any such changes in the agreement shall be effective after their publication in the *Federal Register*.

(5) The U.S. Customs Service shall take such actions as the USTR shall determine are necessary to carry out the agreement described in paragraph (1) of this Proclamation, or to implement any import relief implemented pursuant to paragraphs (3) and (4) of this Proclamation, or any modification thereof, with respect to the entry, or withdrawal from warehouse for consumption, into the United States of products covered by such agreement or by such other import relief.

(6) The U.S. Customs Service shall collect and assemble such data as are necessary to monitor compliance with the agreement. Such data shall include import statistics with respect to tungsten oxide, provided for in item 422.42, part 2C, schedule 4 of the TSUSA, as well as data for APT and tungstic acid.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 2nd day of October, in the

year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:36 p.m., October 2, 1987]

Statement on the Arms Control Provisions of the 1988–1989 Defense Authorization Bill

October 2, 1987

Earlier today the U.S. Senate passed the defense authorization bill for fiscal years 1988–1989. Included in this bill are specific provisions which undercut my efforts to negotiate equitable and verifiable arms reductions and undermine U.S. national security. The first legislates unilateral U.S. adherence to the narrow interpretation of the ABM treaty, despite the fact that a broader one is fully justified. A broader interpretation would enable us to save time and money in developing effective defenses against a potential Soviet missile attack. The second provision would force the United States to comply with certain provisions of the unratified and expired SALT II agreement, which was negotiated by the last administration.

Any bill that includes these provisions will be vetoed. These amendments would

undermine our negotiators in Geneva at a particularly crucial time. I regret the action of the Senate, and I commend all Senators who had the courage to vote against passage of the bill on these grounds. This vote by the Senate is particularly ironic in view of the actions taken in recent days by the Soviet Union close to U.S. territory. We have protested these Soviet actions as both unacceptable to this country and inconsistent with General Secretary Gorbachev's claim to seek a long-term improvement in our relationship.

Note: The President referred to the test-firing of two Soviet ICBM missiles over the Pacific Ocean. The dummy warhead of one of the missiles landed within 500 miles of Hawaii.

Remarks on Signing the German-American Day Proclamation

October 2, 1987

Well, thank you, President Jenninger, Ambassador Guenther van Well, Senator Lugar, and distinguished guests. Some say this is German-American Day. I don't know. Seeing the band here in costume, I'd say it is Oktoberfest. *[Laughter]* As the President has told us, it was 304 years ago this coming week that a small band of Mennonites dis-

embarked from their ship, the *Concord*, in Pennsylvania. They made their way from Philadelphia to what is now Germantown, where they established the first German community in what is now the United States.

Since that time, German-Americans have helped forge the ideals and dreams that

have built our nation. It was a German-American, John Peter Zenger, who first fought for and established the tradition of freedom of the press on this continent. The Colonial Governor charged Zenger with libel, and Zenger's defense was that he had printed the truth. He won, and the principle he established lives to this day: that the press can and must be free to tell the truth.

Freedom and the opportunities that freedom brings have been enduring themes in the German-American story. In 1830 one young German engineer wrote eloquently of his yearning for freedom, in particular, the freedom to try new ideas and pursue new dreams. He had seen the bureaucratic restrictions on commercial freedom in Westphalia, where he had found his first job after graduating from the Royal Polytechnic Institute in Berlin. No project could go forward, he wrote, without—in his words—"an army of counselors, ministers, and other officials discussing the matter for 10 years, making long journeys and writing long reports." And a few months after arriving, he wrote: "I have found all that I sought—a free, reasonable, democratic government and reasonable, natural relationships of the people toward each other—no unbearable taxes, no executor, no arrogant chief magistrate." Well, the writer of those words was named John Roebling, and he designed and, with his son, built one of the greatest monuments to engineering in American history, the Brooklyn Bridge, which has been sold many times—or attempted to be sold by certain individuals. [Laughter]

But, yes, America's genuine [German] heritage is rich. It is deep and fertile. It's helped nourish and cultivate our national heritage, our national accomplishments, and our national ideals. And that's why I'm so happy to have all of you here today. I remember back when I was a boy in Illinois, up near the Wisconsin border. The German heritage was displayed with pride. The German language, at that time, was the second most widely spoken language in the Nation. Here in America, German-Americans have helped give our nation its freedom, optimism, enterprise, and its love of peace. Today this heritage is Germany's, as well. A common dedication to democracy, freedom, and peace ties America and Ger-

many together. It is the bedrock upon which our alliance has been built.

And it's why our people have made the sacrifices to build and maintain our military strength in the face of the missiles and armies of the Warsaw Pact. In the last 6½ years, we've stood firmly together, and now, as a result, America may be on the eve of an historic agreement with the Soviet Union. I remember—too many times to count—that my arms reduction proposals were not serious. After all, the Soviets would never agree to actual arms reductions, certainly not to the zero option for U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range, ground-launched nuclear weapons.

The agreement toward which America and the Soviets are now moving is not happening because we—America, Germany, and our allies—have been weak, but because we've been strong. And it is, as you know, nothing short of historic. Never before has an agreement actually abolished an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. Never before has either side retired top-of-the-line, spanking-new, mint-quality missiles. I don't know just when I'll sit down with General Secretary Gorbachev to sign this agreement, but I look forward to that day. None of us should ever forget, however, that all that we've achieved for world peace could never have happened without the strong alliance and friendship between the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Now, though, let me say a brief word of purely domestic interest. As you know, I've nominated Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. I've been very clear about why I want Judge Bork on the high bench. Robert Bork believes that judges should interpret the law, not make it. And he believes that it's time the courts showed less compassion for criminals and more for the victims of crime. There have been a lot of misstatements spread around about Judge Bork and civil rights. It's time to set the record straight. Robert Bork has an outstanding record on civil rights. As Solicitor General, for example, he convinced the Supreme Court for the first time ever to extend the protection of Federal civil rights laws to purely private contracts. Those

who've been distorting his record have said over and over he's going to turn back the clock on civil rights. It's amazing they can find a room big enough for them to get in front of the cameras—their noses must be so long by now. [Laughter]

It's time to say a few words about the way the confirmation hearings have been conducted. Our Founding Fathers intended the courts to be above partisan politics. But in the last few weeks we've seen an attempt to turn the confirmation of a Justice into a partisan issue. No expense has been spared, and we all know the reason. A few special interests consider the courts their private preserve. Communities all over the Nation have seen how these special interests get through the courts what they can't get through the ballot box.

Now the special interests are determined to pack the Supreme Court and to distort the reputation of anyone who disagrees. Some say they're compromising and demeaning the judicial selection process. I hope we haven't come to a time when good men and women are afraid to accept nominations to the bench for fear of the kind of treatment we've seen the last few weeks.

This is no longer a battle over whether the most qualified man nominated in a century is confirmed to the Supreme Court. At stake here is the integrity and independence of the American system of justice. So, I hope that before you leave Washington all of you will take time to let your Senators know that you want to see Robert Bork on the Supreme Court.

Forgive me for taking advantage of this—well, there she is. [Laughter] Well, I'll bet you right now she's wondering if I put some sun block on my face before I came out. [Laughter] I did. [Laughter] She can't hear me.

Well, now to get back to the matter at hand, and that means there's a proclamation for me to sign.

Note: The President spoke at 1:24 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to West German President Philip Jenninger; Guenther van Well, West German Ambassador to the United States; and Senator Richard G. Lugar of Indiana. The President also referred to Mrs. Reagan, who watched the ceremony from a window in the Residence.

Proclamation 5719—German-American Day, 1987

October 2, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

More Americans trace their heritage back to German ancestry than to any other nationality. More than seven million Germans have come to our shores through the years, and today some 60 million Americans—one in four—are of German descent. Few people have blended so completely into the multicultural tapestry of American society and yet have made such singular economic, political, social, scientific, and cultural contributions to the growth and success of these United States as have Americans of German extraction.

The United States has embraced a vast

array of German traditions, institutions, and influences. Many of these have become so accepted as parts of our way of life that their ethnic origin has been obscured. For instance, Christmas trees and Broadway musicals are familiar features of American society. Our kindergartens, graduate schools, the social security system, and labor unions are all based on models derived from Germany.

German teachers, musicians, and enthusiastic amateurs have left an indelible imprint on classical music, hymns, choral singing, and marching bands in our country. In architecture and design, German contributions include the modern suspension bridge, Bauhaus, and Jugendstil. German-American scientists have helped make the United

States the world's pioneer in research and technology. The American work ethic, a major factor in the rapid rise of the United States to preeminence in agriculture and industry, owes much to German-Americans' commitment to excellence.

For more than 3 centuries, Germans have helped build, invigorate, and strengthen this country. But the United States has given as well as received. Just a generation ago, America conceived of and swiftly implemented the Marshall Plan, which helped the new German democracy rise from the rubble of war to become a beacon of democracy in Central Europe. The Berlin Airlift demonstrated the American commitment to the defense of freedom when, still recovering from war, Berlin was threatened by strangulation from the Soviets.

Today, the Federal Republic of Germany is a bulwark of democracy in the heart of a divided Europe. Germans and Americans are rightfully proud of our common values as well as our shared heritage. For more than 3 decades the German-American partnership has been a linchpin in the Western Alliance. Thanks to it, a whole generation of Americans and Europeans has grown up free to enjoy the fruits of liberty.

Our histories are thus intertwined. We now contribute to each other's trade, enjoy each other's cultures, and learn from each

other's experiences. The German-American Friendship Garden, which will be dedicated in the District of Columbia in the near future, is symbolic of the close and amicable relations between West Germany and the United States.

The Congress, by Public Law 100-104, has designated October 6, 1987, the 304th anniversary of the arrival of the first German immigrants in Philadelphia, as "German-American Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that day.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim Tuesday, October 6, 1987, as German-American Day. I urge all Americans to learn more about the contributions of German immigrants to the life and culture of the United States and to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 2nd day of Oct., in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:12 a.m., October 5, 1987]

Nomination of Robert Clifton Duncan To Be Director of Defense Research and Engineering

October 2, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert Clifton Duncan to be Director of Defense Research and Engineering, Department of Defense. He would succeed Donald Alden Hicks.

Since 1986 Mr. Duncan has been Assistant Secretary of Defense (Research and Technology) at the Pentagon, Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was vice president of engineering, 1975-1986, and assistant vice president, 1969-1975, at the Polaroid Corp. in Waltham, MA. Mr. Duncan was assistant director, NASA Electronics Research

Center, Cambridge, MA, 1967-1968; Chief of the Guidance and Control Division at NASA's Manned Spacecraft Center, Houston, TX, 1964-1967; special assistant to the Director of Defense Research and Engineering in the Office of the Secretary of Defense, 1961-1963; and Chief, Space Programs Branch, Astronautics Development Division, Office of Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, DC, 1960-1961.

Mr. Duncan graduated from the United States Naval Academy (B.S., 1945), U.S.

Naval Postgraduate School (B.S., 1953), and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (S.M., 1954; Sc.D., 1960). Mr. Duncan served in the United States Navy, 1945–

1965. Mr. Duncan was born on November 21, 1923, in Jonesville, VA. He is married, has four children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of Fred S. Hoffman To Be an Assistant Secretary of Defense

October 2, 1987

The President announced his intention to nominate Fred S. Hoffman to be Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), Department of Defense. He would succeed Robert B. Sims.

Since 1984 Mr. Hoffman has been Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs at the Pentagon, in Washington, DC. Prior to this, he was a reporter-editor with the Associated Press, 1949–1984. During Mr. Hoffman's years with the

Associated Press, he received several citations and awards, including the Overseas Press Club Citation for reporting from Vietnam and the Veterans of Foreign Wars Gold Medal for national security reporting.

Mr. Hoffman attended Boston University. He served in the United States Army in 1943. Mr. Hoffman was born December 26, 1922, in Boston, MA. He is married, has one child, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Informal Exchange With Reporters on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork

October 2, 1987

Q. The Republicans say Bork is finished.

The President. I don't think anyone has an answer on that yet, and I'm going to continue working as hard as I can to see that he is appointed, as he should be, that he is confirmed.

Q. How long will you fight for him?

Q. Well, even Senator Lugar says that the numbers aren't there and—

The President. Well—

Q. —that you have to face the reality.

The President. Well, I could answer you by quoting from others who've said the other. I don't think anyone is quite sure yet. There is a body of undecided, and that's the ones who hold the key to it. But remember—

Q. Do you think you'll know it next week, sir?

The President. What?

Q. Do you think you'll know next week? The undecided?

Q. —the undecided?

The President. Well, we'll know more than we know now, because next week they will vote in the committee. But then it depends on the floor of the Senate, and that will be a few weeks further on.

Q. If he loses in committee, will you take it to the floor? If he loses in committee, will you pull it back?

The President. We don't know what the decision is going to be—or they may turn it out with no decision.

Q. —the phone calls this weekend?

Q. How do you feel about that, sir? How would you feel about no recommendations?

The President. Feel about no recommendations? That's all right with me. It's the Senate that's got to make the decision.

Note: The exchange began at 3:40 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House.

Radio Address to the Nation on Voluntarism and the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork

October 3, 1987

My fellow Americans:

Today I'd like to give you some background you won't get from other Washington sources about a story that's been in the headlines. But first I'd like to take a minute and tell you about a story that hasn't been in the headlines but should be. In May of this year, a tornado ripped through the west Texas town of Saragosa, killing 30 people, injuring 120 more, and destroying two-thirds of the buildings.

Many believed that spring tornado would make a ghost town of Saragosa, but this past Labor Day, a private sector initiative proved the doomsayers wrong. Over the holiday weekend, 700 volunteers from all over our country, with mostly donated materials, built 15 new homes in a single weekend, and plans are underway for even more. Today the townspeople and volunteers join together to celebrate this fine example of the great American spirit of neighbor helping neighbor. On behalf of all Americans, I join in commending this noble effort.

Now I think most of you know that this sort of voluntarism is something the administration has worked hard to encourage during the past few years. It's been part of our policy of cutting back government while giving free markets and free people a chance to work their magic. And the results have been economic magic.

But strange as it seems, while most Americans are delighted by our growth, some people are embarrassed and even resentful. They're the folks who insisted that this administration's domestic program would lead to economic ruin for everyone, especially the poor. Instead, our program led to booming prosperity and a 3-year decline in the poverty rate. And these same folks also said our policy of being firm with the Soviets wouldn't work. But they were wrong again; our toughness stopped Soviet expansionism, restored America's stature, and moved us toward the first major arms reduction treaty in many years.

So, you see, America has prospered, and our foreign stature has grown. And this has happened because, on almost every single issue, we've done exactly the opposite of what the old-time liberals here in Washington recommended. But while these have been hard years for the Washington establishment, there was always one area they'd controlled so long they never thought they would have to give it up. They thought of it as a sort of private preserve—and that was appointments to the Federal courts. Many of them viewed the courts as a place to put judges who would further their agenda—even if it meant being soft on crime, interpreting the Constitution to please the special interests, and encouraging jurists to make laws that would never be passed by your elected representatives or approved by you, the people.

That's why, when a vacancy recently occurred on the United States Supreme Court, I nominated Judge Robert Bork, a man who would be faithful to the kind of judicial restraint envisioned by our Founding Fathers; a judiciary that was independent and strong, yes, but one whose power would also be confined within the boundaries of the Constitution and the laws of the land. For the Founding Fathers the issue was not: Will we have liberal or conservative courts? They knew that the courts, like the Constitution itself, must not be politicized; they knew that the question was, and is: Will we have government by the people? And that's why over the years both progressive and conservative judges have understood the importance of judicial restraint—the principle that says the highest exercise of judicial duty is to subordinate the judge's private views to what the law permits or determines.

But now liberal special interest groups seek to politicize the court system; to exercise a chilling effect on judges; to intimidate them into making decisions, not on the basis of the law or the merits of the case, but on the basis of a litmus test or a re-

sponse to political pressure. These special interests are gravely concerned that Judge Bork's appointment will mean a Supreme Court that practices judicial restraint as our forefathers intended.

And that's why the nomination of Judge Bork, a distinguished jurist, has become a distorted, unseemly political campaign. Judge Bork deserves a careful, highly civil examination of his record, but he has been subjected to a constant litany of character assassination and intentional misrepresentation. They are determined to thwart the desire of the American people for judges who understand the real role of the judici-

ary; judges who seek to interpret the law, not make it; judges who will enforce the law and bring criminals to justice, not turn them loose and make our streets unsafe.

Well, don't let them do it. Tell your Senators to resist the politicization of our court system. Tell them you support the appointment of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Statement on the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement October 4, 1987

Last night, I notified the Congress that I intend to enter into a free trade agreement with Canada on January 2, 1988, contingent upon a successful completion of the negotiations. The essential elements have been agreed to, and we expect that final details can be hammered out in the next few days.

This historic agreement will strengthen both our economies and over time create thousands of jobs in both countries. It will serve as an important model for other nations seeking to improve their trading relationships. In many respects it will also serve as a model for the Uruguay round of multi-lateral trade negotiations.

The people of the United States and Canada have had a long and harmonious friendship that is the envy of the world. Now, in addition to sharing the world's

longest undefended border, we will share membership in the world's largest free trade area. This agreement will provide enormous benefits for the United States. It will remove all Canadian tariffs, secure improved access to Canada's market for our manufacturing, agriculture, high technology and financial sectors, and improve our security through additional access to Canadian energy supplies. We have also gained important investment opportunities in Canada and resolved many vexing trade issues.

I congratulate Prime Minister Mulroney for his courage and foresight in seeking this free trade area. It will strengthen the bonds between our nations and improve the economic performance and competitiveness of both countries. The agreement will provide an enduring legacy of which both nations can be proud.

Message to the Congress on the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement October 3, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 102(e)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended ("Act"),

I hereby notify the Congress of my intention to enter into a trade agreement with the Government of Canada on January 2,

1988, contingent upon a successful completion of negotiations. On December 10, 1985, I provided written notice of such negotiations to the Committee on Finance of the Senate and the Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, as required by section 102(b)(4)(A)(ii)(I) of that Act.

In accordance with the procedures specified in the Act, I will submit any such agreement that I sign, together with implementing legislation and statements of ad-

ministrative action, for Congressional approval in accordance with the fast track legislative procedures set forth in section 151 of the Act.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 3, 1987.

Note: The message was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 5.

Remarks at a White House Ceremony Honoring the Winners of the Secondary School Recognition Program and the Exemplary Private School Recognition Project

October 5, 1987

Thank you all very much. Please be seated. We've decided it's a beautiful day. *[Laughter]* Well, I thank you all, and welcome to the White House. It's been a while since I was in school, but for a former pupil, looking out at so many principals, I can tell you it's a lot less scary knowing that I invited the principal to my office, not the other way around.

Well, it's an honor to have all of you here today as we recognize America's outstanding public and private secondary schools with the Department of Education's most prestigious award. You've all done a remarkable job, and I'm particularly delighted to mention that four of the schools being honored today are repeat winners in the Secondary School Recognition Program.

I can't help it, but I'm reminded of the story of a student who was misbehaving and was told by his teacher to go to the principal's office. The student protested that the teacher was making a terrible mistake and would get in big trouble. He said, "The last time I was sent to the principal, he told me, 'I don't want to ever see you in here again.'" *[Laughter]*

Well, I'd like to see each one of you come back here again and again. You're here because your schools are part of what's right with American education. Not too long ago, although we put more money into our

schools each year, much of the news we got back was bad. Graduation rates, test scores declined while violence, pregnancy, and drug abuse increased. In a real sense we were failing our children. But today I'm happy to report that across the country the situation is being turned around. Excellence is on the rise in our schools, and drugs are on their way out. Schools like yours are showing the country how to achieve excellence by setting high standards, maintaining discipline, and emphasizing the basics. What you accomplished wasn't bought with Federal dollars or engineered from Washington. The credit belongs to administrators who provided leadership, parents who got involved, teachers who inspired, and students who studied.

One way of helping all our schools is by bringing more accountability into the educational system. That means merit pay to reward our best teachers, competency testing to maintain a high quality of instruction, achievement testing to measure the performance of schools and students, greater parental choice in determining their children's education, and programs like this that recognize the best schools in America. A Gallup Poll released last month found that the American people are solidly behind the goals of the education reform movement. Three out of four adults want our

schools to focus on the fundamentals like math, English, history, and science, and to raise their academic requirements.

The majority of Americans also want to see our schools once again building character, and I agree with them. A critical part of the rebirth of American education and getting back to basics is having our schools again teach old-fashioned ideas like right and wrong. Teaching traditional values does not trap our children into the past. These values are a bedrock from which young people will be able to launch themselves into the future, feeling secure in a world of change because they've been taught truths which never change: honor, justice, loyalty, and courage.

As you all know, this is the 200th anniversary of the signing of our Constitution. Another way of looking at it is that this is also the 200th anniversary of our schools teaching the Constitution. And that is a vital responsibility, and one your schools take seriously and do well. In the words of Henry Clay: "The Constitution of the United States was made not merely for the generation that then existed, but for posterity—unlimited, undefined, endless, perpetual posterity."

The original Constitution is preserved here in Washington in the National Archives, as you know. And the ink of the parchment has faded from time and exposure, but the strength of its message has not faded from the day it was signed. And what gives the document its power and its permanence is that its words are taught and spoken in every classroom in America. As John Marshall said: "The people made the Constitution. It lives only by their will." Well, let's make sure that it lives forever. As I see it, our schools shape America's future one student at a time. So, the men who wrote our Constitution—well, they're counting on you.

Under our system, it's not the Federal Government that runs the schools, but the men and women who come out of our local schools—they run the government. When I read the writings of our Founding Fathers,

who designed our system, I always note how openly they gave praise to God and sought His guidance. And I just can't believe that it was ever their intention to expel Him from our schools. [Applause] I could stop right there and be happy. [Laughter] When we explain to our students for the first time the marvel of the semiconductors or share with them any of God's wonders or the fact that they live in the freest, most prosperous nation in the history of the world, don't you think they may want to utter words of prayer, and shouldn't we let them?

I must say before I go on, someone has once said that, actually, as long as there are final exams there will be prayer in schools. [Laughter] In the beginning, I was joking about being called to the principal's office, but the truth is I have a warm spot in my heart for principals. I was in the principal's office once in Dixon High School. And I wasn't there just to pass the time of day. At one point, he said to me, "You know, I don't care what you think of me now. I'm only interested in what you'll think of me 15 years from now." Well, I didn't have to wait 15 years to appreciate him and let him know what he'd meant to me. In fact, he was a remarkable friend. We kept in close contact until his death. And what you've accomplished, to be here today—from what your students have achieved, I don't think your students will have to wait 15 years either to let you know what you've done for them.

And now I know you have other things to do, so do I. [Laughter] But, thank you all, and God bless you all. Thank you. The Secretary of Education has just told me I can say "class dismissed." [Laughter] All right, thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 11:34 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House to officials representing the 271 schools that were recognized for their achievements. In his closing remarks, he referred to Secretary of Education William J. Bennett.

Proclamation 5720—Polish American Heritage Month, 1987 October 5, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

During October the people of the United States recognize and rejoice in the many accomplishments of generations of Polish Americans. From the founding of our Republic to the present day, Poles have enriched, strengthened, and defended our Nation. Millions of Polish Americans have attained great success in the arts, sciences, scholarship, and every other field of endeavor, but perhaps their most special gifts to America have been the faith and love of liberty Poles have cherished through the centuries.

That Polish love of liberty manifested itself in the hard, early days of the American Revolution when Polish freedom fighters such as Kosciuszko and Pulaski stood with us for independence. They knew the profound truth that freedom's cause is universal, that in struggling for our freedom they were working for Poland's freedom and for all mankind's. They knew that once America had fired "the shot heard 'round the world" no tyrant could ever again rest easy.

Today, as always, Americans stand in solidarity with the continuing Polish struggle for political, religious, and economic liberty.

By advocating these precious freedoms so eloquently and forthrightly, His Holiness John Paul II and Lech Walesa have come to symbolize hope, justice, and human dignity to all Americans and to countless millions around the world. Their idealism, self-sacrifice, and devotion inspire us as we express our thanks to Polish Americans and our pride in our country's Polish heritage.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 135, has designated the month of October 1987 as "Polish American Heritage Month" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 1987 as Polish American Heritage Month. I urge all Americans to join their fellow citizens of Polish descent in observance of this month.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America and two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:36 p.m., October 5, 1987]

Proclamation 5721—Benign Essential Blepharospasm Awareness Week, 1987 October 5, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

A little-known but debilitating neuromuscular disease produces functional blindness in thousands of Americans. The disorder, benign essential blepharospasm, causes involuntary and usually uncontrollable spasms

of the muscles around the eyes that force the eyelids shut. As the disease progresses, the spasms become almost continuous.

Approximately 30,000 Americans suffer from benign essential blepharospasm. Most of them first experience symptoms in their fifth or sixth decade, although younger people are also affected. In the early stages of the disease, when the patient experi-

ences an occasional extra wink or blink, there is only a slight impact on the quality of life. But when the spasms are more frequent, the patient cannot perform simple tasks such as reading or cooking, and ordinary activities such as driving a car become dangerous.

Treatment with drugs or surgery can temporarily relieve the symptoms of benign essential blepharospasm, but as yet there is no cure. Scientists are attempting to find improved treatments and to learn more about the causes of this condition. Three biomedical research agencies—the National Institute of Neurological and Communicative Disorders and Stroke, the National Eye Institute, and the National Institute of Mental Health—lead the Federal research attack. Support for research is also provided by the Benign Essential Blepharospasm Research Foundation, Inc., a voluntary agency known for its efforts to assist patients and their families.

To increase public awareness of benign essential blepharospasm, the Congress, by

House Joint Resolution 224, has designated the week of October 18 through October 24, 1987, as “Benign Essential Blepharospasm Awareness Week” and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 18, 1987, as Benign Essential Blepharospasm Awareness Week, and I call upon the people of the United States to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:37 p.m., October 5, 1987]

Proclamation 5722—Leif Erikson Day, 1987 October 5, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Our Nation sets aside October 9 each year to honor Leif Erikson and to celebrate our country's Nordic heritage. Almost a thousand years ago this young Viking explorer set out from Norway to convert Greenlanders to Christianity. He eventually reached North America and brought back reports of places he called Helluland, Markland, and Vinland. The explorers, missionaries, settlers, and adventurers who followed him in later centuries shared his bold spirit. The memory of Leif Erikson continues to inspire all who would chart new territory for the good of mankind.

Many who settled in North America were Nordics. Like “Leif the Lucky” they displayed great determination and courage as they came to a new world. They and their

descendants have truly contributed much to our national heritage; the strength of character and spirit of adventure they trace to their ancestors, including Leif Erikson, are traits Americans will always revere as quintessentially American.

In honor of Leif Erikson and our Nordic American heritage, the Congress, by a joint resolution approved on September 2, 1964 (78 Stat. 849, 36 U.S.C. 169c), has authorized the President to proclaim October 9 of each year as “Leif Erikson Day.”

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 9, 1987, as Leif Erikson Day, and I direct the appropriate government officials to display the flag of the United States on all government buildings on that day. I also invite the people of the United States to honor Leif Erikson and our Nordic American heritage by holding

appropriate exercises and ceremonies in suitable places throughout our land.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fifth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of

the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:38 p.m., October 5, 1987*]

Remarks to Reporters on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork

October 6, 1987

The President. Well, thank you all for coming down this morning. As you know, the Senate Judiciary Committee will act on my nomination of Judge Bork to the Supreme Court. His opponents have made this a political contest by using tactics and distortions that I think are deplorable. And I could say more in that same tone, but time is of the essence.

Robert Bork is, without question, one of the most qualified candidates for the Supreme Court that we've ever had, and I am going to continue to do everything I can to get him confirmed. Our work is cut out for us, and we have a lot to do before the floor vote. We simply have to work together on this.

And that's a pause, and the meeting will start in a short time.

Q. Mr. President, are you saying you are

not going to withdraw this nomination until there's a vote on the Senate floor?

The President. I am saying I am not going to withdraw this nomination.

Q. Under any circumstances?

The President. No.

Q. Sir, you say it's political, but a number of Republicans have also come out against Mr. Bork, including a member of the Republican leadership, Senator Chafee.

The President. Well, Chris [Chris Wallace, NBC News], I'm not going to take any more questions. We've got a meeting to get to, and I have a hunch that subject will be discussed in this meeting. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 9:40 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House, prior to a meeting with Republican congressional leaders.

Nomination of John R. Davis, Jr., To Be United States Ambassador to Poland

October 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate John R. Davis, Jr., of California, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be United States Ambassador to Poland. He would succeed Francis J. Meehan.

Since 1983 Mr. Davis has been Chargé d'Affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw. Prior to this he was Director of Eastern European Affairs at the Department of

State, 1981-1983. Mr. Davis has been consul general in Sydney, Australia, 1976-1980; deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, 1973-1976; consul general in Milan, Italy, 1972-1973; and economic officer at the U.S. Embassy in Rome, 1967-1972. From 1963 to 1967, he served in the State Department as a personnel officer, economic trainee, and economic desk officer. From 1960 to 1963, Mr. Davis was

consul and economic officer at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, Poland. He joined the Foreign Service in 1955.

Mr. Davis graduated from the University of California at Los Angeles (B.A., 1953) and Harvard University (M.P.A., 1965). He

served in the United States Navy, 1945–1946. He is articulate in Italian and Polish. Mr. Davis was born July 25, 1927, in Eau Claire, WI. He is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of 26 Members of the Presidential Board of Advisors on Private Sector Initiatives, and Designation of the Chairman and Vice Chairman

October 6, 1987

The President today announced the reappointment of John J. Phelan, Jr., chairman and chief executive officer of the New York Stock Exchange, as Chairman of the Presidential Board of Advisors on Private Sector Initiatives; and Edward O. Fritts, president and chief executive officer of the National Association of Broadcasters, as Vice Chairman of the Presidential Board of Advisors.

In addition, the President announced the reappointment of the following individuals as members of the Board:

John M. Albertine, vice chairman, Farley Industries;

Ann Ascher, president, Ann Ascher, Inc.;

Frederic H. Brooks, chairman of the board, MacGregor Sporting Goods, Inc.;

Michael P. Castine, director, Spencer Stuart;

Don V. Cogman, president, Americans for Responsible Government;

Elaine D. Crispen, Press Secretary to the First Lady, the White House;

Jock Elliott, chairman emeritus, Ogilvy & Mather;

Thomas W. Evans, partner, Mudge Rose Guthrie Alexander & Ferdon;

Lyda Hill, president, Hill Development Corp.;

James L. Ketelsen, chairman of the board, Tennessee, Inc.;

Gordon C. Luce, chairman of the board and chief executive officer, the Great American First

Savings Bank;

A.C. Lyles, A.C. Lyles Productions, Paramount Pictures;

George F. Moody, president, chief executive officer and director, Security Pacific Corp. and Security Pacific National Bank;

Robert Mosbacher, Jr., president, Mosbacher Energy Co.;

Dana G. Rinehart, mayor of Columbus, OH;

George W. Romney, chairman, VOLUNTEER: The National Center;

Paul C. Sheeline, deputy chairman, Inter-Continental Hotels Corp.;

Robert D. Sparks, president, W.K. Kellogg Foundation;

Jean Stone, civic leader;

R. William Taylor, president, American Society of Association Executives;

Richard Treibick, president and chairman of the board, Cable Holdings, Inc.;

Alexander Trowbridge, president, National Association of Manufacturers;

C. William Verity, Jr., chairman of the executive committee, Armco, Inc.;

Robert Woodson, president, National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise.

The President's Board of Advisors on Private Sector Initiatives works to encourage charitable giving, voluntarism, public-private partnerships, and corporate social responsibility.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Minority Enterprise Development Week Awards

October 7, 1987

Thank you very much, and welcome to the White House. As you well know, this week, in a celebration called "We the People," America is honoring minority business owners and recognizing their contributions to our country.

And I'm pleased that you could join me here as part of this celebration. I can't help thinking what a portrait of American imagination, industry, and enterprise it would make if all of America's more than 840,000 minority entrepreneurs were here today. Of course, if we requisitioned that many folding chairs we might be accused of promoting big government. *[Laughter]*

Actually, that reminds me of an old story. There was a small businessman who had been doing business with the Government for many years. I think a lot of you know what sort of paperwork that can entail. So, with the files and records really piling up, he wrote the Government and asked for permission, and if it was necessary to keep all of the old documents or could he get rid of some of them? And a letter came back saying, yes, you can throw away any papers more than 8 years old. Of course, be sure to make copies of each one before you do it. *[Laughter]*

But in all seriousness, in this bicentennial of our Constitution we should reflect upon how blessed we truly are. Under our system, government is strong enough to defend justice, but limited enough to guarantee freedom. Our Founding Fathers saw economic rights as an essential part of freedom. Alexander Hamilton observed that "Power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will." Well, by protecting life, liberty, and property, and assuring the civil rights of all Americans, our Constitution has made our country free and prosperous and produced on this continent the greatest nation on Earth.

As you know, I recently nominated to the Supreme Court, Judge Robert Bork, a distinguished member of the U.S. Court of Appeals whose deference to law and prece-

dent is so clear and whose scholarship is so exemplary that no decision rendered by him has ever been overturned by the Supreme Court. If confirmed, Judge Bork would join our eight sitting Justices in their dedication to preserving the rights of every American under the Constitution. I have no doubt that Judge Bork would be a widely respected force for justice and civil rights on our highest court. But unfortunately, not everyone agrees with me on that.

Free enterprise and equal opportunity have given America the most dynamic economy in the world. In the last 5 years, the United States has created nearly 14 million new jobs—that's more jobs than all of Western Europe and Japan combined have created in more than a decade. And over 4 million jobs have gone to black and Hispanic workers. It's not the Government that created that explosion of jobs, but private businesses like yours.

Actually, we did do one thing here in Washington to help in that—we got out of the way. We did that by cutting taxes, eliminating excessive regulations, and reducing the growth of government spending. And the result is America is heading toward a new record for the longest peacetime economic expansion in our history. And unlike the expansion of '75 to '79, when black family income actually declined, during this expansion the incomes of black American families have grown by 14 percent. Moreover, the decline in the poverty rate over the past 4 years has been the fastest among the minorities.

I think we all understand that our economy is not statistics, but people. And when we hear good news like that we have to appreciate what that means for people's lives. I believe that when it comes to making sure that all Americans—from every walk of life, every color, every religion—have the chance to make it big, there's no better way than that to keep the economy sparkling and the opportunities expanding for all our citizens. But we all

know that misguided government policies can reduce opportunity.

For example, raising the minimum wage laws, most economists agree, reduces employment. And it's minorities, young people, and the poor that are hit the hardest. But some in Congress, under pressure from special interests, are pushing legislation to hike the minimum wage. Our Labor Department has estimated that every 10-percent increase in the minimum wage will mean 100,000 to 200,000 fewer jobs. Now, some in Congress want to raise the minimum wage more than 38 percent over the next 3 years. That could mean 800,000 jobs down the drain—jobs that already exist, or jobs, hope, and opportunity that will never be created.

This administration wants no part of a bill that will put people out of work or keep teenagers and young adults from getting their first job. We want to help people move up the economic ladder, not hoist the lower rungs out of their reach. You and all the rest of America's entrepreneurs make a vital contribution in bringing people into the work force and, through training and job experience, helping them to advance and grow.

In 1982 I made a commitment to greater opportunity for economic progress and independence for all Americans. And part of this commitment was establishing MED Week, and I think we can all be proud of what the record shows. From loans to grants to procurement contracts, we have set the stage for the expanded development of minority business. In fiscal year '86 we exceeded our goal for procurement contracts awarded to minority firms, but by far

the most important steps were taken by entrepreneurs like you.

Peter Drucker has said that whenever you see a successful business, someone once made a courageous decision. Those words ring particularly true during Minority Enterprise Development Week, when we honor courageous people who overcame difficult odds and achieved success through hard work, vision, and prayer. By working so hard to realize your dreams, you also help other people's dreams to come true: the employees you hire, the suppliers you give business to, the charities you support, and all those inspired by the example of accomplishment, dignity, and self-reliance that you set in your economy—or community, I should say.

Minority business is an important force in the economy and a vital part of our communities. If the dream of America is to be strengthened, we must not waste the genius of one mind or the strength of one body or the spirit of one soul. As entrepreneurs you are creators. You help create for the future in America and that will be even greater than it is today. You give life to the American dream.

So, I thank you. God bless you all. And now it's my pleasure to help with the awards.

Note: The President spoke at 11:48 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The recipients included Orlino C. Baldonado, of Oak Ridge, TN, Federal Minority Contractor of the Year; Lewis B. Ketchum, of Tulsa, OK, National Minority Entrepreneur of the Year; and Liborio and Ruben Hinojosa, of Mercedes, TX, National 8(a) Graduates of the Year.

Nomination of Kathleen C. Bailey To Be an Assistant Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

October 7, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Kathleen C. Bailey to be an Assistant Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

(Bureau of Nuclear and Weapons Control). She would succeed Lewis A. Dunn.

Since 1986 Mrs. Bailey has been Deputy Assistant Secretary for Research and Inter-

departmental Affairs (Bureau of Intelligence and Research) at the Department of State. Prior to this she was Deputy Director and Acting Director of the Office of Research at the United States Information Agency, from 1983 to 1985. Mrs. Bailey was founder and president of International Ventures Con-

sultants in San Francisco, CA, from 1981 to 1983.

Mrs. Bailey graduated from the University of Illinois (B.A., 1971; M.A. 1972; Ph.D., 1976). She was born January 5, 1949, in Dallas, TX. Mrs. Bailey is married and resides in Arlington, VA.

Address to the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States

October 7, 1987

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, Ambassadors, and ladies and gentlemen: It's a great honor to have this opportunity to address this session of the Organization of American States. I confess to a feeling of great pride at being here today, for this is no ordinary diplomatic event, but what must be the largest assemblage of Ambassadors from democratic countries in the history of the hemisphere.

As we gather here today, the hopes and dreams that built this hall and formed this organization have never been so near fulfillment. The work of our forefathers, honored in the Hall of Heroes, has never been so close to completion. We come together as the representatives not of one country nor of a single continent but of a hemisphere dedicated to the cause of human freedom and democratic government. This last decade has witnessed the triumph of freedom in the Americas. Ten years ago, the great majority of people in Latin America lived under oppression. Today 90 percent know the freedom and dignity of democratic government. The story of that democratic transformation is one of the proudest chapters in human history.

Many here in this room today have been a part of it. It's a story of courage, statesmanship, perseverance, of heroism and, yes, sometimes, martyrdom. It is the story of men such as Victor Pax Estenssoro, fighting terrorists, drug traffickers, and sheer poverty to keep Bolivia free. It is the story of Raúl Alfonsín raising Argentina from defeat and dictatorship to a new democracy. It is the story of José Napoleón Duarte, de-

tained, tortured, and exiled after winning El Salvador's Presidency in 1972. He had the courage to return home, face down his torturers, and prevail. It is the story of all the valiant statesmen of Central and South America who struggle to establish and maintain democracy in their countries.

It is also the story of common people, such as the woman in El Salvador wounded by guerrilla fire on the way to vote. She stood in line at the polls for hours but would not leave to have her wounds treated until after she had voted. And the grandmother who had been warned by the Communists that if she voted she would be killed when she returned from the polls. "You can kill me," was her defiant answer. "You can kill my family, kill my neighbors, but you can't kill us all."

Well, that's the voice of the Americas, the proud voice of the descendants of Simón Bolívar who demand freedom as their birthright. "The veil has been torn asunder," Bolívar once wrote. "We have already seen the light, and it is not our desire to be thrust back into the darkness." Yes, the Americas have come far into the light of liberty, and we have no intention of falling back into the shadows of oppression and tyranny. But for all the heroism and perseverance, our journey is not yet complete. Today we're called upon to face one of the most serious challenges that has ever confronted our hemisphere. It will demand from all our nations the same statesmanship, the same courage, and the absolute commitment to freedom that has brought us so far.

I'm talking about the efforts of the democratic nations of Central, South, and North America to bring Nicaragua into the embrace of freedom, to sever its ties from an expansionist, colonial force, and to secure for the people of Nicaragua the fulfillment of the promises of democracy and human rights that were made to the OAS in 1979.

We are now at a critical juncture. The Guatemala peace accord, an historic agreement signed by the five Central American Presidents on August 7th, contains many of the elements necessary to bring both lasting peace and enduring democracy to the region. The accord calls on all parties to end the fighting and insist on true democracy and human rights in Nicaragua, including freedom of the press, freedom of worship, the right of free political association, and full, free, and fair elections. The accord makes clear: Democracy is the bottom line; there can be no compromise on that point.

But while there's reason for hope, there is also reason for great caution. President Arias has stated that it is only with true democracy in Nicaragua that peace will survive. "If democracy doesn't take hold in Nicaragua," he said, "the armed struggle will continue." And of the Sandinistas, he has said: "It is true they are Marxists. It is true if they consolidate themselves they're going to try to export the revolution, to undermine Costa Rica, to try to create subversion in this country." Well, we share President Arias's hope and aspirations, but also his skepticism of the Communist Sandinistas—a skepticism born of a long record of Sandinista deceit and broken promises. I think skeptics may be excused if they ask: Just where will Daniel Ortega be on November 7th, the day the accord goes into effect?

We cannot forget that there already exists a negotiated settlement with the Sandinistas that predates the Guatemala plan: the settlement of 1979, in which this organization, in an unprecedented action, removed recognition from a sitting government, the government of Anastasio Somoza, and helped bring the Sandinistas to power. As part of that settlement, the Sandinistas agreed to implement genuine democracy, with free elections and full civil liberties. Each nation here, as a member of the Orga-

nization of American States, is a party to that negotiated settlement.

We know now that the Sandinistas never intended to carry out those promises. Just a few months later, the Sandinistas met in secret and drafted what has come to be known as the 72-hour document, in which they spelled out their plans for building another Cuba in Nicaragua. And even as the United States was sending the new Nicaraguan Government millions of dollars in aid—more aid than any other nation—the Sandinistas were busy smuggling arms to the Communist guerrillas in El Salvador.

But although the Sandinistas have reneged on their commitment to that negotiated settlement, this organization must not. Those promises of democracy and peace were promises we made, as well—promises to the people of Nicaragua that their hopes for freedom would not be disappointed. We gave our word of honor, and we can't walk away from it. Those promises still form the absolute base of any negotiated settlement with the Sandinista Communists. Full, free, and fair elections and the open society that alone can make them possible, including full human rights and expulsion of all Soviet and Cuban forces—these must be the bedrock conditions upon which any further agreement with the Sandinistas is built.

This is why, as we press on toward negotiations, we must remain steadfast in our commitment to bring true democracy to Nicaragua and clear-eyed and realistic about who and what the Sandinistas are. In response to the Guatemala accord, the Sandinistas have taken a few initial steps toward compliance, but these welcome steps are only a beginning. *La Prensa* and *Radio Catolica* have been allowed to reopen, but the other independent papers remain closed. The dozen other radio stations are still not allowed to broadcast.

Recently the Social Christian Party held its 30th anniversary celebration in Managua. In a demonstration of the internal opposition to the Sandinistas, some 4,000 people attended the rally. The Sandinistas allowed the rally to take place but immediately detained 18 of the Social Christian Party members on trumped-up charges. The former President of Venezuela, Luis

Herrera Campins, who was there as a special guest, called the arrests a blatant act of political harassment.

The Sandinistas must learn that democracy doesn't mean allowing a rally to take place and then arresting those who take part; it means hundreds of such rallies, free from harassment, either by the secret police or by what the Sandinistas call the divine mobs. Democracy doesn't mean opening one newspaper and one radio station, but opening them all. Democracy doesn't mean releasing a few political prisoners, but all 10,000 of them, some of whom have been imprisoned for as long as 8 years. Democracy doesn't mean selectively granting temporary freedoms in order to placate world opinion, but permanent, across-the-board human rights, guaranteed by a constitution and protected by the checks and balances of democratic government.

Ultimately—and this is the most important lesson of all—democracy means returning power to the hands of the people. The Sandinistas have to understand that they do not have the option of being dictators. Their only option is to lead a political party and serve for limited terms of office if chosen by the people in free and fair elections. What happens in this next month will be crucial, and it will be the responsibility of all of us in the OAS to insist that the Sandinistas give peace a chance by truly opening up their society. More than anyone, the members of the OAS have a particular responsibility to take the lead in verification of the Guatemala agreements. We cannot be satisfied with facades of freedom erected to fool international opinion and then quickly dismantled when the pressure is off. We must insist on real democracy in Nicaragua not for a week, not for a month or a year, but for always.

All we're asking for is true democracy. Anyone who demands anything less is not serving the cause of peace in Nicaragua. And let me just say there are no new demands here. It is all spelled out in the Guatemala accord and the Wright-Reagan peace plan. Tell me, how can you have democracy when thousands are arrested for political reasons? How can you have a democracy when individuals who displease the Sandinistas are punished by withholding

the ration cards that allow them to buy food and other necessities? How can you have democracy with a secret police force, commanded by dedicated Leninists, that keeps tabs on every citizen through the so-called block committees? How can you have democracy when the entire society is being militarized with the military under the control of one political party and its Cuban and Soviet advisers?

Democracy is made up of specifics—day-to-day freedoms—just as tyranny is made up of day-to-day oppressions. Is it sincere to talk about democracy but ignore the specific markers by which we can tell if democracy truly exists? I don't think so. That's why the march toward peace in Central America must be a march—step-by-step, perhaps, but still relentless—toward democratic freedom.

Along with democratic reforms, the Guatemala accord calls for national reconciliation in Nicaragua through a negotiated cease-fire and a full amnesty. Just this week, President Duarte has called for a spirit of national reconciliation in his country, urging all Salvadorans to, in his words, "Forgive all those whose acts—or those acts that have touched our hearts with pain." Despite the violence done to him and his family by the guerrillas, he has begun negotiations with them. President Cerezo of Guatemala, too, has responded to the call for reconciliation, and his government will soon be meeting with the guerrillas there. They've done so because they want the Guatemala accord to work. If the Sandinistas truly want the accord to work, isn't it time they sat down and negotiated with the Nicaraguan freedom fighters?

I'd like to take a moment now to address myself to the ladies and gentlemen of the press. As the process of national reconciliation moves forward, your profession bears a special responsibility to see that the terms of the peace process are fully carried out and democracy finds a permanent home in Nicaragua. Sometimes in the past, the media has been criticized for having a double standard. As the story unfolds in Nicaragua, there can be no double standard, only one single and absolute standard: democracy. You must keep watch on the

progress of democracy in Nicaragua; train all your investigatory abilities, all your skepticism on the Sandinista government. Demand full disclosure. See that they live up to their promises. This could be one of journalism's finest hours when, with the truth, you helped set a people free.

As I said, the Guatemala accord is a positive movement in the continuing effort, begun with the OAS-negotiated settlement in 1979, to bring democracy and peace to Nicaragua. But although the accord is a step in the right direction, it does not address U.S. security concerns in the region: the growing Soviet-Cuban presence that seeks to establish a Soviet beachhead on the American mainland and the rapid and destabilizing growth of the Sandinista armed forces that threatens Nicaragua's democratic neighbors.

However, these security concerns are addressed in the Wright-Reagan peace plan. The first paragraphs of that plan state in no uncertain terms "that there be no Soviet, Cuban, or Communist-bloc bases in Nicaragua" and "that Nicaragua pose no threat to its neighbor countries nor provide a staging ground for subversion in this hemisphere." In other words, the Soviet-bloc and Cuban forces must leave. We will not tolerate Communist colonialism on the American mainland. Freedom in Nicaragua, liberation from all tyrants, domestic and foreign—that is the commitment of the United States, a bipartisan consensus on the conditions that will satisfy U.S. security interests. And let me add, those security interests are shared by every democratic nation in the hemisphere. From the first Congress of American States, convened by Simon Bolivar, and the Treaty of Perpetual Union, League and Confederation, the peoples of the American hemisphere have insisted on the sovereignty and independence of member states against foreign imperialism.

Today there are only two colonial dictatorships in the Americas. Of one, John Kennedy said over 20 years ago: "Forces beyond the hemisphere have made Cuba a victim of foreign imperialism, an instrument of the policy of others, a weapon in an effort dictated by external powers to subvert the other American republics." Today these same forces grip Nicaragua,

but there is an anticolonial struggle that has arisen and that can throw off the imperialist yoke. The fact is that there's only one reason why the Communist subversion of the Central American democracies has been, for the moment, blocked. There is only one reason why the democratic process envisioned in the Guatemala plan still has a hope for success, and that is the brave Nicaraguan freedom fighters who are battling and dying to bring freedom and justice to their homeland.

Most are young men, barely in their twenties, only children when the Somoza regime was toppled. They have heard of the promises of 1979—of freedom, human rights—but they've known only tyranny, the steadily growing stranglehold of the new dictators on their society. They have seen their freedoms choked off one by one, their farms confiscated, their priests harassed. They have seen arbitrary arrests, beatings, and official murder become the order of the day. They've seen other young Nicaraguans drafted to serve under Soviet and Cuban so-called advisers, pawns in their war to impose a foreign tyranny on the American mainland. Yes, these Nicaraguans have known only tyranny. They have seen one dictator fall only to be replaced by nine Commandantes who are far worse, and they have rebelled. Their hearts demand freedom. In the spirit of the American freedom fighters of earlier centuries, they are fighting for liberty, they're fighting for independence.

There are now well over 15,000 Nicaraguan freedom fighters—three times the number that overthrew Somoza—operating throughout the entire length of Nicaragua. They would not have survived without the friendship and help of the Nicaraguan people. For 7 years now the freedom fighters have prevented the consolidation of totalitarian power in Nicaragua. For now, the billions of dollars in Soviet-bloc military aid pouring into Managua have been aimed primarily at defeating the freedom fighters so that later they may attack the surrounding democracies.

All of us in public life should remember it is the freedom fighters—most of them poor farmers fighting against overwhelming odds

in the jungles of Nicaragua—it is their blood and courage that have stemmed the tide of Communist expansion in Central America. Without the freedom fighters, the Sandinistas never would have signed the Guatemala accord, and there would be no pressure on the Sandinistas to reform. Their totalitarian grip on Nicaragua would only grow tighter and, with all dissent quashed at home, the Sandinistas would soon turn their attention to their neighbors. The huge Sandinista military machine, equipped and staffed by Cubans and Soviet-bloc advisers, would spread its shadow across all of Central America. Their proven subversion of the surrounding democracies, only temporarily slowed, would continue apace. In fact, even now, in the middle of the peace process, with all world opinion focused on the Sandinistas, they still continue to supply weapons to the Communist guerrillas in El Salvador.

We will not just shrug our shoulders and watch tens of thousands of brave men and their families turned into refugees. No, we want to see that nation reconciled. We want to see the freedom fighters able to go home to live in peace and freedom in Nicaragua. The Congress of the United States has made a moral commitment to these men; it cannot just walk away. I've made a personal commitment to them, and I will not walk away. They are fighting in the jungles of Nicaragua not only for their own freedom but for your freedom and mine. And I make a solemn vow: As long as there is breath in this body, I will speak and work, strive and struggle, for the cause of the Nicaraguan freedom fighters.

But continuing aid to the democratic resistance is not only a moral obligation, it is the essential guarantee that the Sandinistas will live up to the democratic conditions of the Guatemala accord and that the democratic countries of the Americas will be safe from Sandinista subversion. We must ask: Would the Sandinistas have signed the accord if it weren't for the freedom fighters? If the United States Congress had voted against aid to the freedom fighters last year, would we be talking about democratic reforms in Nicaragua today? The answer is clearly no.

For these reasons, I will request and fight for a \$270 million package of renewed mili-

tary and humanitarian assistance for the freedom fighters that will be spread over an 18-month period. The renewed assistance will continue until the Sandinistas, negotiating with the freedom fighters, conclude an agreement for a cease-fire and full democracy is established in Nicaragua. Once a cease-fire is fully in effect, only that support necessary to maintain the freedom fighters as a viable force will be delivered. Then we—and they—will be watching to see how genuine the democratic reforms in Nicaragua are. The best indicator will be when the freedom fighters are allowed to contest power politically without retribution rather than through force of arms. As that happens, our support levels to the resistance forces will decrease proportionately, and the assistance money will then be redirected to strengthening the democratic process underway in Nicaragua.

In the next crucial months, the free nations of the Americas will have to be ever vigilant. We'll have to be steadfast in our insistence that democracy is the only guarantee of peace. But the Americas would not have come this far without the courage, perseverance, and commitment to freedom that I spoke of earlier. I have no doubt that freedom will prevail. José Martí, the great Cuban apostle of freedom, once said: "There are two sides in this world: On one side are those who hate liberty because they want it solely for themselves; on the other are those who love liberty for one and all."

Liberty for one and all—that might be the motto of this organization. During the laying of the cornerstone of this building, the Brazilian statesman Joaquim Nabuco talked of the special destiny of the American hemisphere and the unique purpose of the OAS: "It seems evident that a decree of providence made the western shore of the Atlantic appear late in history as the chosen land for a great renewal of mankind." That is the solemn trust of this organization: to keep watch over this chosen land, to keep it secure from alien powers and colonial despotisms, so that man may renew himself here in freedom.

That is why in 1979 this organization, and many of the American states individually,

reached out to the Nicaraguan people and pledged to them true freedom and full human rights. Now we must simply hold to that promise, just as we hold to our love of liberty, not for the few but, as José Martí said: liberty, for one and for all.

Thank you all very much. God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:15 p.m. in

the Hall of the Americas at the Organization of American States Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Roberto Leyton, President of the Permanent Council, and João Clemente Baena, Secretary General of the Organization of American States. The address was broadcast live by Voice of America's Spanish-speaking stations and simultaneously translated into Spanish.

Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Irving R. Kaufman

October 7, 1987

The President. Judge, I'm only going to speak for a moment or two because I know there aren't many in this group of friends and colleagues who need to be reminded of your accomplishments. But I do think it's important to formally note here the debt that this nation owes to you for a lifetime of devoted service.

The simple fact is that you've had one of the most distinguished careers in the history of the American judiciary. Not only that, you've handled some of the most important cases of our times, but you've handled them with distinction and character. And it's for this that history will remember you; and for this, today, that your countrymen thank you.

For example, only a short walk from here is the office where President Eisenhower told you that of all the crises in his own life, and he specifically mentioned the Normandy invasion, he had never felt so much public pressure as he did during the international campaign to thwart the course of justice in the Rosenberg espionage case. But President Eisenhower also told you that whenever he considered weakening or giving in to that political pressure, he thought of the courage that you had shown during the trial and sentencing, and I know he told you he took inspiration from that. Judge Kaufman, keeping a judiciary independent and protecting the courts from political pressures is both noble and heroic work, and you certainly earned both of

those adjectives. And by the way, it's certainly worth noting one comment you made during the sentence hearing, you said then that betraying a nation's secrets was a crime worse than murder. Well, sadly, we've learned in recent years how utterly appropriate and far-seeing those words were.

You have, of course, been at the center of many other important moments in recent judicial history: the Appalachian crime trial, the *Taylor v. Board of Education* desegregation case, the Pentagon Papers case, and many others. And during all of these proceedings your conduct and decisions showed always a level of fairness and excellence that was frequently remarked upon by court observers and, yes, sometimes even by the contending parties themselves. It's true you insisted on high standards, that you've always asked the best of those who appeared before you or worked with you. But then you had a right to make such demands—because you made even greater demands on yourself.

During 52 years, you have faithfully carried out your responsibility to do justice and have compassion. Serving on both the District Court and the Court of Appeals, you have demonstrated the highest qualities of the bench. When you obtained senior status, you were the longest-serving judge on the Court of Appeals anywhere in the country. But your willingness to go even beyond your achievements on the bench is another reason for our gratitude today.

Whether it was jury reform—a committee that you headed for the U.S. Judicial Conference and whose recommendations you helped move through the Congress—or your wide and varied writings for legal journals and popular magazines and newspapers or your work with—or for the Judicial Administration, you have been a friend, advocate, and popularizer of the law.

And I think you know I owe you a special debt of gratitude here. Judge, one of my greatest hopes for this administration was a crackdown on organized crime of historic proportions—a full declaration of war that would lead to not just occasional tactical victories against the mob but a systematic strategic approach that would break apart the nationwide syndicates and, once and for all, take this terrible blot from American history. In many ways now, we are approaching that goal—we have set in place both the strategy and the machinery to accomplish this. And all of this was due in no small part to the 3 years of work done by the President's Commission on Organized Crime that you so graciously agreed to chair. I won't list all the accomplishments of the Commission, but from examining the role of drugs to finances to new emerging groups to the legal community, the Commission did extraordinary work—work that is routinely and frequently quoted now, whenever organized crime is discussed in the media or the Government or the academia [academia].

And I know these commissions never are easy work. They suddenly come to life and have to achieve a great deal in a very short time, and there are plenty of startup problems. So, Judge, I know it wasn't easy to push along the bureaucracy, some of whom weren't so happy with the idea of the Commission. And I know you had your moments of frustration. On the other hand, I hope you also take comfort not only in the great contributions of the Commission but in the knowledge that, when it came to the bureaucracy, you gave as good as you got. [Laughter] In fact, I heard about one bureaucrat who, when he stopped trying to get in the way, just threw up his hands and said that if we really wanted to eliminate organized crime in America, all we needed to do was provide you with the home

phone numbers of the major mobsters. [Laughter]

And that's what it comes down to, Judge. I don't know how many people about whom this can be said. But the truth is that in your career you took on the mob, the international Communist conspiracy, and even the United States Government bureaucracy, and they, not you, came up second best. So, we salute you today, not only for your intellect and achievement but for your courage and persistence as well. We salute you for your unconditional commitment to a cause you perceived as worthy of such selflessness and the cause of justice.

Now, I know you've been recommended by two prior Attorneys General for this medal, and I know Ed Meese has been enthusiastically recommending this award for the past 2 years. And that's why I'm especially delighted that we could do this now and have this ceremony here today to honor you for what you've done for the cause of justice, for the law, and for future generations of Americans. So now let me read the citation:

Irving Robert Kaufman became an assistant Federal prosecutor at the age of 25. More than five decades later, both his energy and his devotion to the rule of law remain utterly unflagging. Assistant Federal prosecutor, Special Assistant to the United States Attorney General, District Court judge, judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, member of countless panels and commissions, including the leadership of the President's Commission on Organized Crime—Judge Kaufman has brought to each his practical skills, his zeal for justice, and, again, that remarkable energy. He is a distinguished jurist and a great American.

Judge Kaufman, the Medal of Freedom.
Judge Kaufman. Thank you.

The President. And congratulations and—[applause].

Judge Kaufman. I shall only take a moment. I start by saying that I should heed the advice of many friends and that is that nothing beats no speech. [Laughter] And, so, with that, I will be very brief.

Mr. President, I'm very grateful to you. You've always been so gracious and, of course, I know you always will be. And give my best to your dear wife. And, of course,

I'm honored to accept this Medal of Freedom from the President and to be recognized by the Nation I have served for nearly half a century. I suppose I've been fortunate to have served with some very capable Attorneys General. And I put among the leaders of those Attorneys General, Ed Meese, who had the wisdom to recommend me—[*laughter*—or to be one of those who recommended me for the Medal. [*Laughter*]

It has been my good fortune to serve my country as an Assistant United States Attorney, as a Special Assistant to the Attorney General, as Chairman of the President's Commission on Organized Crime, as chairman of a committee of the American Bar Association that worked for 10 years to draft 14 volumes on juvenile justice, all of which were adopted. I think all of which—although Pat Wald reminded me that maybe we only got 13 through—[*laughter*—the house of delegates of the ABA. But to get one through the house of delegates is an achievement—and to serve as a Federal judge for 38 years. The only thing that was omitted was I was a judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals—and, also no easy task, the chief judge of that herd.

Now, this represents the crowning

moment in my lifetime of devotion to law and justice. All my life, I have sought to preserve and protect the core of our heritage. As embodied in our Constitution, our nation is one of laws—not merely men—and that is the genius of America. The Constitution is our beacon and, so long as it guides the ship of state, we need not fear the rocks and shoals. And to that end, I have dedicated my heart and soul. And I take this award as confirmation, Mr. President, that in the eyes of my countrymen, I have helped keep the beacon burning. I thank you, Mr. President, and I accept with pleasure.

And I cannot step aside without also expressing my gratitude to my dear wife, Helen. We have been married for almost 52 years. And on our 50th anniversary, I said that she really is deserving of the Purple Heart. [*Laughter*] And I'd like to make that award. [*Laughter*] Well, at this time I would say, I think with this award to me, I am going to have to push for the Congressional Medal of Honor for her. [*Laughter*] Thank you very much, Mr. President. Thank you, friends, for coming.

Note: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

Message to the Congress Reporting on Naval Petroleum Reserves Production

October 7, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 201(3) of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976 (10 U.S.C. 7422(c)), I wish to inform you of my decision to extend the period of maximum efficient rate production of the naval petroleum reserves for a period of three years from April 5, 1988, the expiration of the currently authorized period of production.

I am transmitting herewith a copy of the report investigating the necessity of continued production of the reserves as required by section 7422(c)(2)(B) of the Naval Petroleum Reserves Production Act of 1976. In light of the findings contained in that report, I hereby certify that continued production from the naval petroleum reserves is in the national interest.

RONALD REAGAN

Nomination of Three Members of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science *October 7, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science:

For the remainder of the term expiring July 19, 1991:

Raymond J. Petersen, of Connecticut. He would succeed Kenneth Y. Tomlinson. Since 1969 Mr. Petersen has been executive vice president of Hearst Magazines and publishing director of Good Housekeeping Magazine. Prior to this he was senior vice president of Hearst Magazines, 1967–1969. Mr. Petersen served in the United States Army during World War II. He was born May 9, 1919, in Orange, NJ. Mr. Petersen is married, has ten children, and resides in Greenwich, CT.

For terms expiring July 19, 1992:

Sally Jo Vasicko, of Indiana. She would succeed John E. Juergensmeyer. Since 1981 Ms. Vasicko has been chairperson and professor of political science, Ball State University. Prior to this she was an associate professor of political science, 1978–1985. Ms. Vasicko graduated from the University of Puget Sound (B.A., 1965) and Duke University (M.A., 1968; Ph.D., 1971). Ms. Vasicko was born January 3, 1943, in Longview, WA, and currently resides in Muncie, IN.

Julia Li Wu, of California. This is a reappointment. Since 1969 Mrs. Wu has been the head librarian for the Virgil Junior High School in Los Angeles, CA. Prior to this she worked for the Los Angeles County public libraries, 1962–1969. Mrs. Wu graduated from National Taiwan Normal University (B.A., 1958), Immaculate Heart College (M.A., 1962), and California State University (M.A., 1975). Mrs. Wu is married, has three children, and resides in Los Angeles, CA.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the Leadership of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic *October 7, 1987*

The President today accepted with deep regret the resignation of Dr. W. Eugene Mayberry as Chairman and a member of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic.

Dr. Mayberry said: "I have been honored to be part of the Commission that you established to bring both public attention and health attention to the issue of AIDS. Your leadership has been important in setting a course for our country on dealing with this health problem." The President said: "I deeply regret that Gene Mayberry will not be able to continue serving as Chairman of the AIDS Commission. He brought to the Commission a well-respected background as the head of one of the world's most out-

standing health facilities."

The President today designated Adm. James D. Watkins, U.S. Navy, Ret., a current member of the Commission, as Chairman. Admiral Watkins is the former Chief of Naval Operations and currently directs the National Program for Personal Excellence.

"I am sure that Jim Watkins will provide the leadership that is necessary for this commission to review fully all aspects of the AIDS epidemic," the President said. The President met with Admiral Watkins today to discuss the work of the Commission. The Admiral expressed his willingness to devote his full time and energies in leading the Commission to complete its important task.

Remarks Following Discussions With President Kenneth D. Kaunda of Zambia

October 8, 1987

President Reagan. Mr. President, it's been a real pleasure to welcome you once again to the White House and to the United States. President Kaunda is a senior and highly respected statesman of Africa and the world. As chairman of the frontline states, his counsel is especially valuable as we work together for peace and economic development in southern Africa. President Kaunda's recent election for a second term as Chairman of the Organization of African Unity attests to the high esteem in which he's held throughout that vast continent.

Our talks today covered the full range of international issues. We reaffirmed our shared determination to work for the earliest possible end of apartheid in South Africa and its replacement by a truly democratic government. The United States will continue to do everything in its power to bring about a negotiated settlement involving the independence of Namibia and the departure of all foreign forces from Angola. I told President Kaunda of my meetings this week with President Chissano and of our support for his efforts to work for peace in Mozambique. I expressed our appreciation for President Kaunda's efforts on behalf of peace in the Persian Gulf and North Africa and his support for efforts to achieve real arms reduction agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Today, also, we reaffirmed the long tradition of warm and productive relations between the United States and Zambia and the other states of southern Africa and their efforts to expand trade, pursue economic reform, and develop their transportation networks. The United States has a stake in African economic progress. We've set a goal of ending the hunger that now plagues sub-Saharan Africa and to do this by the year 2000. Accomplishing this will require growth-oriented reform in Africa and assistance from the United States. We Americans are ready and willing to do our part, but setting things right will also require a com-

mitment for tangible reform from African governments.

We welcome the opportunity to join with you, President Kaunda, in helping to build a future of peace, prosperity, and freedom for Africa and for Zambia. It was a pleasure to have you as our guest, and we wish you a pleasant time in our country for the rest of your stay.

President Kaunda. Mr. President, may I once again thank you, your government, and the people for receiving my delegation and myself so well. I have found our discussions particularly useful. I'm taking back to Africa a message of hope and promise. I'm taking back to Africa a message of cooperation and not confrontation. I'm taking back to Africa a message of love based on truth, social justice, and fairplay from this country.

We have our differences of approach, but not differences of principle. This is important in itself. I can assure you, Mr. President, that when I report back to the summit of the OAU, November 30 and December 1, God willing, of this year, it will be a message which will lend more to cooperation and not confrontation.

Once again, Mr. President, thank you for the exchange of views, which have been very, very fruitful, indeed, and have helped me a lot to appreciate the stand taken by your country on many international issues. I can only end by saying I wish you God's blessings as you come to the end of the term of your very onerous job. I must once again emphasize our gratitude to you and General Secretary Gorbachev on the recently agreed, new approach to the problems of nuclear weapons on this Earth. Again, may God bless you and guide you. Thank you, Mr. President.

Note: President Reagan spoke at 1:26 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. Earlier, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office and then had lunch in the Residence.

Informal Exchange With Reporters on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork

October 8, 1987

Q. Mr. President, 51 Senators now oppose Judge Bork. He can't make it. He can't make it, sir. Fifty-one Senators have announced their opposition.

The President. He has a decision to make. I have made mine. I will support him all the way.

Q. Are you going to see him this afternoon, Mr. President?

The President. I'm not quite sure.

Q. Would you accept his decision, whatever it may be?

The President. Well, obviously I'd have to.

Q. —not ready to give up, sir?

Q. Did the White House mess up in campaigning for him? Did you do enough to campaign for him, sir?

The President. It would be impossible for me to give up in the face of a lynch mob.

Q. But did you work hard enough? Did your team work hard enough?

Q. They're blaming Howard Baker for this defeat on Capitol Hill, Mr. President.

Q. Is Bork coming over this afternoon?

Q. It's not Mr. Baker's fault?

Q. The conservatives say it is Mr. Baker's fault.

The President. I don't know any conservatives who say that. I think it's very apparent whose fault it is. We saw that in the committee hearings. I would like to call your attention to the fact that some of the same individuals who were participating in that had much the same attitude toward my nomination of Justice Rehnquist.

Note: The exchange began at 1:34 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. The final series of questions referred to Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

Remarks Announcing the Nominations of James H. Burnley IV To Be Secretary and Mary Ann Weyforth Dawson To Be Deputy Secretary of Transportation

October 8, 1987

The President. I'm delighted to announce today my nominee for the post of Secretary of Transportation, James Burnley. Jim came to Washington in 1981, where he first served as Director of VISTA and then went to the Justice Department as an Associate Deputy Attorney General. He then moved over to Transportation where he served first as General Counsel and then Deputy Secretary. Now, obviously, this sort of upward mobility represents a remarkable Washington success story. In just a few short years, Jim has moved from being a prominent North Carolina trial lawyer to a United States Cabinet nominee, and there's certainly a reason for this success. Jim's had a longtime interest in and solid grasp of

public policy.

Since his days in the Yale University Political Union—where, by the way, he reminds me he had to listen to a speech from a certain newly elected Governor of California—[laughter]—Jim has shown not just sound political instincts—he also belonged to the Conservative Party in the Union—but a desire to enter public service and influence our national life. Add to his grasp of public policy his personal integrity and easy manner, and you can understand how he earned his reputation as both a sound policymaker and excellent administrator.

I'm also delighted to tell you today that Mimi Dawson is our nominee for Deputy Secretary of Transportation. Mimi, too,

brings considerable experience and is a remarkable success story. She worked on the Hill for 11 years. Before leaving, she worked closely on the agenda for the Senate Commerce Committee, which as you know has responsibility for transportation. Since 1981 Mimi has been a member of the FCC, where she's been a leading expert on common carrier issues, particularly deregulation of the telecommunications marketplace, including the economic effect of mergers and acquisitions. And Jim, I'm sure you feel fortunate, as do I, to have an individual with Mimi's wide-ranging background and solid accomplishments as second in command at DOT.

I know that Jim and Mimi will push ahead even further on such critical issues as airline safety, privatization of public transportation, space commercialization and industry, and general transportation safety. And that list represents a tall order for both of them. But with the continued help of all of you here, I have no doubt that together we will prevail.

Jim, you're on.

Mr. Burnley. Mr. President, I'm deeply honored by your decision to nominate me to serve as the next Secretary of Transportation, and I am also very pleased that you will simultaneously be submitting Mimi Dawson's nomination to replace me as Deputy Secretary.

The only constant in transportation in recent years has been the rate of very rapid change. Twenty percent of our gross nation-

al product is generated by transportation, and our expanding economy depends on continuing dynamic growth in our transportation industries. Thus, even with the progress that the administration and Congress have made in the last 6 years, we still face many transportation challenges in this country. We have a very strong team at the Department and a solid foundation as a result of the farsighted leadership of your former Secretaries, Elizabeth Dole and Drew Lewis. And I'm looking forward to the opportunity to consult and work cooperatively with both the Congress and the transportation community to ensure the safest, most efficient transportation system possible.

Ms. Dawson. Thank you, Jim. Thank you, Mr. President. I would like to say how deeply honored I have been over the last 6 years to serve you as a member of the Federal Communications Commission. We have dealt with a lot of very difficult issues there, and I think they helped me to be able to offer to Jim Burnley an opportunity to bring him a great deal of help in the many serious, challenging issues which face us at the Department of Transportation. I look forward to this challenge, and I'll look forward to working with many of you and, of course, with Members of Congress and, most of all, my new boss. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 2:02 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House to a group of Department of Transportation employees.

Nomination of James H. Burnley IV To Be Secretary of Transportation

October 8, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate James H. Burnley IV to be Secretary of the Department of Transportation. He would succeed Elizabeth Hanford Dole.

Since 1983 Mr. Burnley has been Deputy Secretary of the Department of Transportation. Prior to this he served as General

Counsel at the Department of Transportation, 1983. Mr. Burnley was Associate Deputy Attorney General at the Department of Justice, 1982-1983; Director of the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) program, 1981-1982; partner in the law firm of Turner, Enochs, Foster, Sparrow & Burnley in Greensboro, NC, 1975-1981;

and an associate with the firm of Brooks, Pierce, McLendon, Humphrey & Leonard in Greensboro, 1973–1975.

Mr. Burnley graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1970) and Harvard Law School

(J.D., 1973). He was born July 30, 1948, in Greensboro, NC. Mr. Burnley is married, has two children, and resides in Falls Church, VA.

Nomination of Mary Ann Weyforth Dawson To Be Deputy Secretary of Transportation

October 8, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mary Ann (Mimi) Weyforth Dawson to be Deputy Secretary of Transportation at the Department of Transportation. She would succeed James H. Burnley IV.

Since 1981 Commissioner Dawson has served on the Federal Communications Commission. Since coming to the Commission, she has taken an active interest in the area of common carrier, an interest which was recognized with her appointment to the Federal State Joint Board convened to oversee changes in the jurisdictional separations procedures. She has served as Defense Commissioner since June 1, 1982. Prior to her appointment to the FCC, Commissioner Dawson served as chief of staff to Senator

Bob Packwood, 1976–1981. She also served Senator Packwood as a legislative director, 1975–1976, and press secretary, 1973–1974. Commissioner Dawson also worked as a legislative assistant in the offices of former Representatives Richard Ichord, 1973, and James Symington, 1969–1972. She has served as a member of the board of trustees of the National Cystic Fibrosis Foundation, the Corcoran School of Art, and the Washington Center.

Commissioner Dawson graduated from Washington University (A.B., 1966). She was born on August 31, 1944, in St. Louis, MO. Commissioner Dawson is married, has one child, and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Proclamation 5723—National Down Syndrome Month, 1987

October 8, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

National Down Syndrome Month affords all Americans an opportunity to take note of the progress science has made over the past two decades in understanding developmental disabilities, especially Down Syndrome. An accumulation of new research, a body of knowledge represented by thousands of published scientific papers, has meant fresh help for mentally handicapped people and the establishment of a strong information base for future efforts. One of

the most important benefits of this research is that people everywhere are becoming increasingly sensitive to the achievements, needs, and potential of the mentally handicapped.

Our society is stronger and healthier because a new situation now prevails for those in our midst who are developmentally disabled. Today, people with Down Syndrome often take part in special education classes within mainstreamed programs in schools, vocational training, and living arrangements that promote as much independence as possible. In addition, parents of babies with Down Syndrome are receiving the educa-

tion and support they need to understand this condition and to plan for the future of their children with new confidence and hope.

These strides have been possible thanks to the tireless work of concerned researchers, parents' groups, physicians, teachers, and service providers. Private organizations such as the National Down Syndrome Congress and the National Down Syndrome Society have worked in concert with the Public Health Service, the President's Committee on Mental Retardation, and other government agencies to increase public awareness of this condition and of the capabilities of those with Down Syndrome.

These developments are brightening the outlook for people born with Down Syndrome. That outlook will continue to brighten the more we acknowledge that all of us share the same God-given rights, dignity, and worth, and the more we realize that the sanctity of every human life is both a matter of principle and a call to action. As the late Terence Cardinal Cooke of New York said so eloquently:

The gift of life, God's special gift, is no less beautiful when it is accompanied by illness or weakness, hunger or poverty, mental or physical handicaps, loneliness or old age. Indeed, at these times, human life gains extra splendor

as it requires our special care, concern, and reverence. It is in and through the weakest of human vessels that the Lord continues to reveal the power of His love.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 84, has designated the month of October 1987 as "National Down Syndrome Month" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this month.

Now, *Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan*, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the month of October 1987 as National Down Syndrome Month. I invite all concerned citizens, agencies, and organizations to unite during October with appropriate observances and activities directed toward assisting affected individuals and their families to enjoy to the fullest the blessings of life.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:08 a.m., October 9, 1987]

Proclamation 5724—National Job Skills Week, 1987 October 8, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

America's remarkable ability to create new jobs attests to the ingenuity and vitality of our people and to the fundamental strength and effectiveness of the free market economy. More Americans are working now than ever, and millions of new jobs are being created each year, including many by small business. Our observance of National Job Skills Week reminds us that training for new job skills is of critical im-

portance to our economy and to our entire society.

The Department of Labor's Workforce 2000 study indicates a continuing vital need for job skills training. Trends suggest that the rate of labor force growth will diminish significantly and that the pool of workers, particularly at the entry level, will be smaller. This situation may afford unique opportunities for people from groups that historically have not entered the labor market. It challenges schools, business, community-based organizations, and government at all levels—Federal, State, and local—to contin-

ue to train people in the skills they will need to find and keep good jobs as the requirements of the workplace change. And it reminds us to pay careful attention to the implications of changes underway in the nature of the workplace and the composition of the work force.

To focus national attention on job training's role in maintaining a competitive work force, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 72, has designated the week of October 11 through October 17, 1987, as "National Job Skills Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, Presi-

dent of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of October 11 through October 17, 1987, as National Job Skills Week, and I urge all Americans and interested groups to observe this week with appropriate programs and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:09 a.m., October 9, 1987]

Proclamation 5725—National School Lunch Week, 1987 *October 8, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The National School Lunch Program was founded 41 years ago. Through it the Federal government works with State governments and local communities to provide food assistance each day for more than 20 million students in 90,000 schools. During National School Lunch Week the American people take time to salute this program and the hardworking citizens whose participation makes it so effective.

This successful program is constantly improving. For instance, food service managers have reached out to the community to involve parents and have promoted good management practices. Many school cafeterias offer new choices such as salad bars to make the lunch period more enjoyable for students. The National School Lunch Program represents the cooperative efforts of parents, teachers, community leaders, and food service specialists in behalf of the students of our Nation, and that is good reason for all of us to celebrate.

By joint resolution approved October 9, 1962, the Congress designated the week beginning on the second Sunday of October in each year as "National School Lunch Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 11, 1987, as National School Lunch Week, and I call upon all Americans to give special and deserved recognition to those people at the State and local level whose dedication and innovation contribute so much to the success of the school lunch program.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:10 a.m., October 9, 1987]

Proclamation 5726—National Farm-City Week, 1987 October 8, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

For the past 33 years during Thanksgiving week, the American people have observed National Farm-City Week to express gratitude for the bounty with which God has blessed our land and to recognize the achievements of the farmers, rural townspeople, and city residents who make our Nation's agricultural production and distribution system so successful. Truly this cooperation between rural and city dwellers for mutual benefit helps ensure our country's well-being.

America's farmers have provided food and fiber to sustain our people throughout decade after decade of progress. Farmers' productivity has increased steadily, thanks largely to their initiative in supporting and adopting the methods and materials developed by scientific research. Yield per acre has grown tremendously, with the result that American farmers are able not only to meet the Nation's basic needs for foodstuffs, but also to produce agricultural goods for export and for a wide variety of specialty markets here in the United States and around the world.

American agriculture, and the many serv-

ice industries that depend upon it in cities and towns and along all the routes in between, is a story of extraordinary labor creating extraordinary abundance. At this time of year, it is only fitting that all Americans should offer some special sign of thanks to those who grow, harvest, and bring to our Nation's tables the fruits of sun, seed, and soil.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week of November 20 through November 26, 1987, as National Farm-City Week. I call upon all Americans, in rural areas and cities alike, to join in recognizing the accomplishments of our productive farmers and of our urban residents, who cooperate to create abundance, wealth, and strength for our Nation.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:11 a.m., October 9, 1987]

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on Arms Sales to Saudi Arabia October 8, 1987

The administration is making advance notifications to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee of four separate arms sale cases for Saudi Arabia. The sales are 12 F-15C/D aircraft to be delivered on a one-for-one basis to replace losses of aircraft sold under previous agreements, 93 artillery ammunition carriers, and upgrade and moderniza-

tion packages to keep Saudi Arabian F-15's and M-60 tanks at an adequate level of operating effectiveness compatible with U.S. equipment of the same model.

Today's advance notifications inform Congress that these sales are under consideration and initiate a 20-day period of additional consultations and discussions. At the conclusion of this 20-day period, the admin-

istration will formally notify Congress of the systems it plans to offer for sale to Saudi Arabia.

Having taken the situation in the region into account and after extensive consultations with Congress, the President at this time has decided to withhold notification of a proposed sale of Maverick air-to-ground missiles. The administration will keep the issue of Saudi need for Maverick missiles under very close review in the light of threats to Saudi security and will maintain close contact with Congress. The President has personally assured the Saudi Government that in the event of an emergency, the United States would provide Mavericks from American stocks with appropriate notifications to the Congress.

These sales are an essential part of the U.S. strategy of protecting U.S. interests, as well as those of our friends in the Gulf region, through security cooperation. The sales support Saudi Arabia's legitimate de-

fense needs at a time of heightened threat to Saudi and U.S. military and economic interests in the Gulf. They follow other sales to Saudi Arabia approved earlier this year of armed helicopters, electronic countermeasures systems, and Bradley fighting vehicles. They do not upset the basic military balance in the Middle East.

However, they come at a time when there is greater demand placed upon Saudi Arabian Armed Forces and at a point of unprecedented U.S.-Saudi security cooperation. If we fail to meet these legitimate needs, our willingness to support friends—who are in need and who are helping us in the face of very real threats—will come under serious question in the Gulf and elsewhere around the world. The administration has made a detailed case for these sales during extensive consultations with the Congress over a period of 5 weeks prior to the advance notifications. The administration will continue to consult on the overall situation in the Gulf and on the arms sales.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Federal Employee Travel Expenses *October 9, 1987*

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with section 515(b) of the Supplemental Appropriations Act of 1987, P.L. 100-71, I herewith transmit a report specifying my determination of the uniform percentage necessary to reduce outlays for travel, transportation, and subsistence by

\$18 million government-wide in Fiscal Year 1987. Federal agencies have been instructed to make the required reductions.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 9, 1987.

Nomination of Dianne E. Ingels To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the National Institute of Building Sciences *October 9, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Dianne E. Ingels to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Institute of Building Sciences for a term expiring September 7, 1988. She

would succeed Charles A. Doolittle, Jr.

Since 1977 Mrs. Ingels has been president of Dianne Ingels and Associates and, since 1985, president of the York Co. in Denver, CO. Previously, she was president and

broker at the Ingels Co., 1976–1977; member and then chairman of the Colorado Springs Urban Renewal Commission, 1972–1976; and partner with Smartt-Ingels & Associates, 1968–1975.

Mrs. Ingels graduated from the University of Colorado (B.S., 1963) and New York University (M.S., 1964). She was born August 8, 1941, in Denver, CO, where she currently resides.

Proclamation 5727—Termination of Import Relief on Certain Heavyweight Motorcycles

October 9, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

1. In Proclamation 5050 of April 15, 1983 (48 FR 16639), pursuant to section 202(b)(1) and (c) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (Act) (19 U.S.C. 2252(b)(1) and (c)), I proclaimed import relief with respect to heavyweight motorcycles having engines with a total displacement over 700 cubic centimeters, provided for in item 692.50 of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) (19 U.S.C. 1202). This relief took the form of a tariff increase implemented through tariff-rate quotas and the suspension of preferential tariff treatment under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) for such heavyweight motorcycles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, during the period April 16, 1983, through April 15, 1988.

2. On June 19, 1987, the United States International Trade Commission (USITC) reported to me the results of an investigation (Inv. No. TA–203–17) pursuant to section 203(i)(2)–(5) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(i)(2)–(5)) with respect to the early termination of the heavyweight motorcycles import relief as requested by petitioner Harley-Davidson, Inc. The USITC advised that the early termination of the import relief would have no significant economic effect on the domestic industry producing heavyweight motorcycles.

3. Accordingly, pursuant to section 203(h)(4) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2253(h)(4)), after taking into account the advice of the United States Trade Representative, the USITC, the Secretary of Commerce, and

the Secretary of Labor, I have determined that it is in the national interest to terminate the import relief in effect with respect to the articles concerned. I have further determined that it is appropriate to terminate the suspension of GSP treatment for such articles required by section 503(c)(2) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2463(c)(2)) during the period of effectiveness of the import relief.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, including sections 203, 503, and 604 of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2253, 2463, and 2483), do proclaim that—

(1) Part I of Schedule XX to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (61 Stat. (pt. 5) A58; 8 UST (pt. 2) 1986) is modified to conform to the actions taken in this Proclamation.

(2) Subpart A, part 2 of the Appendix to the TSUS is modified by striking out headnote 9 to such subpart and item 924.20.

(3) In order to restore GSP treatment for the motorcycles subject to import relief, part 6B of schedule 6 of the TSUS is modified by inserting in the Rates of Duty Special column for TSUS item 692.52 the symbol “A” immediately before the symbol “E” in parentheses.

(4)(a) Paragraphs (1) and (2) of this Proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on and after the third day following the date of publication of this Proclamation in the *Federal Register*.

(b) Paragraph (3) of this Proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles both (1) imported on or after January 1,

1976, and (2) entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on and after the third day following the date of publication of this Proclamation in the *Federal Register*.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 9th day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and

eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:33 p.m., October 9, 1987*]

Statement on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork October 9, 1987

I am pleased by Judge Bork's decision to go forward with his nomination for the Supreme Court. Over the last few weeks, there has been considerable discussion about Judge Bork. His opponents mounted an attack based on innuendos, mistruths, and distortions to shield Bob Bork's real record of integrity, decency, fairness, and, above all, judicial restraint.

Our efforts will be focused on setting the record straight with the American people. It is time to remove the special interests

from the judicial selection process. It is time to stop those who are determined to politicize the judiciary and try to accomplish through the courts what they cannot accomplish through the legislature.

The American people want a Supreme Court Justice who interprets the law, not makes it, who is concerned about victim's rights, not just the rights of criminals. The time is now to set the record straight and to be accountable to the people, not the special interests.

Remarks to Supporters of Supreme Court Nominee Robert H. Bork October 9, 1987

Audience. We want Bork! We want Bork! *The President.* I just want to thank you all and tell you that Judge Bork, if you don't know already, has made a statement to the effect that he is going to remain as the appointee. So, I'm just going to say to you that we are going to fight on for an independent judiciary and we'll stay in the fight

and see that we get our story told. Thank you very much.

Audience. Four more years! Four more years! Four more years!

Note: The President spoke at 3:39 p.m. on the South Lawn of the White House.

Statement on the Death of Clare Boothe Luce October 9, 1987

Nancy and I were saddened to learn of the death this morning of our friend, Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce. Born into a relatively humble home and given only a

limited formal education, Mrs. Luce built a life and career that made her a legend: editor of *Vanity Fair*; playwright of Broadway hits, including the classic "The

Women"; author of countless books and articles; war correspondent for *Life* magazine; Congresswoman; Ambassador; wife of Henry Luce, founder of *Time* magazine and one of the Nation's preeminent journalists; and, of course, a woman who was constantly expanding the boundaries of what a woman could do. As Wilfrid Sheed wrote about Mrs. Luce's career: "It was brand-new territory, outside the tiny compound where women lived in those days. Clare was a pioneer not just during office hours but every breathing minute. . . ."

Nancy and I knew Mrs. Luce as a woman of generosity, charm, forcefulness, and—a point not always noted—gentleness. Her Roman Catholic faith was central to her life and thought. And always, there was her concern for the Nation. Near the end of her life, Mrs. Luce moved from her retirement home in Hawaii to Washington in order to be at the center of things, as she had been for so many decades. It is fitting that she died here in the Capital of the Republic she so loved. We will miss her, so will America.

Remarks at a White House Luncheon for Members of the Volunteer International Council of the United States Information Agency

October 9, 1987

Thank you all very much. And Director Wick and ladies and gentlemen, good afternoon. And since I had just discovered that 3 days with pears—[*laughter*—I was all set for a joke about what should be for dessert and now, Charlie, you've already communicated. [*Laughter*]

You dropped a name here of Margaret Thatcher, so maybe I can substitute something that's even better. In our economic summits, where we all meet around a table, seven trading partner nations, and so forth—sometime back when the summit was in England, which meant that Margaret Thatcher was presiding, one of the seven at the table got a little out of line, I thought, and attacked her that she wasn't being properly democratic in conducting the meeting and so forth. And I'm not going to name which country's representative it was. I don't want to embarrass him, but he really sounded off. And when the meeting was over, I fell in step beside her, going down the corridor. And I said, "Margaret, he had no right to talk to you like that. He was really out of line." Brace yourself, fellas. She said, "Oh, women know when men are being childish." [*Laughter*]

Well, Nancy and I welcome you to the White House. Now that we've finished our luncheon, I'd like to make a few remarks—but don't worry, I'll keep it short. I've been

trying to follow a joke that I've known for years. It's a story about ancient Rome and how one day, on a weekend afternoon when the little group of prisoners were huddled down in the sand in the Colosseum and the hungry lions were turned loose on them and came charging, roaring at them in front of the crowd, one of them stood up, faced the lions and said a few quiet words. And the lions just laid down. Well, the crowd was infuriated, and Caesar sent for the man; said, "What did you say to them that made them act like that?" He said, "I just told them that after they ate, there'd be speeches." [*Laughter*]

Well, I want to thank all of you—Charlie Wick, and the United States Information Agency—for initiating this international council. I want to thank each of you for coming here and giving members of our administration the opportunity to speak to you directly. And if I may, I'd like to devote my own time to a brief discussion of economics.

This month, October 1987, the American economic expansion that began in the fourth quarter of 1982 enters its 59th consecutive month. Fifty-nine months—that makes this the longest peacetime expansion in the postwar era. We've seen the creation of more than 13½ million new jobs. Inflation and interest rates are down. Productiv-

ity is up. Investment is up. Indeed, from the fourth quarter of 1982 through the end of 1986, U.S. gross private domestic investment rose more than 54 percent in real terms. New business incorporations have increased by about one-third. And all around us we see a riot of new technology. The poverty and unemployment rates are down. Virtually all groups of Americans have benefited from the expansion, but black Americans have made especially striking gains, as black employment has gone up twice as fast as that of whites. Indeed, economics columnist Warren Brookes has written that this expansion has represented, and I quote: "the best 5 economic years in black history."

Well, now, in a moment I'd like to turn to the connection between this American expansion and the global economy. But first, it's important to understand the causes of America's success. Indeed, it's important to understand what have not been the causes of our success. For example, some have alleged that this expansion has been fueled exclusively by some sort of binge of consumer spending. Well, that's untrue. From the fourth quarter of 1982 through the end of 1986, total outlays on personal consumption in the United States rose only about 19 percent—far less than the rise in investment that I just quoted.

Perhaps the most widespread misconception holds that American growth has been impelled primarily by the Federal budget deficits. Yes, the deficits are large, and our administration has been working to reduce them. And it now appears that the Federal deficits are on a downward path. The deficit for the fiscal year just ended, as of October 1st, will be 30-percent less than it was in 1986, the previous year. But throughout this expansion—indeed, throughout much of the eighties—government debt and deficit ratios in the United States have been lower than or equal to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development average. Permit me to repeat that: Government debt and deficit ratios have been, and remain, lower than the OECD average.

No, the underlying reason for our expansion, the true reason, is simply this: The United States has become a better place to do business. Our administration cut regula-

tions, supported a sound monetary policy, held back the growth of government spending, and, perhaps most important of all, cut tax rates. And as we did so, the return on investment went up. And overall, the American marketplace became freer, more energetic, more open to innovation and to the future itself.

Now, for me personally, I suppose the most gratifying aspect of all of this is the effect on our young people. In the words of author George Gilder: "Opportunities summon initiatives." He said: "Initiatives develop character and a sense of responsibility, a feeling of optimism. The future looks more open and promising to young people than it did before, for the simple reason that it is more open and promising."

Well, moving from the United States to the global economy, we understand that every aspect of the American experience cannot be directly transferred to other nations and regions. Other geographies, other cultures, other patterns of thought—all these must be respected. Indeed, all these contribute to a diversity in the world that we Americans believe should be cherished, not undermined. Yet we believe that certain fundamental elements of our experience are valid for the rest of the world—the elements of democracy and economic freedom. Indeed, I believe that the world of the future can be just that—a world of liberty, a world in which human rights are respected in the political and economic spheres alike. And I would submit that during these past 6½ years of our administration, this world of the future has already begun to take shape.

Economic growth along the Pacific rim has been little short of incredible. There's been a victory for democracy in the Philippines. And more recently, a second victory for democracy in South Korea, where a free-market economy is already established and flourishing. In Latin America, nation after nation has turned to democracy, nine nations in all becoming democracies since 1979. In the words of President Sarney of Brazil: "Latin America's extraordinary effort to create a democratic order is the most stunning and moving political fact of recent years." Low-tax, high-growth policies

have spread throughout the Third World, with countries from Botswana to Egypt to Thailand cutting their tax rates. Even China is experimenting with the granting of wider economic freedoms.

Here in North America, recent developments hold particular hope for the future. This week the Institutional Revolutionary Party in Mexico chose Carlos Salinas, a forward-looking economist, as its next candidate for President. And the United States and Canada took the first important steps toward an historic free trade agreement, an agreement that could make our two nations the largest free trade area in the world as an example for all the globe.

As I said, the global economy of increasing freedom and economic growth is already coming, it's already being built. The Communist nations know this as well as we do. They know, therefore, that they face a choice: They must either join the new world system or they will become obsolete. It's a decision they must make for themselves. For our part, we can only wait and hope.

In the meantime, we can keep on building—building, here in the United States upon our historic, 59-month expansion; building, in each of your countries, upon much that you've already accomplished. And we can remain faithful to this truth: Freedom—freedom, both political and economic, represents the fundamental condition for genuine peace and economic growth. Where there is oppression, there is stagnation—economic stagnation—and the underlying stagnation of the human heart and mind. But where there's freedom, there is vitality.

I know I've come to the end of the remarks that I wanted to give to you here, but you are epitomizing something that has long been a creed of mine. And that is that we're only in trouble when we're talking about each other, instead of talking to each other. And that has come together in this room. It doesn't happen too many places in the world, or too often. But all of those of you, Charlie, and all of you who've had a part in this, I think, can be very proud of this great accomplishment.

I just want to add two more things. When I spoke about us lifting regulations and so

forth to help the economy and all—I've always believed that there's nothing government can do as well, other than a certain few things like national security, as the private sector can do if government gets out of its way and sets it free to do it.

I remember one of my first experiences with government was as an adjutant for an Army Air Corps base in World War II. There was a warehouse filled with files, and the files containing documents and records and so forth—but which upon going at them you recognized that they were of no historical value. And they were totally useless, their time had passed them by. So, we started a message in the usual military style of sending a message, endorsing it up to the next in command, asking permission to destroy those papers so we could make use of the files for current documents. And then the next echelon—they endorsed it up and up and up, and finally to the top command. And then back down through the channel it came, and the answer was yes. We could destroy those papers providing we made copies of each and every one. [Laughter]

The other one is when I was mentioning taxes. I'm getting assailed right now. I should make this speech to the Congress—[laughter]—about some who just seem to be dying, they think that our deficit and everything is caused by our tax cuts. Just between you and me—and I wish they'd find it out—ever since we started cutting the taxes in our administration, the tax revenues for the government have gone steadily up. Once you gave people an incentive to earn more money by saying that you weren't going to take half or more of it away from them, they went out and earned more money. And, so, we're going to try to make them understand that, and that would be a help in cutting our deficit, too. So, I would welcome another tax cut any time.

Thank you all very much. God bless all of you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to a comment by Charles Z. Wick, Director of the United States Information Agency and Chairman of the Volunteer International Council. The

Council was formed to examine overseas perceptions of U.S. leadership in world affairs and ways the United States could improve its image abroad.

Memorandum on the Federal Drug Testing Program October 9, 1987

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

Subject: Drug Testing Plan

As you know, ending illegal drug use is one of the most important goals we must work together to achieve. For that reason, I signed an Executive Order on September 15, 1986, directing each Executive branch department and agency to develop a plan that provides for drug education, counseling and rehabilitation, as well as a testing program to identify drug use by Federal workers in sensitive positions.

I was impressed by the strong determination shown at the National Drug Policy Board meeting in July to implement the

Executive Order. I know that all of the departmental plans are scheduled to be submitted to the Interagency Working Group by October 15, 1987.

I have asked Secretary Bowen to provide me with a status report on our progress. Because we cannot go forward until all plans are in place, your personal attention to your department's plan as a priority matter will be helpful in ensuring that our program is successful.

RONALD REAGAN

Note: The memorandum was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 10.

Radio Address to the Nation on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork October 10, 1987

My fellow Americans:

Yesterday afternoon I had a meeting in the White House I won't easily forget. The man who came to see me was Robert Bork, whom I nominated for a position on the highest court in the land, the Supreme Court.

Judge Bork was there to tell me—after several days of soul searching—about a decision he'd made on whether to continue seeking appointment to the Supreme Court. You see, ever since I announced him as my choice, Judge Bork's record has been subjected to distortions and misrepresentations. Indeed, one distinguished Washington commentator has put it very bluntly. He said that if Judge Bork's nomination was defeated, it would be "not on the merits of the case, nor on the debate in the Senate."

Former Chief Justice Warren Burger, too, called the tactics used against Judge Bork disinformation—but the real test is to the principles that were established by the Founding Fathers when they created the Constitution. The Washington Post columnist David Broder recently wrote: "To subject judges and judicial appointees to propaganda torture tests does terrible damage to the underlying values of this democracy and the safeguards of our freedoms." But despite these courageous words from a few individuals, many here in Washington closed their eyes to the wrong being done to the judicial process. And so, as the opposition grew to Judge Bork, some voices were raised to withdraw his name from nomination.

This I refused to do. I knew that any

decision made by Judge Bork would be made on solid grounds of principle in contrast to those who would politicize our courts; jeopardize the independence of the judiciary; and hold our courts and Constitution hostage. But while I refused to withdraw his name, I understood why Judge Bork himself might choose to do so. The judge was a distinguished scholar at the Yale University Law School, had served as the Nation's top lawyer in the post of Solicitor General, and his tenure on the Court of Appeals here in Washington has been marked by excellence.

So, too, I felt that in many ways he had already won an important victory. During his confirmation hearings, Judge Bork had given us all a national lesson in our legal tradition and the importance of judicial restraint—the belief of our Founding Fathers that it was the role of the judge to interpret the law, not to preempt the rights of the people and their legislatures by making the law. So, I could understand then why Judge Bork might choose to withdraw and simply return to the Court of Appeals. I wish you could have been there as Judge Bork explained his decision—as he looked me in the eye and said we must do not what was right or easy for himself, but what was right for the country.

The best I can do to recreate for you the eloquence and character of this man is to quote from the statement he made shortly after our meeting. Judge Bork said this:

“Were the fate of Robert Bork the only matter at stake, I would ask the President to withdraw my nomination. The most serious and lasting injury in all of this, however, is not to me. Rather, it is to the dignity and integrity of law and public service in this country.”

Judge Bork said a critical principle was at stake. He explained it this way, and again I quote: “Federal judges are not appointed to decide cases according to the latest opinion polls. They are appointed to decide cases impartially, according to law. But when judicial nominees are assessed and treated like political candidates the effect will be to chill the climate in which judicial deliberations take place, to erode public confidence in the impartiality of our judges, and to endanger the independence of the judiciary.” My fellow Americans, Andrew Jackson said once that “one man with courage makes a majority.” Obviously, Bob Bork has that courage, now let's you and I give him our support.

I agree with Judge Bork that there are no illusions. Our judges should be faithful to the written Constitution, the bedrock of our liberties. Those selected for the Supreme Court must be aware of all points of view and their decisions based on government by the people.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate on the United States Air Strike in the Persian Gulf

October 10, 1987

Dear Mr. President: (Dear Mr. Speaker:)

For nearly forty years, the United States has maintained a limited naval presence in the Persian Gulf to provide for the safety of U.S.-flag merchant vessels engaging in peaceful activities in international waters and for other reasons essential to the national security. This has been done pursuant

to the President's authority as Commander-in-Chief. Our presence in the Persian Gulf has been fully within our rights under international law. Our forces have respected all relevant international rules of conduct, and provided no basis in law for hostile action against them.

At approximately 2:50 p.m. (EDT) on Oc-

tober 8, 1987, three helicopters of the U.S. Middle East Joint Task Force, while on routine nighttime patrol over international waters of the Persian Gulf, were fired upon without warning by three (possibly four) small Iranian naval vessels. This unprovoked attack posed an immediate and direct threat to the safety of the helicopters and their crewmen. Accordingly, acting in self-defense and pursuant to standing Peacetime Rules of Engagement for the region, the helicopters returned fire with rockets and machine guns. Three Iranian vessels were hit, and one of them subsequently sank. No U.S. personnel were injured in this brief exchange of fire.

U.S. patrol boats were dispatched to the scene and recovered six Iranian crewmen from the water. Although all available medical care was provided, two of the crewmen subsequently died. The four surviving crewmen currently are aboard the USS RALEIGH. Two of them are seriously injured, and all are receiving complete medical evaluation and treatment. When the survivors are capable of being moved, efforts will be made to repatriate them through a third country with the assistance of an appropriate humanitarian organization.

At approximately 3:30 p.m. (EDT), another helicopter belonging to the U.S. Middle East Joint Task Force was performing surveillance operations over international waters of the Persian Gulf in the vicinity of an oil platform under Iranian control. Although the helicopter observed fire from an unidentified source, it is not clear that the fire was directed at the U.S. aircraft and U.S. forces did not return fire.

U.S. forces, which sustained no damage or casualties, have returned to their prior state of alert readiness in carrying out the standing Peacetime Rules of Engagement for the

Persian Gulf region. Although they will remain prepared to take any additional defensive action necessary to protect U.S. forces and U.S. lives, there has been no further hostile action by Iranian forces and we regard this incident as closed.

The limited defensive action described above was taken in accordance with our right of self-defense under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, and pursuant to my constitutional authority with respect to the conduct of foreign relations and as Commander-in-Chief.

Since March 1987, I and members of my Administration have provided to Congress letters, reports, briefings, and testimony in connection with developments in the Persian Gulf and activities of U.S. Armed Forces in that region. In accordance with my desire that Congress continue to be fully informed in this matter, I am providing this report consistent with the War Powers Resolution. While mindful of the historical differences between the Legislative and Executive branches of government, and the positions taken by me and all my predecessors in office, with respect to the constitutionality of certain provisions of the Resolution, I look forward to cooperating with Congress in pursuit of our mutual, overriding aim of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf region. In this connection, I regard the continued presence of U.S. Armed Forces to be essential to achievement of that aim.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and John C. Stennis, President pro tempore of the Senate.

Statement on the Death of Alfred M. Landon

October 12, 1987

Alf Landon exemplified the very best in public service. He deeply loved his country, and he was motivated by a genuine desire

to help his fellow man. As Governor of his beloved Kansas, he brought a commonsense wisdom to the statehouse and earned the

respect and affection of political friends and foes. As the Republican nominee for President, he spoke passionately and articulately on behalf of the principles on which our nation was founded.

Governor Landon was a true elder statesman, whose expectations and views were sought and valued by many of us in public life. Until his last days he took a great interest in world affairs and was never too busy to share his thoughts. It was a special com-

fort to me to know he was just a phone call away.

Nancy and I have very warm memories of our friend Alf Landon and recall with special fondness our visit to his home last month. Though Alf is no longer with us, his work continues through his daughter, Senator Nancy Kassebaum. To the entire Landon family we extend our deepest sympathy and prayers.

Remarks at a Forum for State Government Officials and Business Leaders in Somerset, New Jersey October 13, 1987

Thank you very much. You know, Governor, I have to tell you that, with regard to your favorite President, I learned a little anecdote about him when I moved into the White House. You know, the Oval Office is not a part of the actual White House—or the beginning; there is now a thing called the West Wing that is connected to the White House and has all the offices and places for the staff of the President and so forth. But once upon a time, and back in Roosevelt's time—Teddy Roosevelt—the White House was it. That's where the Cabinet met, that's where the offices were, as well as the dwelling. Until one day Mrs. Roosevelt said to her husband, "If I'm going to raise six kids in this house, you're going to get your people out of here." [Laughter] And it was a fine change—[laughter]—that he brought about.

I don't suppose I should tell this a little out of school—you know our Armed Services is now—in view of our last speaker here, I would like to point out now you do not just say gentlemen to them; you say men and women—because they're there. And this summer on a day that was in excess of 100 degrees and about 100-percent moisture in the air, there was a great military ceremony for a certain occasion down there. And the military—the marines in this case—were all in full dress uniform, parading. Seven collapsed from the heat—all male. [Laughter]

Well, it's a pleasure to be in the district of Congressman Jim Courter and in the State of Governor Tom Kean. From the first, Tom Kean has been, as you all know, a progrowth Governor. And, Tom, looking around here today, I get the feeling you must be doing something right. I'm especially happy to be back here, because I know the roots of this company go back to the 1860's, and I'm always glad to be addressing something that's older than I am. [Laughter]

But now after listening to all of you, I appreciate it, but I'd like to respond with a few words of my own. And if I may, I'd like to speak as well to the audience that is here today. Don't worry, I'll keep it short. The last thing in the world I want to do is to hold up a whole workday at companies as remarkable as this one and those that you panelists represent. And by the way, Jim Burke, you're chairman of Johnson and Johnson, and Daria Finn, you're president of Finishing Touches—with the two of you here today, who's minding the store? [Laughter]

But you know, back before I got my present job, I worked on a television program called GE Theater, General Electric Theater, and I would spend between 12 and 16 weeks every year traveling the country, visiting the workers in GE plants. And I have to confess that when I took that job I had a view of business that was fash-

ionable in some circles in those days—an unflattering view. But when I visited the plants and met the employees face-to-face, I learned something. I learned that I was seeing then, as I've seen here today, the real source of this nation's economic growth and productivity—not government or bureaucracy. America's workers and entrepreneurs were making it happen back then, and people like you are making it happen today.

And is it happening? Well, in October the American economic expansion is in its 59th straight month. Fifty-nine months—that will make this the longest peacetime economic expansion on record. Inflation and interest rates are down. Productivity is up. America's manufacturing productivity is shooting ahead at the fastest rate in 20 years. Investment in capital equipment like that made by Somerset Technologies is up more than 50 percent. Net business formations have increased by about 20 percent. All around us we see a proliferation of new technology. But most heartening of all is what this means in human terms. The poverty and unemployment rates, as you've been told, are down. Coupled with our tax cuts, this solid economic growth means rising take-home pay, as has been mentioned here today, for America's families. And during these 59 months we've seen the creation of nearly 14 million new jobs. That's an average of about 240,000 jobs a month, including some 500,000 new jobs right here in New Jersey.

Indeed, the Europeans talk of what they call the American miracle. Well, if anybody wants to see miracles, they should be here today. You of Somerset Technologies have worked together as a team to increase your sales by more than \$10 million since 1948 [1984], and while too many people see nothing but trade barriers when they look at Japan, you see opportunities. I understand that over the next year or so your Japanese affiliate is expected to do some \$12 million worth of business—and that's selling American goods to the Japanese, not the other way around.

Throughout New Jersey as throughout the Nation, we're seeing what can truly be called an economic renaissance. Well, the reason is simple, if you ask why, really.

America has become a better place to work, invest, and do business. Our administration cut regulations, supported a sound monetary policy, held back the growth of government spending, and—perhaps most important of all, and it's been mentioned here today—cut taxes. As we did so, the value of your paycheck went up, the return on investment went up, and the American marketplace became freer, more energetic, more open to innovation and to the future itself.

But it's my duty to tell you that this miracle—all you've worked so hard to accomplish, all that America itself has worked so hard to accomplish—all of this is now in danger. You see, some down in Washington seem determined to destroy our economic expansion and send us right back into the malaise and stagflation of the seventies. I'll be saying more about this later today, but for now, let me tell you about a serious threat that is facing our country. It's the constant threat of protectionist, antitrade legislation. We're working with Congress now to fix the proposed trade bill so that it won't be antijobs, antigrowth, and anticonsumer; so that it won't be a bill that closes us off from foreign markets; and so that it won't be a bill that would hinder your affiliate in Japan.

I will not sign any bill that will hurt the American worker. With your support, I will insist that Congress go the positive route, opening markets, not shutting them down. But your support, and the support of all working Americans, will be crucial. So, to the panelists and those in the audience: I hope I can count on all of you.

We've also got to keep Federal spending down and stop those who would raise your taxes to pay for Federal extravagance. Congress has to hold to the spending limits under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill. It's important to put permanent reforms in place, reforms that will ensure economic growth even after our administration leaves office. With the line-item veto and the balanced budget amendment, we can give the American people an Economic Bill of Rights so that congressional taxing and spending can never again endanger our livelihoods. So, together, let's make sure

that economic miracles never cease. Let's ensure the Nation's right to a free economy, an economy of growth and opportunity for you, your children, and your children's children.

You know, I can't stop without telling you about a little habit I've picked up now. I've got a new hobby. I have been collecting stories that can be told—or are being told by the people in that other great power that depends totally on government and has nothing to do with free enterprise: the Soviet Union. It seems there that there is a 10-year waiting period for buying an automobile. You have to go through departments and sign up papers and so forth and then you have to put up your money. And then they tell you to come back in 10 years and get your car. And this one young fellow had finally reached the point he could do that and finally did it. And the man said to

him, taking the money, "All right, come back in 10 years and get your automobile." And he said, "Morning or afternoon?" [Laughter] And the fellow said, "Well, we're talking 10 years from now. What difference does it make?" "Well," he said, "the plumber's coming in the morning." [Laughter]

But that's enough from me. And I tell you honestly, that is a story being told by the Soviets among themselves. So, it shows they've got a sense of humor, but they've also got a pretty good idea of what their system is all about.

But I do thank all of you. God bless all of you. And it's been a real treat to be here with you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:26 p.m. in the main building at Somerset Technologies.

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by the New Jersey Chamber of Commerce in Somerset

October 13, 1987

Thank you very much, Governor Kean and Chairman Bob Van Fossan, President Fred Westphal. And, Tom, no, I wasn't at the Little Big Horn—[laughter]—but I was in the horse cavalry. [Laughter] Well, it's good to be in New Jersey and Somerset, and this is especially an appropriate time to come here. Two hundred years ago this past summer, when the framers of our Constitution met in Philadelphia, it was William Paterson and his colleagues from New Jersey who fought for the principle of equal representation for each State in the new National Legislature. Their New Jersey Plan set the stage for the Great Compromise that is at the heart of our constitutional system. Without them, the United States Senate would be entirely different than it is today. So, you're the ones responsible.

In the months before the Constitutional Convention, James Madison described New Jersey as like a cask tapped at both ends because of tariffs in both New York and Pennsylvania. Well, things sure have

changed. Today New Jersey is a powerhouse of technological innovation and entrepreneurial energy, as you've been told already here today. Yes, you are a generator of the economic dynamism that has swept America in these last 6½ years.

You've been in the forefront of the economic expansion that has led leaders of the other major industrial powers to shake their heads in wonder when they've spoken to me about what they call the American miracle. I'm going to say a few words about the national expansion, but I know everyone here would agree that New Jersey has had a special place in that expansion—and let me say here that thanks to the leadership of people of courage, of vision, of determination, people like Speaker Chuck Hardwick and Governor Tom Kean.

This is shaping up to be a year of celebrations. The bicentennial of the Constitution—maybe even the end of the football strike. [Laughter] And in fewer than 30 days, America will have another celebra-

tion. Our economic expansion will go on the recordbooks as America's all-time, peacetime champion—59 months of peace and economic growth. This land of opportunity has never recorded a run like that before. And talk about world-class performances—to tell from the leading indicators, the champ's not even breathing hard.

I've always been partial to underdogs, myself. And this expansion sure started out as one. Remember what so many of the experts who were allied with our critics said about our policies? Our tax cuts would set off inflation. Interest rates would soar. Oil prices would again shoot through the roof. In the crash that was certain to come, the poor would be hurt most, and the middle class would vanish. All of those were things that were spoken over and over again. Well, these days when those same critics talk about the last 6½ years, they remind me of a joke among dissidents in the Soviet Union. This one begins with a question: What is a Soviet historian? And the answer: someone who can accurately predict the past. [Laughter]

Today I've seen firsthand what the expansion has meant here in New Jersey. This morning I was a guest at Somerset Technologies. I heard the story of businesses that were taking a beating when we entered office. Years of inflation, stagnation, rising tax and interest rates, and the drying up of investment capital, as your Governor has told you, it had all left the units that now make up this company that I visited on the ropes and out of wind. And then came the steadily dropping inflation and interest rates and the cut in tax rates. Today the company is stronger than ever. It's expanding production, developing new products, and finding new markets not just in the United States but all around the world.

Over these 5 years, the Somerset story has been repeated in hundreds of thousands of companies and communities all over America, and you know the results. After years of riding a plunging roller coaster, the American family has seen its income go on the rise again. Middle-income Americans, whose real income stagnated in the seventies, can once again look to the future with hope and confidence. Americans are dreaming great dreams again. And entrepre-

neurs—young and old, male and female, black and white—have been popping up like daisies all over the landscape to chase those dreams, and with them have come new companies, new technologies, and new opportunities for everyone. Yes, a new spirit of adventure, a new excitement, is in the American air. And with that in mind, I thought I'd have a little adventure of my own here and make a prediction. In December 1982, just as our tax cuts were about to take full effect, our country saw the biggest jump in new business incorporations on file. When our second round of tax cuts take full effect next year, I predict that we'll see the start of a new surge of economic growth.

Now, you may've heard talk about our expansion being uneven: leaving out some sectors, particularly manufacturing, and some groups, for example, poor blacks. The facts are just the opposite.

American manufacturing has remained just under a quarter of gross national product throughout the expansion. For a year now, our manufacturing output has been rising steadily, and this growth is export-led. As the dollar has dropped on the world markets, America's total manufacturing output has come roaring back, more efficient than ever and reflecting a new passion for quality. Take just one area: Remember how American companies couldn't compete in steel anymore? Well, just 2 weeks ago, Business Week reported that the steel industry is coming back strong and that U.S. steelmakers are now among the world's most productive. The headline said it all: "Cancel the Funeral," it read, "Steel is on the Mend." Well, changes in currency values have obscured our new vitality. But look beyond those changes to what's really happening, and you'll see that, once again, many of the world's most competitive products wear with pride the label that reads "Made in the U.S.A."

Now, let me touch on that other charge: that the recovery has passed blacks and the poor by. This one kind of touches my temperature control, because it's so off the wall. In the last 5 years, black employment has shot forward twice as fast as white employment. Since 1982 the real income of black

families—the real income—has grown almost 40 percent faster than white income. And the share of black families in the highest brackets is up by over 70 percent. This August the percentage of blacks employed was the highest on record, as was the percentage of whites. One authority on economic terms has written of this record: “On every front—jobs, income, even household wealth—this 1981 through 1986 has been the best 5 years in black history.” Granted they’ve had further to go, but now they’re making up for it.

And blacks are by no means the only group. Hispanics, for example, have found 2 million jobs. Overall, we’ve reversed the rise in the poverty rate that began under my predecessor. As opportunity has risen, poverty has fallen. We still have a distance to go, but we’re on the right track. Of this there can be no doubt: The way to lick poverty in America is with a hand up, not a handout. While I’m talking about poverty, let me say how pleased I am with the cooperation between our folks in Washington and yours in Trenton to implement the Governor’s welfare reform initiative. On October 1st we granted the waivers, and now you are going forward. The New Jersey reforms could prove among the most far-reaching and significant ever in helping those on welfare get off and become productive citizens. And that’s what your Governor has done. I’ve proposed legislation to allow States even more room to experiment, and I hope Congress will pass it. In the meantime, let me say to Governor Kean: We stand behind the imaginative and innovative REACH program.

As I was saying, our record expansion has been for all Americans. Since it began we’ve created more than 13½ million new jobs—a half million, as he told you, right here in New Jersey. This is more jobs than Europe and Japan together have created in the last 10 years. In September unemployment fell to the lowest level in this decade, and a greater proportion of Americans have been at work this year than ever before in the history of the United States.

I think a great many people don’t understand how some of these figures—or what they’re based on. The potential employment pool in America is everyone, male

and female, from age 16 up. It includes all the retired people. It includes, as I say, kids in school and so forth. But that is supposed to be the potential pool against which we match our employment record. Well, more than 62 percent of that age group is presently employed. That has never before happened in our country.

But this isn’t the time to sit back. I remember as a young man the good years of the twenties and then the crash of ’29 and the Depression. It could happen again. If Congress passes protectionist legislation, if Congress doesn’t put a brake—a real brake—on its runaway spending and raises taxes, this extraordinary expansion could be brought to a tragic collapse.

With more than 10 million American jobs—many of them here in New Jersey—tied to imports, exports, or both, protectionism is economic suicide. It’s just this simple: Since George Washington was first sworn in to the present, in periods when our international trade has grown, the number of jobs have grown; when international trade has dropped, the number of jobs has dropped. This region has seen firsthand the costs of protection. In January a certain State across the Hudson put an end to some domestic trade barriers. They let in milk from New Jersey—[laughter]—and the average price of a gallon of milk on the Lower East Side of New York City dropped by 40 cents. That was just one product traded not between two nations but two States. Put that on a world scale, and you see how much protectionism costs America’s families. It’s just this simple: America needs more trade, not less.

The framework for a free trade agreement concluded just recently with Canada points the way to the future—and the world’s future. By the year 2000, the barriers to trade between the globe’s two largest trading partners will, for the most part, vanish. If past is prolog, we know what the results will be. Almost 200 years ago, trade barriers vanished in the United States part of this continent after the new Constitution took effect. Almost immediately, a stagnant national economy began to boom. The U.S.-Canada free trade agreement is a new economic constitution for North America. It

will, I believe, inaugurate a similar continent-wide economic expansion. This is our policy not only to Canada but to the world. We're ready to go as far as our trading partners are on one condition: We want trade that is free and trade that is fair.

But all the trade in the world won't help us if we don't first get our own house in order. Congress is trying to force me to pick between more taxes or less defense. Well, it ain't going to work. I have a duty to the Constitution to protect our nation from foreign adversaries. I have a duty to America's families to protect this expansion.

Our opponents say they're against deficits, but they want to end the deficit by raising your taxes. I want to end it by cutting their spending. That's not going to be easy. Few Americans realize it, but a little more than a decade ago our government had a major shift in the checks and balances of budgetmaking power. The President's relative role was diminished, and the Congress' enhanced. And before that, Federal debt with inflation taken out had been steady or declining for a quarter of a century. Since then it's been in a climb.

And this is why I've said it's time for the President to have the same tool that Tom Kean has had to help bring taxes down and growth up—a line-item veto. And it's why I've said we need for the United States the same requirement to balance the budget that the people of New Jersey have put on their State government.

Now, an amendment enters the Constitution when three-fourths of the States approve it. But first someone has to draft common language to consider. Under the Constitution, Congress can do that, or the States themselves can convene a meeting. It takes 34 States to do that. Thirty-two have already asked for one to draw up a balanced budget amendment. Now, of course, I'd prefer Congress to do the drafting. It would be quicker; it would be easier. But one way or another we owe it to our children to see that before the decade is out the Constitution of the United States of America includes a balanced budget amendment. The first man to ask for that was Thomas Jefferson, who at the time of ratification of the Constitution said it has one glaring omission: it does not have a

clause prohibiting the Federal Government from borrowing.

Well, over the last several years, we've traveled a long way together. It hasn't always been an easy journey; there have been some troublespots, but together we've moved ahead. The economic gains that have been made are a sign of our determination to stay with a consistent plan of progress. But, as I said in July, as we unveiled the Economic Bill of Rights, America is at a crossroads. The choices are between those who would return to the days of "government knows best" or continue on our path of sustained economic growth and opportunity. These decisions will be made over the next few weeks and months. The results will chart the course this nation will follow into the 21st century.

There's another crossroads in this country, and that is the debate underway in the United States Senate on the confirmation of judges to our nation's highest courts. Washington Post columnist David Broder recently wrote of all this, and I'll quote: "I have seen enough politics in my time to have lost my squeamishness. But watching these tactics applied to judges is scary." He concludes, "It would send shivers down the spine of anyone who understands the role of the judiciary in this society." Well, I agree, and so does Judge Bork. When I nominated Judge Robert Bork to the United States Supreme Court last July, I thought the confirmation process would go forward in a statesmanlike manner with a calm and sensible exchange of views. That hasn't been the case. These hearings have been marred by distortions and innuendos.

Judge Bork and I agree that there are no illusions about the outcome of the vote in the Senate, but we also agree a crucial principle is at stake. The principle is the process that is used to determine the fitness of those men and women selected to serve on our courts. And the ultimate decision will impact on each of us and each of our children if we don't undo what has already been done and see that that kind of performance is never repeated.

Well, I've come to the end of my time here. The last people I spoke to here in your State a little while ago—I couldn't

help but concluding with revealing that I have a new hobby. And it is collecting stories that I can prove and establish are told by the citizens of the Soviet Union among themselves which reveal their great sense of humor, but also their cynicism about some elements of that system. I told one there, and I'll tell another one here. The thing is the question is asked in school: How do you tell a Communist? Well, it's someone who reads Marx and Lenin. And how do you tell an anti-Communist? Someone who understands Marx and Lenin. [Laugh-

ter]

Thank you all. God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:53 p.m. at the Somerset Hilton Hotel. In his opening remarks, he referred to Gov. Thomas Kean; Assemblyman Charles Hardwick; and Robert Van Fossan and Frederick Westphal, chairman and president of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce. When he introduced the President, Governor Kean compared the President's 1980 election victory to the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

Remarks to the New Jersey Republican State Committee in Whippany October 13, 1987

The President. Well, thank you all, and thank you, Governor Kean, Congressmen Courter and Gallo, Chairman Frank Holman, Congresswoman Roukema, and Speaker Hardwick and Minority Leader Jim Hurley, Noel Gross and Bernard Stanley and Bo Sullivan and Larry Bathgate. Oh, I could go on and name all of you. I should. It's such a pleasure to be here and a pleasure to be with all of you in support of New Jersey's great Republican team. And before I go any further, let me just join the many people all over the State and all over the Nation who are singing the praises of your terrific Governor, Tom Kean.

Tom and the rest of you who are on his team have shown the entire country that ours is the party of responsible government, economic progress, and a better life for every citizen. Our opposition has tried their best to paint another picture, but what you've proven here, under Governor Kean's dynamic leadership, is that it is the Republican Party that represents the interests of working people.

The other side still hasn't realized that what we Republicans have been accomplishing has been something marvelous. It reminds me a bit of a story of an agent that I heard about once in my old career. You know, back in the days of vaudeville, somebody aspiring to a vaudeville engagement

or a career in vaudeville would find themselves on a stage in an empty theater except for one lone, cynical agent who'd be sitting down there in the front rows. And he'd usually be smoking a cigar and telling them, well, okay, what do you do?

And this young fellow came out and stood there, and he says, "What do you do, kid?" And the kid stood there for just a couple of minutes, and then he just took off and flew up toward the balcony and then flew around the theater a couple of times and sailed back in and landed on the stage. The agent took the cigar out of his mouth and says, "What else do you do besides bird imitations?" [Laughter] Well, I'll tell you, I don't think the American people are as blase about our accomplishments as our detractors. That was never more apparent than 2 years ago when Tom Kean won the greatest reelection victory in this State's history.

I just spoke to the Chamber of Commerce, and I won't repeat all of that, but it is sufficient to say that this month marks the 59th straight month of economic growth, the longest peacetime expansion in the postwar era. Our policies have dramatically improved the well-being of the people of the United States. We can begin with the fact that had we not done something to turn the situation around, well, what you

paid for lunch today would be the normal price for a meal. [Laughter] Seriously though, inflation was public enemy number one in 1980, you'll remember, running at double digits for 2 consecutive years. But, we've put that monster in a cage and instead of seeing their income being eaten away, the American people have enjoyed stable prices and secure savings.

Inflation, of course, wasn't the only thing attacking our citizens' income back in the bad old days. Inflation was pushing everyone into higher and higher tax brackets. You'd get a raise in pay to match the inflation rate, but then the income tax, which is based on the number of dollars—not their value—would raise you into a higher tax bracket, and you'd wind up with less purchasing power than you had before you got the raise. Working people ended up paying at rates that at one time had been reserved for the truly affluent. Well, we've brought the rates down, reformed the system, got rid of many of the loopholes, and indexed the brackets so government won't profit from inflation at the working people's expense.

Now, Tom, I know that under your leadership this State has cut six separate taxes, saving New Jersey taxpayers over \$1 billion in just the last 3 years. We've proven by our actions—at the Federal, State, and local levels—that the GOP is the party of low inflation, low taxes, new jobs, high take-home pay, and robust growth. I can't think of a better platform than that. But here in New Jersey, Governor Kean has put these Republican principles to work, and that's one of the reasons the people of this State have benefited from one of the highest growth rates and lowest unemployment rates in the Nation. The other party talks about helping the less fortunate with hand-outs and bureaucratic programs; we offer them jobs and opportunity.

I believe one of the proudest achievements of our administration is that we've been able to turn around a dramatic rise in poverty that began in 1979. It took a few years to do it, but since the expansion the proportion of persons living below the poverty level has declined by 9 percent, real family income is up 11 percent overall, and unemployment is down 4.8 percent. Here

in New Jersey, Tom Kean has been in the forefront of this crusade to turn economic growth into a vehicle for social mobility for all Americans, and that's been especially true for our minority citizens. In 1982, for example, black unemployment in New Jersey was almost 20 percent. Today, it's just over 10. While overall employment has increased by about 12 percent, black employment has jumped by almost 40 percent. Let the other party talk about compassion, but in reality their policies cost the poor and minorities jobs. And while they're talking, we're doing something to change people's lives for the better.

I know Governor Kean would never have been able to do what he has without the support of a Republican assembly and a strong Republican minority in the State senate. So, today I want to thank all of you for being part of this effort to keep New Jersey on the right track. Believe me, as a former Governor, I fully appreciate the importance of your commitment to a responsible State legislature; and that means a Republican State legislature. I might add that whatever success we've had in Washington was due, in no small part, to the fact that we Republicans controlled the United States Senate for 6 years. Now we've lost that edge, and we're back with the Democrats holding both Houses of the Congress. With outstanding candidates like Pete Dawkins, I predict we'll be winning back the United States Senate in 1988. Now, the other party has a basketball player in the Senate but, with Pete Dawkins, New Jersey will outplay them in every game in town. [Laughter]

I'd like to take this opportunity to thank other members of your New Jersey team who've been invaluable to our success, Congressmen—as I've said before—Courter and Gallo and Congresswoman Roukema. I ask this favor: Keep up your fight for a Republican State legislature so that after redistricting in 1991, New Jersey can send more pro-security, prospering Congressmen to Washington, just like Jim and Dean.

One fact just about says it all: In 1984 Republicans received 51 percent of the vote in contested congressional seats, but we only won 42 percent of the seats in

Congress. How can that be? It's because for 50 years now, every 10 years when the reapportionment takes place and the redistricting, they have been in charge. They have been gerrymandering, and until we can get more States with a Republican State legislature for the redistricting, we'll continue having more votes than they have for Congressmen, but electing fewer Congressmen than they do.

Many people aren't aware, in the 50 years, 1931 to 1980, they have held both Houses of the Congress. For 46 of those 50 years, all the Democratic Presidents had Democratic Congresses with them except for one 2-year period when Harry Truman had a Republican Congress. All the Republican Presidents, until I took office, have had Democratic Congresses except for one 2-year period when Ike Eisenhower had a Republican Congress, just for those 2 years. Now, since 1980, for 6 years we had the Senate—I had a Republican Senate, but they had the House of Representatives, and now they have both Houses again. We have to get back and redistrict to the place where there is a fairness in the voting, that Republicans all aren't bunched up in little districts, so that it doesn't matter how many of them there are. Sure, they elect a Congressman there, but there'll always be a minority until we can turn this around.

Well, it's high time for us to start fighting back, time for us to set priorities and concentrate on just how and where those congressional district lines are drawn. This year you can begin, as I said, by electing more Republican State senators. If Republicans have greater statehouse strength, then we can play a major role in ensuring a fair redistricting process.

It was just 2 years ago that I met with you right across the road. We talked then about making Chuck Hardwick not just a member of the New Jersey Assembly but speaker of the assembly. And Chuck, the next time we meet I know you'll still be the speaker, only I think we should make certain that Jim Hurley becomes the president, instead of the minority leader of the State senate. So, please get out there and get more Republicans elected to the legislature. With just 3 weeks to go before election day, your money, your time, and your talents

can make the difference. And I know I'm counting on you, and I know your Governor's counting on you also.

Well, with the enthusiasm and commitment that I found here today, I'm certain that we're going to do just that, and that the people of New Jersey and this country will be better off for it. All you have to do is just remind the people of New Jersey of the difference in this New Jersey you have here now, with your Governor and those other Republicans that we've mentioned there in the legislature, and compare it to what it was not too many years ago. So, we'll all be better off, and I'll probably be back on the mashed-potato circuit. *[Laughter]*

But it's been a wonderful thing to see you all here today. I've been speaking a couple of times here in New Jersey, and I've tried to finish each speech with a display of my latest hobby, which is collecting stories that I can guarantee are told by the people of the Soviet Union about their system. And they tell them—the jokes—and it shows they've got a great sense of humor, but they're also pretty cynical about the way they live. And I've told two of them already. I think I ought to be able to come up with one more here because we know that our system is absolutely the opposite to theirs. And so, one I can think of—they tell this among themselves—they tell about a man that was walking down the street in Moscow one night, and a soldier yelled, "Halt!" And he started to run, and the soldier shot him. And another citizen said, "Why did you do that?" "Well," he said, "curfew." But he said, "It isn't curfew yet." He says, "I know, he's a friend of mine. I know where he lives; he couldn't have made it." *[Laughter]* I did not tell that one to Gorbachev. *[Laughter]*

Well, listen, it's been wonderful to be here with you. God bless you all for what you've done just by being here today.

Audience member. We want Bork, too!

The President. You want Bork, too?

Audience. Yes.

The President. So do I. You brought this on yourself, so I'm—*[laughter]*—I'm going to tell you. Yes, Bork is staying in, and we know the odds are against getting enough people to turn around their vote. But, as he

pointed out in his statement the other day, what's at issue here is not one man and what happened to him. What's at issue is that we make sure that the process of appointing and confirming judges never again is turned into such a political joke. And if I have to appoint another one, I'll try to find one that they'll object to just as much as they did for this one. [Laughter] All right.

Thank you all. God bless you all.

[At this point, Gov. Tom Kean and Joseph

A. (Bo) Sullivan, chairman of the New Jersey Turnpike Authority, gave the President a bushel of tomatoes.]

Thank you very much. In the business I used to be in, you worried about them throwing these at you. [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 3:11 p.m. in Ballroom F at the Hanover Marriott Hotel. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President José Napoleón Duarte Fuentes of El Salvador

October 14, 1987

President Reagan. It is with great pride and unreserved admiration that I welcome President Duarte to Washington. He comes as the elected representative of a courageous people, people who have struggled long and risked much in order to live in a free and democratic country. El Salvador, under President Duarte's leadership, has proven wrong the cynics, pessimists, and detractors of democracy. The Salvadoran people have proven that those who love freedom can prevail over great odds—can defeat the forces of tyranny, both left and right—if they have the courage, commitment, and stand together.

It was not that long ago that El Salvador was all but written off by many in this city's circles of power. The Communist guerrillas, it was said, were an irresistible force, and the cruel tactics of the right could not be thwarted. The cause of democracy was doomed, so they said. Well, the United States Congress came within a few votes of making the predictions of doom a self-fulfilling prophecy. Our request for military aid to El Salvador was nearly defeated. That would have left you, President Duarte, and others who were struggling for democracy unarmed and defenseless against Communist guerrillas who were receiving arms and ammunition through Nicaragua.

Those of us who have stood in support of the democratic peoples of El Salvador are especially proud of what has been achieved

in recent years. Under the most trying of circumstances, with your steady hand at the helm, President Duarte, democratic convictions and ideals have been transformed into institutions, laws, and practices. In a relatively short time, you've brought the military under civilian control and helped turn it into a professional and respected part of Salvadoran society, a responsible force for both national security and democratic government. You've reformed the police and set about to improve the system of justice. You have created a climate of respect for human rights and the rule of law.

While you were putting in place these fundamental reforms, the Communist guerrillas, who would impose their form of dictatorship on El Salvador, were beaten back. Your brave military forces certainly deserve much credit, but the power of democracy itself deserves credit, as well. Democracy is a system that offers a peaceful method of settling differences. It is a system which can incorporate a wide spectrum of views while at the same time protect the rights of the individual. Our own President Lincoln once said: "The ballot is stronger than the bullet." Well, that is the moral foundation on which the freedom-loving people of Central America hope to build a lasting peace.

Today the prospects for attaining this peace, although still far from certain, are

better than at any time in this decade. The United States remains committed to exploring any opportunity that could end the violence that plagues the region and permit the people of Central America to live their lives in peace. Silencing the guns is no easy goal, and, President Duarte, we both know peace and democracy are inextricably linked.

If peace is to prevail, so must democracy. The people of El Salvador know this, having been victimized by an insurgency armed, trained, and headquartered in a nearby country. They have firsthand experience that a government that does not respect the rights of its own citizens cannot be expected to respect the rights of its neighbors. And that is why all of us watch so closely the reform process set in motion by the Guatemala peace plan.

This process, which ties democratization to the end of armed conflict, is consistent with a proposal made by Speaker Wright and myself. We want to see the peace process succeed. That success is dependent on genuine democratic reform, on respect for human rights, and on open and free elections. It depends on respect for the freedoms of speech, religion, and assembly. It depends on honest dialog between those who are now engaged in deadly combat.

President Duarte, you have already gone the extra mile, literally and figuratively, to bring fundamental change to your country and to end the cycle of violence. Those who are engaged in armed struggle against your government have been invited to join in the democratic process. You have negotiated directly with the leaders of insurgent forces, sincerely trying to find the formula that will bring peace and secure freedom in your troubled land. Others in the region can do no less if they expect to end the strife that ravages their countries. The choice is theirs.

As we face the future and determine our next steps, let us recognize that the hope in Central America today has come about because those who believe in democracy have faced reality, made the tough choices, and stood together. In these last 6½ years, through the strength of purpose of brave and farsighted individuals like President Duarte, a crisis has been averted and admi-

rable progress has been made, especially in creating and consolidating democratic institutions.

President Duarte's visit permits us the opportunity to take account of the progress that has been made; to discuss our vision of a free, prosperous, and peaceful hemisphere; and to declare our solidarity with all those who share that vision. President Duarte, again, it is an honor to welcome you.

President Duarte. Mr. President, Mrs. Reagan, distinguished members of the Government, friends, people of America, it is indeed a very special pleasure to be received by you in this colorful ceremony. This is the first time in many years that a head of state of a Central American nation has been received by the United States President on a state visit.

I receive this honor with great modesty, knowing full well that this ceremony is an acknowledgment to the democratic commitment of the great people of El Salvador. Only last week, in your speech to the Organization of American States, you remembered the heroic behavior of Salvadorans on the voting booths. The same lines of conduct have remained steadfast through all these years and has served to build a strong democracy which, although not yet perfect, is modeled after your own.

Your constant and unswerving support for our undertaking has helped us overcome obstacles which at times seem invincible. Your Congress, too, has worked with us on the difficult roads we have had to travel. For that we thank you. And today peace is a step closer with the signing of the peace agreement in Guatemala early last month.

In your speech of the OAS, you had stated that the Central American plan "contains many of the elements necessary to bring both lasting peace and enduring democracy for the region." You went on to say that there is also a reason for caution; I agree. For this reason, I have insisted that the compliance with our peace plan must be fully verified by the appointed commissions. Here we will hope that the OAS and its member nations, especially those like yours with the technical capacity, will take an active role.

I am convinced that there cannot be peace in Central America without freedom and democracy, which in turn will only be attained through comprehensive dialog and negotiated cease-fire. I also insist that each Central American President has the responsibility to comply fully within his own country with all the obligations contracted, and that no government be permitted to take only cosmetic or half-measures or to excuse his government's lack of total compliance because of difference with another government not party to the Esquipulas accord [Guatemala peace plan].

We need to continue to work to bring democracy to all Central America. I know that the United States has been engaged in this effort, but we still have a long way to go. I encourage you to do what needs to be done in order to assure that the democratic

gains are enduring and that the people of Central America are free from totalitarian oppression. You can count on me and my courageous people to be faithful and effective partners in this historical and noble enterprise.

And now, President Reagan, let me break the protocol. I've seen through my life many times in which people with hate in their heart have put fire to the American flag. This time, permit me to go to your flag and, in the name of my people, to give it a kiss.

Note: President Reagan spoke at 10:13 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House, where President Duarte was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. Following the ceremony, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office.

Address to the Nation on the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork

October 14, 1987

My fellow Americans:

In the last 6½ years I have spoken with you and asked for your help many times. When special interests and power brokers here in Washington balked at cutting your taxes, I asked for your help. You went to your Congressmen and Senators, and the tax cuts passed. And by the way, as a result, at the end of this month we will mark the longest peacetime economic expansion on record.

In the first few hours after our servicemen went to the rescue of young Americans and of democracy in Grenada, opponents here in Washington criticized the mission. But again I asked for your help, and you let your Congressmen and Senators know that you were proud of our men and women in uniform. And soon Congress was giving full support to our policies. Yes, all that America has achieved in the last 6½ years—our record economic expansion, the new pride we have at home, the new strength that may soon bring us history's first agreement to eliminate an entire class

of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles—all of this has happened because, when the chips were down, you and I worked together.

As you know, I have selected one of the finest judges in America's history, Robert Bork, for the Supreme Court. You've heard that this nomination is a lost cause. You've also heard that I am determined to fight right down to the final ballot on the Senate floor. I'm doing this because what's now at stake in this battle must never in our land of freedom become a lost cause. And whether lost or not, we Americans must never give up this particular battle: the independence of our judiciary.

Back in July when I nominated Judge Bork, I thought the confirmation process would go forward with a calm and sensible exchange of views. Unfortunately, the confirmation process became an ugly spectacle, marred by distortions and innuendos, and casting aside the normal rules of decency and honesty. As Judge Bork said last Friday, and I quote: "The process of confirming Justices for our nation's highest court has been

transformed in a way that should not and, indeed, must not be permitted to occur again. The tactics and techniques of national political campaigns have been unleashed on the process of confirming judges. That is not simply disturbing; it is dangerous. Federal judges are not appointed to decide cases according to the latest opinion polls; they are appointed to decide cases impartially, according to law. But when judicial nominees are assessed and treated like political candidates, the effect will be to chill the climate in which judicial deliberations take place, to erode public confidence in the impartiality of courts, and to endanger the independence of the judiciary.”

Judge Bork said he had no illusions about the difficulty of the task before us, but he also said, and I agree, that a crucial principle is at stake. And we will fight for every vote to maintain that principle. It is the process that is used to determine the fitness of those men and women selected to serve on our courts, those people who guard the basic liberties that we all cherish and have been the beacon of freedom for over two centuries.

If the campaign of distortion and disinformation used by opponents of this nominee is allowed to succeed, it will represent more than a temporary setback for one candidate or the administration. It will permanently diminish the sum total of American democracy; it will call into question the idea of free, fair, and civil exchange; and it will mean that on critical issues like the fight against crime and drugs and keeping those who are unelected from unconstitutionally taking power into their own hands—each of us and each of our children will be the losers.

During the hearings, one of Judge Bork’s critics said that among the functions of the Court was reinterpreting the Constitution so that it would not remain, in his words, “frozen into ancient error because it is so hard to amend.” Well, that to my mind is the issue, plain and simple. Too many theorists believe that the courts should save the country from the Constitution. Well, I believe it’s time to save the Constitution from them. The principal errors in recent years have had nothing to do with the intent of the framers who finished their work 200

years ago last month. They’ve had to do with those who have looked upon the courts as their own special province to impose by judicial fiat what they could not accomplish at the polls. They’ve had to do with judges who too often have made law enforcement a game where clever lawyers try to find ways to trip up the police on the rules.

At the local, State, and Federal levels, your voices have been heard. After years of rising crime and leniency in the courtrooms, you demanded fair but tough law enforcement, enforcement that protected the innocent and punished the guilty. And with your support, we’ve been able to turn things around in Washington. We organized a war against organized crime and a stepped-up effort against drug trafficking. It took us 3 years, but we finally got our crime bill through the Congress. But most of all, I kept a promise that I made to you when I ran for this office: that from my first day here in the White House that I would seek to nominate judges who would respect the Constitution and would protect the rights of those who become victims of crime.

Well, all of this meant hard work, but together we have turned the crime trend around. The Department of Justice just over a week ago released a study showing that crime had declined for the fifth straight year and has now reached its lowest level in 14 years. That’s something to be proud of.

So, my agenda is your agenda, and it’s quite simple: to appoint judges like Judge Bork who don’t confuse the criminals with the victims; judges who don’t invent new or fanciful constitutional rights for those criminals; judges who believe the courts should interpret the law, not make it; judges, in short, who understand the principle of judicial restraint. That starts with the Supreme Court. It takes leadership from the Supreme Court to help shape the attitudes of the courts in our land and to make sure that principles of law are based on the Constitution. That is the standard to judge those who seek to serve on the courts: qualifications, not distortions; judicial temperament, not campaign disinformation.

In the next several days, your Senators

will cast a vote on the Bork nomination. It is more than just one vote on one man: It's a decision on the future of our judicial system. The purpose of the Senate debate is to allow all sides to be heard. Honorable men and women should not be afraid to change their minds based on that debate.

I hope that in the days and weeks ahead you will let them know that the confirmation process must never again be compromised with high-pressure politics. Tell them that America stands for better than that and that you expect them to stand for America. Remind them that there is a thing we call the Constitution and to serve under it is a sacred trust, that they have sworn themselves to that trust, and that not just for this nomination or any nomination but

for the sake of the independence of the American system of justice for generations to come. Now is the time to uphold that trust, no matter how powerful are those in opposition.

There is a vision for America that we all share, an America where the Constitution is held in high esteem, where all our citizens are treated equally under the law, where the Legislature makes the law and the judges interpret the law, and where the right of the people to self-government is respected.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 3:15 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Nomination of Marianthi Lansdale To Be a Member of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs

October 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Marianthi Lansdale to be a member of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs for a term expiring May 8, 1990. She would succeed Mary Jo Arndt.

Since 1961 Mrs. Lansdale has been vice president of the Lansdale Co. and president

of Marina Pacifica Oil Co. in Seal Beach, CA.

Mrs. Lansdale graduated from Long Beach City College (A.A., 1960). She was born March 7, 1932, in Detroit, MI. Mrs. Lansdale is married, has one child, and resides in Huntington Beach, CA.

Nomination of Linus D. Wright To Be Under Secretary of Education

October 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Linus D. Wright to be Under Secretary of Education at the Department of Education. He would succeed Gary L. Bauer.

Since 1978 Mr. Wright has been superintendent of the Dallas Independent School District in Dallas, TX. Previously he was superintendent for administration with the Houston Independent School District in

Houston, TX, 1974-1978. From 1971 to 1974, Mr. Wright was chief financial officer for the Houston Independent School District.

Mr. Wright graduated from Austin College (B.A., 1949; M.A., 1951). He served in the United States Army, 1944-1947. Mr. Wright was born March 1, 1927, in Savoy, TX. He is married, has two children, and resides in Dallas, TX.

Proclamation 5728—World Food Day, 1987 October 14, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

This is the seventh successive year in which people everywhere, including Americans, have observed World Food Day in a spirit of rededication to the continuing fight against world hunger. We Americans are a people with strong ties to other nations and with a long record of humanitarian concern for the hungry around the world. We are blessed with the wherewithal to help: a bountiful land whose fertile soil, moderate climate, and economic and political freedom provide the keys not only to abundance here at home but to a surplus which can be shared with others in grave need around the globe.

Progress has been made in averting the threat of famine in many regions, but widespread poverty and hunger, especially in developing countries, constantly challenge us to ease the human suffering they cause and to preserve the human potential they deplete. As hunger robs people of health and strength, it also saps the economic systems to which they might otherwise contribute, upsets the social order, frustrates progress at every level, and engenders hopelessness and instability.

Our Nation has always been—and continues to be—deeply committed to helping feed the hungry wherever they may be, and to accomplish this goal an extensive network of private and public efforts has been established. But additional steps are clearly necessary. Greater success in the fight against hunger will require the implementation of worldwide agricultural and trade policies designed to promote economic growth and stability for all nations, developing and developed alike. Schemes of narrowly focused government intervention must be replaced by systems that respond to the production and trade decisions made

by free individuals. Farmers must have ready access to the international marketplace and the opportunity to compete freely and to sell the goods they produce. Nations, if they are to move toward self-reliance in agriculture, must install systems that promote private ownership, reward effort and efficiency, and recognize the dignity of those who work the land.

The United States has established an initiative to End Hunger in Africa by the end of the century through economic growth and private sector development. All U.S. bilateral and multilateral economic programs and policies are oriented toward this goal. But U.S. government programs cannot do it alone. The participation and commitment of Africans, other donors, and the private sector—volunteer and business, both American and international—are essential.

In recognition of the desire and commitment of the American people to end World hunger, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 110, has designated October 16, 1987, as “World Food Day” and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 16, 1987, as World Food Day, and I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate activities to explore ways in which our Nation can contribute further to the elimination of hunger in the world.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:49 a.m., October 15, 1987]

Toasts at the State Dinner for President José Napoleón Duarte Fuentes of El Salvador

October 14, 1987

President Reagan. It's been a pleasure to have you, President and Mrs. Duarte, and all of you as our guests this evening at the White House. This year is the 200th anniversary of the Constitution of the United States. It's appropriate then that we have as our guest an elected leader who has laid the foundations for freedom in his country and whose courage and strength of conviction are an inspiration to us all. President Duarte, having fought the brutality and repression of left and right, has come to symbolize the struggle for democracy in this hemisphere.

I have little doubt that our forefathers, who sacrificed so much to secure the blessings of liberty for the United States, would see President Duarte as one of their own. Thomas Jefferson, who walked these very halls, once described what it is all about: "Freedom of religion, freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus and trial by juries impartially selected," he wrote, "these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us." Well, this is the same bright constellation whose majestic light President Duarte would shine on El Salvador. As our Founding Fathers came to know, winning liberty and establishing democratic institutions are not without great personal sacrifice.

In 1972 President Duarte won an election but was prevented from assuming the office and forced into exile. Years of frustration followed. Then there was the immense pressure President Duarte found himself under when he returned to his country in 1979. It would have broken a lesser man.

One of the most moving moments of my Presidency was the visit to the Oval Office made by President Duarte and his daughter, Inez, shortly after her release from kidnapers 2 years ago. This terrible travail was part of the personal price President Duarte has paid to help secure the freedom of his country. Yet tonight can anyone doubt President Duarte has not only survived, he

has triumphed. He's proven himself one of those rare individuals who will be remembered by his people and by people throughout the hemisphere as a hero of freedom.

In the last century, another such hero was José Simeon Canas, champion of Salvadoran independence, the Abraham Lincoln of his country. This moral giant, seriously ill, made an impassioned speech against slavery to the Salvadoran Congress. In it he said: even if dying, he had to speak out for powerless people. "I ask," he said, "before everything else, that all our brethren be declared free."

This is the kind of spirit I see in President Duarte. It's been my honor over these years to have known him and worked with him, to have assisted, where possible, his efforts and those of the brave Salvadoran people to win peace, establish democratic institutions, and, before anything else, to declare all our brethren free. President Duarte, God, unity, and freedom—the spirit of El Salvador, the spirit of all the citizens of the hemisphere. So, I ask all of you to join with me in toasting President Duarte, Mrs. Duarte, and the people of El Salvador.

President Duarte. When you were telling, Mr. President, all those beautiful things of what you have valued, what we're doing in our country, and when I was enjoying this wonderful dinner tonight, I was seeing that picture there, the picture of Abraham Lincoln. And I wonder why he has his hand here and his face firm? What was happening in his own heart when he was the President of a country who was struggling? He was seeing not only slaves, he was seeing war—hate in the heart. And this wonderful man had love in his heart. He never hated anybody. He wanted to have his country free, and he even gave his life for that. That picture to me is a symbol of this country. It's a symbol of you, Mr. Reagan, the President of the United States, the President of this country who is doing the best so that other countries can also have what you have dear in this country, which is freedom

and democracy.

Let me be simple and ask you to just raise your head and give a prayer for my people of my country, for the poor people, for the suffering people of my country, and also for the soldiers who die and the guerrillas who will also die. We all are Salvadorans, and we all want peace.

So, Mr. President, let me raise and ask you to raise your hand with me to a toast to President Reagan—to a toast to Mr. Reagan, to Mrs. Reagan, and to a toast to the American people.

Note: The President spoke at 9:58 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Designation of Lucille G. Murchison as a Member of the Board of Governors of the United Service Organizations, Incorporated

October 15, 1987

The President today announced his intention to redesignate Lucille G. Murchison to be a member of the Board of Governors of the United Service Organizations, Inc., for a term of 3 years.

Mrs. Murchison is a private investor. She was born November 4, 1925, in Dallas, TX. She has four children and currently resides in Dallas, TX.

Statement on Proposed Tax Increases

October 15, 1987

Billions in new taxes—this is how the Democrats on the Senate Finance and the House Ways and Means Committees now propose to meet the 1988 Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit reduction targets. With Republicans on both panels not participating in the drafting sessions, the Democrats on the Senate Finance Committee proposed a tax hike of approximately \$7.6 billion, with a promise of more to come. Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee proposed a tax hike of \$12 billion—\$12 billion in additional taxes to be laid upon the backs of the American people.

If there were a legitimate need for these taxes, I would be less angry, but these tax hikes would only cover utterly unwarranted domestic appropriations bills totaling some

\$15.6 billion more than our budget request and \$5.3 billion more than last year.

Simple prudence, a simple sense of responsibility, would make it possible to meet the deficit reduction targets with no new taxes. I look forward to working in this spirit with many in Congress—I believe the majority—who join me in rejecting new taxes. And let me repeat that if reason should fail, if Congress should actually pass a tax hike, my answer will be simply this: veto.

This Democratic tax hike is an exercise in fiscal irresponsibility. It's a breach of faith with the American people. It is unwise. It is uncalled for. It will not be tolerated by me or the American people.

Executive Order 12611—Delegating Authority To Implement Assistance for Central American Democracies and the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance

October 15, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including the Military Construction Appropriations Act, 1987, enacted by section 101(k) of the Joint Resolution Making Continuing Appropriations for the Fiscal Year 1987 (Public Laws 99-500 and 99-591), the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2151 *et seq.*), the Joint Resolution Making Continuing Appropriations for the Fiscal Year 1988 (Public Law 100-120), and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, and in order to delegate certain functions concerning the use of funds, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Executive Order No. 12570 of October 24, 1986, is amended by adding the following to the end of Section 2(b): “and funds provided in the Joint Resolution Making Continuing Appropriations for the Fiscal Year 1988 (Public Law 100-120).”.

Sec. 2. This Order shall be effective immediately.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 15, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:01 a.m., October 16, 1987]

Proclamation 5729—National Safety Belt Use Day, 1987

October 15, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Studies indicate that 40 to 55 percent of all passenger car occupant fatalities and serious injuries could be eliminated if people would use the safety belts already installed in their vehicles. Each year, 10,000 people could be saved from death if everyone would use safety belts every trip. In 1986, for instance, safety belts saved the lives of 2,200 front seat passengers. Thousands of lives and millions of dollars in medical and insurance expenses have been saved by “buckling up.”

The tremendous benefits of adult safety belt and child restraint use are now widely recognized throughout the United States. Twenty-nine States and the District of Columbia have safety belt use laws. These laws, in conjunction with public education, have resulted in a safety belt usage increase among car drivers from 11 percent in 1982

to 42 percent in the first half of 1987.

Although great progress has been made in the recognition of the advantages of increased safety belt use, less than one half of all Americans use their safety belts. Each of us can help increase this number by remembering that the use of safety belts offers protection in a crash and by increasing our willingness to communicate that fact to our loved ones who fail to wear them. We must not wait until personal tragedy strikes to become advocates of safety belt use.

Child passenger protection laws requiring the use of child safety seats and belt systems are in place in all 50 States and the District of Columbia. Correctly used, child safety seats are highly effective, reducing the risk of fatality by about 70 percent and serious injury by about 67 percent. Among children under four, these seats saved about 200 lives in 1986.

Still, the effectiveness of child safety seats

can be greatly impaired when they are not installed or used properly. With 100 percent correct use, these seats could save about 500 lives a year. Parents should follow the manufacturer's instructions carefully and inspect the seat regularly to make sure it is installed correctly and used on every trip. With added concern for the proper installation and consistent use of these safety devices, we can eliminate needless and preventable tragedies and save hundreds more of our children.

In order to encourage the people of the United States to wear safety belts, to have their children use child safety seats, and to encourage safety and law enforcement agencies and others to promote greater usage of these essential safety devices, the Congress, by H.J. Res. 338, has designated October 15, 1987, as "National Safety Belt Use Day" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 15, 1987, as National Safety Belt Use Day. I call upon the Governors of the States, Puerto Rico, the Northern Mariana Islands, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and American Samoa, the Mayor of the District of Columbia, and the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities and to reaffirm our commitment to encouraging universal seat belt use.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 15 day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:59 a.m., October 16, 1987]

Proclamation 5730—White Cane Safety Day, 1987 *October 15, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The white cane is a device that helps blind citizens in their daily lives and reminds all Americans of visually handicapped people's desire and increasing ability to live independently. The cane helps its bearers negotiate physical obstacles and thus enables the sightless to travel and work more easily in the public environment. During our yearly observance of White Cane Safety Day, we pause to recall our need to eliminate barriers of misinformation and misunderstanding as well—to remember the capabilities and accomplishments of sightless people and to respond to their particular needs with sensitivity, friendship, and respect.

In acknowledgment of the white cane and all it symbolizes, the Congress, by joint

resolution approved October 6, 1964, has authorized the President to designate October 15 of each year as "White Cane Safety Day."

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 15, 1987, as White Cane Safety Day. I urge all Americans to show respect for those who carry the white cane and to honor their many achievements.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fifteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11 a.m., October 16, 1987]

Remarks at the Republican Governors Club Annual Dinner October 15, 1987

It's a great honor to be with you tonight. Let me just begin by expressing special thanks to Governors Tom Kean and Mike Castle, chairman and vice chairman of the RGA [Republican Governors Association], John Rollins, the finance chairman and vice chairman of the—or Glen Holden, I should say, who's exceptional efforts have helped to make this evening a success. Thank you all for being so generous. And of course, I must also recognize our national chairman, Frank Fahrenkopf, who is here.

You know, whenever I'm asked to speak at a dinner, I get a little self-conscious about the length of a speech. And this is really inappropriate, but I'm going to tell it anyway. I hope you haven't heard it before, because usually I'm an after-dinner speaker instead of a before-dinner speaker.

But the joke that I was going to tell you was a little story that took place in ancient Rome at the Colosseum. A little band of Christians out there in the sand on the floor of the Colosseum, crowd up there in the seats, and then they were going to turn the lions loose on them. And they did. And the lions came roaring out and charging down on this little huddled mass of people. And one of them stepped forward and said a few quiet words, and the lion stopped and laid down. Well, the crowd was enraged that they weren't going to get the show that they'd expected. Caesar was so mad that he had them bring the man to him, and he said, "What did you say that made the lions act like that?" He said, "I just told them that after they ate there would be speeches." [Laughter]

But it's wonderful to be here. As one chief executive among many, I feel right at home. I've always said one of the greatest strengths of America is the diversity of our Federal system. And you can see it represented here this evening. As we've begun to loosen the bonds of centralized control, the States have shot forward, often showing Federal Government the way.

The American people now look to the Republican Party as the party of new ideas.

And it's Republican Governors who are out front, taking risks, breaking new ground, putting those new ideas into practice—everything from enterprise zones to welfare reform. Yes, we thought of the enterprise zone. We haven't been able to get it through the Congress. But I don't know how many States now around the country have enterprise zones, and they're flourishing and succeeding in their mission. There's one idea many States have implemented that I especially wish the Federal Government would cotton to: Isn't it about time that Washington followed the lead of the States and passed a constitutional amendment to balance the budget? [Applause] And while they're at it, they might give the President what 43 Governors have: the line-item veto.

I remember one new idea I had when I was Governor. It taught me a lot about leadership and its limits. When I first came into the Governor's mansion, I thought it would be a great way to improve efficiency if I asked everybody to work a few extra days a month—on Saturday. I can't claim a lot of success with that one.

But the best thing about this dinner is seeing how the ranks of Republican Governors have grown since last year. We're talking about a 50-percent increase—from 16 to 24 Governors. Now, that's progress. And we're looking to add to that number in the elections this year, with Bob Livingston running in Louisiana, Jack Reed in Mississippi, and John Harper in Kentucky. But the critical test will come in 1988. We have 12 gubernatorial races that year. Of these, 8 are seats that we have to hold on to and 4 then that we have to win.

Few races could be more important, few campaigns more crucial, to the future of our country. What happens in those elections will have repercussions that extend far beyond the State capitals and far beyond State lines—all the way, in fact, to Washington, DC, and the House of Representatives on Capitol Hill. That's because reapportionment comes up in 1991. That's when the

congressional districts will be redrawn. And in all too many cases, having a Republican Governor is the only shot we have at getting a fair deal. And that's all we're asking for: an end to the antidemocratic and un-American practice of gerrymandering congressional districts.

In 1984 there were 397 congressional races contested by both parties. In the races, Republicans won half a million more votes than the Democrats, but the Democratic Party won 31 more seats. In California, one of the worst cases of gerrymandering in the country, Republicans received a majority of votes in congressional races, but the Democrats won 60 percent more races. The fact is gerrymandering has become a national scandal. The Democratic-controlled State legislatures have so rigged the electoral process that the will of the people cannot be heard. They vote Republican but elect Democrats.

A look at the district lines shows how corrupt the whole process has become. The congressional map is a horror show of grotesque, contorted shapes. Districts jump back and forth over mountain ranges, cross large bodies of water, send out little tentacles to absorb special communities and ensure safe seats. One Democratic Congressman who helped engineer the gerrymandering of California once described the district lines there as his contribution to modern art. [*Laughter*] But it isn't just the district lines the Democrats have bent out of shape: it's the American values of fairplay and decency. And it's time we stopped them.

Frank Fahrenkopf and the Republican Party have challenged the Democrats' gerrymandering in court, but ultimately it's in the State legislatures that the battle for fairness must be won. And that's why we need more Republican Governors to oversee the process and why Republicans have to campaign with all heart and soul for Republican State legislative candidates.

I promise you this: As far as the President of the United States is concerned, he's not going to be sitting around the Rose Garden in 1988. I'm going to be out on the campaign trail, telling the American people the truth about how the electoral process has been twisted and distorted, that it's time to

give the votes back to the people. And I'm going to be telling them, in the name of the American system and in the name of fairplay: Vote Republican in 1988.

The fact is democratic gerrymandering is just one symptom of a larger problem. We've seen a dimension of this problem this last month on the Hill during the debate over the confirmation of Judge Bork to the Supreme Court. Debate—that's a polite word for what's been going on. During the hearings, Attorney General William French Smith spoke for many of us when he expressed his shock and dismay. He said: "I have never seen such misrepresentation, such distortion, and such outright lying. There are people in very important positions in this government who are lying to the American public. I've never seen anything like it, and I hope I never see anything like it again." That's a pretty severe indictment. But former Attorney General William French Smith isn't alone in his opinion. One of the most respected, honorable men in this nation, Chief Justice Warren Burger, echoed this when he accused the opposition to Judge Bork of disinformation.

Judge Bork's nomination will soon be before the full Senate. The purpose of Senate debate is to allow all sides to be heard. Honorable men and women should not be afraid to change their minds if they're based on that debate. There's a crucial principle at stake here. If the campaign of distortion and disinformation used by his opponents is allowed to succeed, it will represent more than a temporary setback for one candidate: It will call into question the idea of free, fair, and civil exchange. And it will mean that on critical issues, like the fight against crime and drugs and keeping those who are unelected from unconstitutionally taking power into their own hands—each of us and each of our children will be the losers.

I do not believe that nominees to the Supreme Court should have to pass litmus tests administered by single-interest lobbies. Such tactics are better suited for campaigns and elections than for Supreme Court nominations. As I said in my TV address yesterday: Our agenda is quite simple—to appoint judges who don't confuse the criminals with

the victims and who believe the courts should interpret the law, not make it. That starts with the Supreme Court. It takes leadership from the Supreme Court to help shape the attitudes of the courts in our land and to make sure that principles of law are based on the Constitution. This is the standard to judge those who seek to serve on the courts—qualifications, not distortions; judicial temperament, not campaign disinformation.

As Judge Bork said last Friday, and I quote him: “The process of confirming Justices for our nation’s highest court has been transformed in a way that should not and, indeed, must not be permitted to occur again.” Yes, it’s right to differ. And, yes, people can have different opinions. But when have we ever seen an instance in which the confirmation of a Justice to the Supreme Court has resulted in private interest groups raising money and putting on television ads and campaigns as if they were running an election—and campaigns based on distortion—when the men and women of the Senate are supposed to sit, go over the qualifications of the individual that has been appointed, and make their decision on whether they believe those qualifications suit him for the position. Well, that’s what we have to get back to.

When the message gets out, I believe the American people will reject the politicization of our judiciary. When the people begin to hear the truth, they will demand an independent judiciary, free from high pressure politics and founded on the principle of judicial restraint. And Judge Bork is a man of courage. He’s decided to push forward, to take the vote on his confirmation to the full Senate. And he’s going forward because he knows that the wrong done him is nothing compared to the wrong done to our nation and our system of justice. The distortions, the misrepresentations, and lies must be answered and must be rejected. Robert Bork deserves better. America deserves better.

I can’t conclude without talking again about an issue that I found so many people are unaware of, and that is getting back to this gerrymandering that has taken place. From 1931 through 1980—50 years—only two Presidents had a Republican Con-

gress—both House and Senate. Each one of them only had it for 2 years. One was a Democratic President, Harry Truman, for 2 of his several years, and the other one was Ike Eisenhower, who had a Republican Congress for 2 out of his 8 years. But for 46 out of those 50 years, the opposition party had both Houses of the Congress. In these, going on 8 years that I have been here, I did have one House for 6 years, the Senate, and the House of Representatives continued to be in the other party’s hands. And now for this final 2 years, we’re back to having them, once again, in control in both Houses.

I’ve heard people that have interpreted our system of checks and balances to mean that, well, that’s fine: You have people on one side out there in the legislature, then people on the other side in the Executive Office. That isn’t what the checks and balances were supposed to be. And certainly, when every Democratic President in those 50 years, with the exception of one 2-year period, had a Congress of their own party, and then when the Republicans had a Congress of the other party for everything but 2 years—all Republican Presidents until my term with having at least one party for a while—the significant thing is we can look back from the inside, where we are in our administration, and tell you that none of the things we’ve accomplished could have been accomplished had we not had that one Republican House, the Senate, for those 6 years.

And now we’re back to the regular way of doing things if they continue to have their way. And it all stems out there in the States, their legislators and their Governors, where the redistricting takes place. I saw it firsthand, because when I was Governor of California, one of the years for redistricting came up. And I vetoed what they came up with. And we finally ended turning it over to the Supreme Court. But they’d been in power so long that I didn’t even have the Supreme Court on my side. *[Laughter]*

But it’s so wonderful for all of you to gather here and to do what you’re doing. And I know that I have to let you have your dinner and get out of here. I really was just standing here, hoping that I could think of a good get-off line. *[Laughter]* But it has

been wonderful, and you've got some great Governors here. And this country's strength is based not on what's inside the beltway here in Washington, it is based on the fact that we are a federation of 50 sovereign States with a great independence.

And one of the things that I'll be the happiest about is that one of my goals has been, ever since I came here, to restore the Federal system and return to the States the

authority and autonomy that has been unjustly seized by the Democratic Party in the years that have gone past. And let's get back to those 50 different States. Thank you all very much, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 7:33 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom at the J.W. Marriott Hotel.

Appointment of Dana Rohrabacher as Special Assistant to the President and Speechwriter

October 16, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Dana Rohrabacher to be Special Assistant to the President and Speechwriter. Mr. Rohrabacher has been a Presidential speechwriter since January 1981.

Mr. Rohrabacher worked for President Reagan's 1976 and 1980 Presidential campaigns as an assistant to the press secretary. He has worked for KFWB Radio and Radio New West-City News Service in Los Angeles, CA, and the Register, a newspaper in

Orange County, CA. He was the Los Angeles County high school chairman of Youth for Reagan in President Reagan's first gubernatorial campaign in 1966.

Mr. Rohrabacher has a bachelors degree in history from California State College in Long Beach and a masters degree in American studies from the University of Southern California. He was born June 21, 1947, in Coronado, CA, and currently resides in Arlington, VA.

Accordance of the Personal Rank of Ambassador to David J. Markey III While Serving as Chairman of the United States Delegation to the World Administrative Radio Conference for Mobile Services

October 16, 1987

The President has accorded the personal rank of Ambassador to David J. Markey III in his capacity as Chairman of the United States delegation to the World Administrative Radio Conference for Mobile Services, held in Geneva, Switzerland, September 14–October 16, 1987.

Mr. Markey has been employed with Bell-South Corp. since November 1985 as vice president for Federal regulatory affairs. Previously he was Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Communications and Information, 1983–1985. In 1983 Mr. Markey was special adviser to the Chairman of the

Federal Communications Commission. From 1981 to 1983, he was chief of staff and legislative director for Senator Frank Murkowski of Alaska. Mr. Markey has been vice president of congressional relations at the National Association of Broadcasters, 1974–1981; chief of staff for Senator J. Glenn Beall, Jr., of Maryland, 1969–1974; and legislative officer on the staff of the Governor of Maryland, 1967–1969.

Mr. Markey graduated from Western Maryland College (B.A., 1963) and the University of Maryland School of Law (J.D., 1967). He served in the United States Army

in 1958. Mr. Markey was born on July 25, 1940, in Frederick, MD. He is married, has one child, and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Proclamation 5731—National Forest Products Week, 1987 October 16, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

This year we Americans again set aside a week in October to remind ourselves that from earliest times our vast forests have provided us with food, water, fuel, and raw materials, and that forests remain a source of countless products necessary for our shelter, comfort, and utility. We can be truly grateful for the jobs and trade that forests generate, for the extensive part forest products play in our national life, and for our firmly established national policy of wise use and preservation of forest resources.

We can be grateful too for the occurrence this year of one of the most active tree-planting campaigns in our history. The new forest trees going into the ground this year will be our living legacy for the generations to come. Tomorrow's forests will be productive and continually renewing sources of wood for housing, furniture, and paper; of water for drinking and irrigation; of rich habitats for fish and wildlife; and of opportunities for outdoor recreation. Just as now, forests will be vital to our economic, social, and environmental well-being in the

future—and just as now, we will need careful and creative stewardship to nurture them.

To promote greater awareness and appreciation of the many benefits of forests for our Nation, the Congress, by Public Law 86-753 (36 U.S.C. 163), has designated the week beginning on the third Sunday in October of each year as "National Forest Products Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 18, 1987, as National Forest Products Week, and I urge all Americans to express their appreciation for our Nation's forests through suitable activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:47 p.m., October 16, 1987]

Proclamation 5732—National Immigrants Day, 1987 October 16, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Our national celebration of Immigrants Day is a moving reminder to us that America is unique among the nations. We are the sons and daughters of every land across the

face of the Earth, yet we are an indivisible Nation. We are one people, and we are one in that which drew our forebears here—the love of "freedom's holy Light."

This year we most appropriately observe Immigrants Day on October 28, the 101st anniversary of the unveiling of the Statue of Liberty, the beloved statue Emma Lazarus

called "Mother of Exiles," from whose "beacon-hand/Glows world-wide welcome." That welcome is America's welcome, which has ever beckoned millions upon millions of courageous souls to this land of freedom, justice, and opportunity.

Immigrants have always brought great gifts to their new home on these shores—the gifts of hardiness and heart, of intellect and hope. Two hundred years ago, immigrants were among the framers of a Constitution for these United States. They knew what they were about, for they began that charter of liberty and limited government with the words, "We the People" and created what a future President named Lincoln would call "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

One immigrant, J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, had described that people very well in 1782 when he wrote, "Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of man whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world." This prophecy came true, and immigrants helped, and are still helping, to make it so—

immigrants to a country and a people one in mutual loyalty and one in steady devotion to "freedom's holy Light."

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 86, has designated October 28, 1987, as "National Immigrants Day" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim October 28, 1987, as National Immigrants Day, and I call upon the people of the United States to observe that day with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:48 p.m., October 16, 1987]

Remarks at a White House Meeting With Soviet Exchange Students October 16, 1987

The President. Well, thank you. And I want you to know I'm very pleased to welcome you all to the White House today. And when General Secretary Gorbachev and I met in Geneva, as you've said, we agreed that exchanges of high school students would be an excellent way to increase understanding between our two countries. Seeing the actual results of the agreement—that gives me a great deal of personal satisfaction.

As I'm sure all of you know—being there—the Phillips Academy signed that agreement with the Physics-Mathematics Institute for this reciprocal exchange of students, and it's enabled all of you to study here in our country. And I can say—you probably wouldn't be hesitant to say—Phillips Academy is a famous part of our American educational heritage. And through your

experience at Phillips, you had the chance to learn about the American educational system at the secondary school level. And in addition, you undoubtedly were able to improve your language comprehension through classroom and informal social situations.

I hope that your exchange is the first of many between our two countries so that other American and Soviet students will have the opportunity to study together, to learn each other's language, and to understand better each other's aspirations and cultures. General Secretary Gorbachev and I place great importance on these exchanges, as you've been told, between our people, and particularly our young people; for you are our hope for the future. I want to express my support for you and all the other citizens of our two countries who are

contributing to the effort to expand exchanges between the United States and the Soviet Union.

And this weekend while you're in the Capital, I hope you have the opportunity to go sightseeing and visit some of our museums. We're very proud of our Capital City and hope you'll have a wonderful time while you're here.

Reporter. Mr. President, we know you must be terribly concerned about your wife. Would you—

The President. Of course.

Q. How is she taking this, and how are you feeling about this upcoming procedure?

The President. Well, I think you've said it. It's very evident. But then I think I have to let you go, because I have a limited time here for visiting with these young people. But, well, of course I'm concerned, and so is

she. But at the same time, I have great confidence in the medical personnel who are in charge of this case.

Q. Mr. President, how can you let Iran get away with this attack without retaliating?

The President. I think maybe you're jumping to conclusions here. I cannot and will not discuss what our future action may be. But we're in discussions with the Government of Kuwait, and it would be very unwise to hint or suggest at anything we might do.

Note: The President spoke at 1:05 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. The reporters' questions referred to Mrs. Reagan's scheduled surgery for cancer and the sinking of the Kuwaiti tanker "Sea Isle City" by an Iranian missile on October 16.

Memorandum on the Presidential Design Awards Program *October 16, 1987*

Memorandum for the Heads of Departments and Agencies

Excellence in design is integral to the Federal Government's responsible stewardship of public resources. Good design unites art with purpose. It is part of our taking pride in America. It should not be viewed as a luxury added on at extra cost but as a process for increasing the efficiency and quality of our lives. Our ability to compete effectively in international markets depends largely on an often overlooked, but integral element—design quality.

It was for these reasons that I established in 1983 a Presidential Design Awards Program to recognize successful achievement in federal design and inspire standards of excellence throughout the government. This initiative was designed to build on the achievements of the Federal Design Improvement Project of the National Endow-

ment for the Arts. The awards, which I conferred on Federal agencies in January 1985, generated national attention to the best of our Federal efforts.

Therefore, I am pleased to announce Round Two of the Presidential Design Awards. It is my hope that the Awards competition and public recognition of our federal "best" will encourage greater federal leadership in, and attention to, good design.

As in 1983, I have asked Frank Hodsoll, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, to implement the Presidential Design Awards Program. I know he will enjoy your full support.

Please designate an individual with an appropriate background and position to be your liaison with the Endowment to help ensure the success of this program.

RONALD REAGAN

Remarks at a White House Briefing on Proposed Criminal Justice Reform Legislation

October 16, 1987

Well, thank you all for coming by, and thank you for a warm welcome. I'm delighted to see you and I want to make a few remarks this afternoon on the matter of the law and our courts—an area I know is of some interest to you, and as you may have noticed, has been in the news lately. Sometimes people ask me whether I ever weary of the controversy that seems to surround so much of public life and especially this job. Well, the truth is that more than anything else, the Presidency becomes a source of satisfaction if you can look back and see a far distance travelled.

In fact, I can recall very well those first few months in office when we were faced with the worst economic mess since the Great Depression. And on the international scene, in some ways, things were even worse. Anyway, what I remember most is discovering that after spending a whole campaign talking about the serious problems we faced, I got into office and found out I'd been guilty of understatement. I felt a little like the Titanic passenger, John Jacob Astor, who it is reported said when the ship hit the iceberg, "Listen, I asked for ice but this is ridiculous." [Laughter] But things did turn around; we moved from a dead-in-the-water economy to a dynamic, growth-oriented, job-creating expansion that will become the longest in peacetime history. Internationally, we moved from danger and humiliation to new status; not only as a nation of power, but a nation with a sense of right and purpose strong enough to set the tides running again in the cause of freedom and democracy.

And yet, for all the critical economic and international problems we faced, we should not forget that back in the early days, we faced another crisis that was just as grave, one that threatened the very stability and survival of our society. And that crisis was: the crisis of crime. Now, I won't list the statistics and recite the horror stories. I think we can all remember the crime rates that steadily escalated, the fear and terror

in our streets and neighborhoods, and the undermining of public faith in our legal system and our democratic institution.

In my first year in office, I mentioned all of this in a speech to our nation's police chiefs, and I pledged to them and to the Nation immediate action. We organized a commission on violent crime that came up with serious reforms that were widely enacted. We added prosecutors and Federal agents and moved forward with a massive crackdown on drug trafficking. We singled out the syndicate for extinction and began a war of abolition against the mob. And though it did take 3 years and though we were forced to remove some important provisions, we did finally get the Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984; which was tough, new crime legislation, passed by the Congress including new drug trafficking laws and tougher sentencing procedures. And finally, we appointed judges who understood that the first duty of any civilized society is to protect its honest citizens from those who prey on their innocent fellow citizens.

I want you to know we've had results. The number of convictions and average sentences have increased dramatically. In the organized crime area alone, convictions are more than five times what they were. I'm proud to tell you, too, that this administration's judges have been shown to be statistically far sterner with criminals than their predecessors. All of this has added up. Only last week, the Department of Justice released a study showing crime was down now for the fifth year in a row and was now at its lowest point in 14 years.

Now, some have tried to say that all this progress was the result of demographics, we simply had less people in the crime-prone categories. Well, the truth is that the drop in crime cannot be explained by demographics. Coincidence isn't necessarily cause. Crime has sometimes risen with population growth and sometimes not. There's nothing historically inevitable about it.

Between 1977 and 1981, for example, the numbers in the crime-prone age group dropped slightly, but serious crime went up 22 percent. So, let me just point out something that I think is too often overlooked here. The rise in crime was not an unavoidable accident; it didn't just happen. It was the result of a liberal social philosophy that endorsed and supported leniency in the courtroom, a social philosophy that said that society, not the criminal, was to blame for crime. And this leniency in the courtroom itself was the result of another liberal phenomenon: judicial activism; judges who thought it was their right to make the law, not just interpret it; judges who fashioned new rules that were a catastrophe for law-abiding citizens, new rules that made it harder to convict even the most hardened and obviously guilty criminals. I've just recently heard of a case that took place that illustrates this type of thing. A man convicted for a heinous crime of violence and then released out in the streets because he was not brought before the commissioner within 24 hours of arrest. No, he was brought before him in 24 hours and 12 minutes. So he's out on the street.

The reason crime has declined is obvious to you and me. As I suggested back in 1981, the American people were fed up. They were tired of judicial systems that were tough on law enforcement officials, but let criminals off easy. They insisted that certain important truths be reasserted, certainly—well, that there's a right and wrong; that individuals are responsible for their actions; and that society has a right to protect itself and the potential victims of crime from those who prey on the innocent.

And now, thanks to the American people, and especially to those of you at the State and local level here in this room, we have managed to reject that ugly past. We're making America safe and secure again for our children. But much remains to be done. The task before us in the criminal justice area is the same as the task before us economically and internationally. We have dealt with the crisis, but we must now institutionalize the progress that we've made. We must make our recent gains permanent.

Let me speak then to the Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1987 and the three reforms

that I am announcing today, these reforms that we were forced to remove from our earlier crime package but which we will pursue now with renewed vigor. The United States is the only nation in the world with such an expansive exclusionary rule. A rule that rests on the proposition that a law enforcement error, no matter how technical, can be used to justify throwing an entire case out of court, no matter how guilty the defendant or how heinous the crime. The plain consequence of treating the wrongs equally is a grievous miscarriage of justice. The criminal goes free, the officer is uncorrected, and the only ones who really suffer are the people in the community. Just to show how absurd this can become, let me tell you about another case, one that I have mentioned before on similar occasions. This was—happened when I was Governor in California.

Two drug enforcement officers in California got a warrant on the basis of evidence that indicated that a married couple in a certain home were in the business of selling heroin. Well, they served their warrant, they went in, they could not find the heroin. And as they were leaving the house, one of them turned back. There was a baby in the crib, and he took the baby's diaper off. And there was the heroin. Case thrown out of court because the baby hadn't given its permission to be searched.

Now, the first reform I want to talk about today concerns that exclusionary rule. As you know, the Supreme Court recently recognized that it makes no sense to apply the exclusionary rule when a police officer believes in reasonably good faith that he is acting under a valid warrant, even if the warrant is defective for some reason. My proposal would codify the existing reasonable good faith exception and expand it to warrantless searches and seizures. It would also limit use of statutes to exclude evidence. Those are reasonable and responsible changes, and I urge the Congress to act quickly. It'll make a difference to those of you on the front line.

Now secondly, you all know better than anyone that judicial activists have expanded the Federal habeas corpus doctrine to such an extent that it interferes with our primary

defense against crime: the State criminal justice systems. Originally meant to safeguard our liberties by preventing the government from holding a person in custody without pressing criminal charges, the habeas corpus doctrine is now misused by Federal courts to second guess valid State criminal convictions. My proposal would reform this doctrine and prevent it from being used as another tool to let guilty criminals off the hook.

And finally, I think you all know how strongly the American people feel about restoration of the death penalty. Currently, there are no adequate Federal procedures on the death penalty, and so it cannot be used in cases where Federal statutes provide for capital punishment. My proposal would establish such adequate procedures so that the death penalty provisions already on the books can be utilized in such cases as espionage, treason, and aggravated murder.

Now as I said, all of these reforms were included in our original crime bill. But, we were forced to remove them to get any action at all out of a Congress that locked our crime bill up in committee. While each of these reforms have been passed individually by the Senate in recent years, the House Judiciary Committee has refused at every turn to present them to the floor of the House for a vote. And that's why I urge a full and open debate in the Congress on these critical reforms. I urge members on both sides of these questions to come forward, as they're doing now on my nomination of Judge Bork, to identify their positions and inform the American people on the kind of representation they're receiving on the crime issue.

This issue concerns these reforms as it concerns the Bork nomination. Because what we really see here is two conflicting visions of America. Those who oppose my nomination of Judge Bork want activist judges who'll promote their policy objective, or agenda—a policy agenda whose major objectives would not win approval in

the democratic process of a majority vote, a policy agenda that includes leniency in the courtroom and the fashioning of new rules to protect criminals. On the other hand, we have the people who are fed up with crime, who support judicial restraint, who understand society's right to protect itself from the criminal element—people especially like yourselves and the hundreds of thousands from other law enforcement groups who have supported Judge Bork for the Supreme Court.

Today I challenge all those who would oppose these important reforms and all those who oppose the nomination of Judge Bork to reflect carefully and well on what the American people want. I remind them again: The American people do not want judges picked for special interests. They do not want to return to leniency in the courtroom and unsafe streets. They want judges and laws that reflect common sense attitudes about crime. The simple truth is: crime is far too common. Lenient laws and lenient judges have been greatly to blame for it. It's time to reinstate the death penalty, reform the exclusionary rule and modify habeas corpus. And it's time to put on the bench men like Judge Robert Bork.

If you think that I am a little steamed up about this, I am. I remember in my 8 years in California as Governor and the inability to get some crime reforms. And then in one of the every-two-year elections there was a certain change in the balance of the Legislature, and in a matter of months, 41 anti-crime bills were passed out of committee and passed. None of them were new. All 41 had been buried in the same committee of the Legislature and were brought out when there was just a slight change in the balance of that Legislature. Well now, I think I'd better quit talking and get to writing and sign the transmittal messages.

Note: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Criminal Justice Reform Legislation

October 16, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

I am transmitting to the Congress today a legislative proposal entitled the "Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1987."

As you know, I have always believed that government's most fundamental responsibility is the protection of the security of its people. In the area of law enforcement, this critical priority has been reflected in the unprecedented commitment of resources under my Administration to combatting the scourge of drug trafficking and drug abuse, in our recent major advances and ongoing effort against organized crime, and in important initiatives against white collar crime.

Effective enforcement, however, depends on the legislative will to provide the tools needed to do the job. If the Congress had not enacted the RICO provisions of the Organized Crime Control Act in 1970 and the court-ordered wiretap and electronic surveillance provisions of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act in 1968, we would lack essential tools in the war against organized crime. If the Congress had not enacted the bail reform, forfeiture reform, and drug enforcement provisions of the Comprehensive Crime Control Act in 1984, law enforcement would be denied basic tools in our fight against drug trafficking.

The legislative proposal that I am transmitting today encompasses three measures—relating to the exclusionary rule, habeas corpus, and capital punishment—which are also of critical importance to the suppression of crime and the improved operation of the criminal justice system. These proposals are summarized in some detail in the materials accompanying this message. I do, however, wish to highlight the principal reforms proposed in this legislation:

Exclusionary Rule. Under the provisions of the bill, reliable evidence of guilt would no longer be thrown out and criminals set free because of innocent errors by law enforcement officers in carrying out searches and seizures. Evidence would be admissible

if an officer acted in an objectively reasonable belief that his conduct was consistent with the law.

Habeas Corpus. As a result of judicial expansions of the habeas corpus remedy, State prisoners are now free to re-litigate their convictions and sentences endlessly in the lower Federal courts. The bill would curb the abuse of habeas corpus by imposing reasonable limits on its scope and availability.

Capital Punishment. It is scandalous and intolerable that Federal law now provides no enforceable death penalty for terrorists who slaughter defenseless American hostages, for drug traffickers who engage in cold-blooded murder of our law enforcement officers, for prisoners already serving life terms who murder guards or other inmates, or for traitors who jeopardize the security of millions by betraying our most sensitive military secrets to the Nation's enemies. The bill would correct these omissions and others by establishing an enforceable capital sanction for aggravated crimes of murder, espionage, and treason.

The need for reforms in these areas is familiar to all members of Congress. Substantially similar titles relating to the exclusionary rule, habeas corpus, and capital punishment were included in my initial proposal of the Comprehensive Crime Control Act in 1983. At the time of the passage of the Comprehensive Crime Control Act in 1984, all these proposals were passed as separate bills by large majority votes in the Senate. Similar proposals have been passed or introduced with broad support in the House of Representatives.

There is little question in my mind that these measures would again be approved without difficulty if the membership of both houses of Congress were permitted to vote on them. Yet despite the passage of years, exhaustive hearings and study at the committee level, extensive floor consideration and debate, and vigorous efforts by numerous members of Congress in promoting these important reforms, they have not yet

been enacted. This inaction is almost entirely attributable to determined delay and obstruction by those few who oppose the public's justified demand for effective action against crime and seek to deny the full membership of the Congress an opportunity to voice its will concerning these proposals.

We should not and cannot tolerate further delay on these important issues affect-

ing the fundamental right of all Americans to justice in the courts and protection against crime. I accordingly urge prompt consideration and enactment of these legislative proposals.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 16, 1987.

Statement on Signing the Bill Amending the Veterans Administration Home Loan Guaranty Law October 16, 1987

I have today reluctantly signed S. 1691, a bill containing amendments to the Veterans Administration (VA) home loan guaranty law. This legislation was originally intended to extend for a limited period—45 days as finally passed by the Congress—two provisions relating to the home loan program that expired on September 30, 1987. These provisions require payment of a fee by non-service-disabled veterans who obtain VA housing loans, and contain the criteria for determining when the VA may acquire the property which secured a guaranteed loan that has gone into default.

The VA home loan program has been, and continues to be, of great importance to present and former members of the Nation's Armed Forces but the costs of operating the program and paying claims on bad loans are substantial. Thus, the Congress, with the administration's support, in 1982 imposed a modest, one-time fee on veterans using this unique benefit. Certain veterans and surviving spouses, such as those receiving compensation for service-connected disabilities, are exempt from paying this fee. The 1 percent fee, which has now expired, should be extended. This fee will not ensure the solvency of the VA home loan program but will provide almost \$225 million in fiscal year 1988.

A section was added to S. 1691, however, that I strongly oppose. It would have the effect of generally requiring the VA to sell its vendee loans (i.e., loans made to purchasers of VA-acquired foreclosed properties)

with recourse. Under this type of sale, the Government agrees to buy back the note from the holder if the borrower defaults. This is bad credit policy.

This administration has launched a program to improve Federal credit programs by selling loan assets to the public *without* recourse. Loans sold *with* recourse run counter to both credit reform and efficient debt management. The Federal guarantee behind such loans makes them the credit risk equivalent of Treasury securities and makes it difficult to obtain an accurate measurement of the subsidy inherent in Federal credit, since adding guarantees effectively disguises the original subsidy.

Moreover, an effective prohibition of VA loan sales without recourse would have a detrimental impact, by approximately \$1 billion, on attempts to achieve the deficit reduction target set in the recently revised Gramm-Rudman-Hollings (G-R-H) law, thus requiring additional cuts of that amount in other programs to avoid the automatic sequester.

Realizing the merits of the administration's objections to the provision requiring VA to sell its loans with recourse, the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs have pledged to work "to repeal or substantially modify" this provision. They have also indicated that they intend to move VA home loan guaranty legislation forward in the near future.

The administration will work with these

and other Members of Congress to repeal the unwise recourse loan amendment in S. 1691 and to extend the loan fee and streamline the home loan program. If such home loan guaranty legislation were to be enacted promptly—for example, before the November 15, 1987, expiration date of the two expired provisions extended in S.

1691—the problem related to the G–R–H reduction would not occur.

With these understandings, I am signing S. 1691 into law.

Note: S. 1691, approved October 16, was assigned Public Law No. 100–136.

**Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on the Resignation of Ray A. Barnhart as Administrator of
the Federal Highway Administration
October 16, 1987**

President Reagan today accepts with regret the resignation of R.A. Barnhart as Administrator of the Federal Highway Administration. Ray Barnhart has served the administration for almost 7 years, guiding the multimillion dollar Federal Highway

Program. The President commends Ray Barnhart for an outstanding job and for having the courage of his convictions in providing tireless leadership to America's highway program.

**White House Announcement on Binary Chemical Weapons
Modernization
October 16, 1987**

Today the President sent to Congress the certification required to begin final assembly of the 155mm binary chemical artillery projectiles. This is an important element of the long-needed modernization of the United States chemical weapon deterrent.

The President was pleased to make this

certification on a program so vital to our national security. We seek a global, effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons. Until we achieve that goal, however, it is essential that we maintain a safe, modern chemical weapon stockpile to deter use of chemical weapons by potential adversaries.

**Radio Address to the Nation on Foreign Policy
October 17, 1987**

My fellow Americans:

As I speak to you, Secretary of State George Shultz is on a diplomatic mission that reflects the breadth, the intensity, and the importance of our country's foreign policy efforts. Today he's in the Middle East. He'll meet with the leaders of Israel,

Jordan, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia.

In the past we've proven ourselves a nation of good will and a reliable ally to these friends and to others. Today our Navy plies the waters of the Persian Gulf helping to keep the shipping lanes open. Freedom of navigation in international waters is a

cardinal principle of our policy and, especially in that region of the world, a vital interest. We've had a naval presence in the Gulf since 1949. Any risk to that naval presence or to U.S.-flagged commercial ships operating peacefully in the waters of the Gulf will be dealt with appropriately.

Our wider role in the Middle East—perhaps more than in any other region—is that of peacemaker. We are doing our best to help narrow the differences between Israel and her Arab neighbors so that real negotiations for peace can get started. The desire for peace and the will to make peace are growing in the region. Our job is to help. In the Persian Gulf we play a similar role. Along with the initiative in the United Nations Security Council, we are seeking a peaceful resolution of the Iran-Iraq war—one of the great tragedies of our time. A vigorous diplomatic effort is essential, and that is what Secretary Shultz' mission is all about.

After conferring with key leaders of the Middle East, he heads to Moscow. In his talks there, he will bring up the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Gulf war, as well as other conflicts like Afghanistan, Central America, Angola, and Cambodia. We've made it clear that if our two countries are to have better relations we must see a change in Soviet actions in these regional conflicts. We are concerned with human rights in the Soviet Union itself. This has always been at the top of my agenda. It's impossible to have a constructive relationship with a government that tramples upon the rights of its people. There are also, as one would expect, bilateral issues between our two countries concerning trade, travel, and other items that will be on the agenda in Moscow.

I've always felt that, even between systems as different as ours, if we remain true to our principles and firm in the advocacy of our own interests, some common ground can be found. This has been the basis of the arms reduction proposals we've made to the Soviet Union. As a result, we're moving toward an agreement that would eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermedi-

ate-range missiles, known as INF—the first real reductions in nuclear arsenals in history. A number of essential details need to be worked out, however, like effective verification. And our proposals call for the most stringent verification regime in the history of arms control. We can settle for nothing less. We are hopeful, but we're in no rush. There is no politically imposed deadline. It must be done right or not at all.

Some have worried that an INF agreement would leave the NATO alliance exposed. Well, I share their concern for European security, but concern over this agreement is misplaced. The kind of INF agreement we're working toward is a tribute to the firmness and solidarity of the alliance. That firmness and solidarity must continue. A sound nuclear arms reduction agreement need not undermine our unity or weaken our nuclear and conventional deterrent which have kept the peace these last four decades. And we will indeed maintain effective deterrent forces. Secretary Shultz will also press hard for an agreement reducing strategic arms. Progress there is possible, but the Soviet Union will have to show far more flexibility than it has up to now.

Finally, as Secretary Shultz continues his mission, we would do well to remember Secretary Shultz is not just my representative—he is our representative. Certain proposals in Congress, especially those that would tie our hands or even enact Soviet negotiating positions into American law, don't help us at the bargaining table. And they undermine the chances of achieving mutual arms reduction. I can assure you, I will veto any bill with provisions that hurt our national security.

I am hoping that we can stand together as America continues to further the twin causes of peace and freedom. I know we all wish our top diplomat Godspeed and a safe return.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Informal Exchange With Reporters

October 17, 1987

Mrs. Reagan's Hospitalization

Q. How is she feeling, Mr. President?

Q. How is she feeling?

The President. She's feeling just fine. Everything went—was like that.

Q. What's that?

Q. What did you say to her?

The President. What?

Q. What did you say to her?

The President. Well, you don't really want to know what a fellow says to his wife when they're just alone in the room together, do you?

Q. A little bit of it.

The President. I expressed my great happiness at the outcome.

Q. When do you think she will be coming home?

The President. We don't know. We don't have a date exactly, but I don't think it'll be long.

Q. Will you go out there tomorrow?

The President. What?

Q. Well, how is she feeling? Is she in any discomfort? How is she feeling?

The President. Well, simply the normal discomfort after an operation, but nothing more than that.

Q. Good luck.

Stock Market Decline

Q. What do you think of the stock market, Mr. President? What do you think of the stock market?

The President. That's a change of subject, isn't it? Well, they tell me it's just a correction.

Note: The exchange began at 2:15 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House upon the President's return from Bethesda Naval Hospital, where Mrs. Reagan was recovering from cancer surgery.

Informal Exchange With Reporters

October 18, 1987

Mrs. Reagan's Hospitalization

Q. How is she?

Q. What are you going to do about the Silkworm [missile]?

The President. What?

Q. What are you going to do about the Silkworm?

Mr. Kuhn. What are you going to do about the Silkworm?

The President. I can't answer that question right now, but—

Q. What's in the box?

The President. What?

Q. What's in the box?

The President. I got a date with a girl out at Bethesda. It's a present.

Q. What is it, a box of chocolates?

The President. What?

Pat Robertson

Q. [Inaudible]—Pat Robertson—

The President. I didn't hear it. I just heard about it. I don't know exactly what he said, but I heard him apologizing about it.

Q. Is that the 11th commandment?

The President. [Laughter] I'll have to tell them all about the 11th commandment.

Mrs. Reagan's Hospitalization

Q. [Inaudible]—Mrs. Reagan this morning?

The President. What?

Q. [Inaudible]—Mrs. Reagan this morning?

The President. No, I'm on my way there right now.

Q. [Inaudible]

The President. No, just a little present.

U.S. Reprisal Against Iran

Q. What—[inaudible]—in the Gulf? Are

we going to attack Iran?

The President. What?

Q. [Inaudible]

The President. No. No. Oh, no. No. It's just a present.

The President's Health

Q. How are you feeling, sir?

The President. What?

Q. How are you?

The President. How am I? I'm fine, yes. Now, don't keep me out here in the sun any longer, though.

U.S. Reprisal Against Iran

Q. [Inaudible]—the Gulf?

The President. What?

Q. [Inaudible]—in the Gulf? What are you going to do?

The President. If I told you, I'd be telling them.

Q. Are you going—

The President. I'll tell her you all send your love.

Note: The exchange began at 10:02 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House upon the President's departure for Bethesda Naval Hospital, where Mrs. Reagan was recovering from cancer surgery. James F. Kuhn was Special Assistant to the President.

Informal Exchange With Reporters October 18, 1987

Mrs. Reagan's Hospitalization

Q. Mr. President, what did the doctors tell you?

Q. Just tell us how she is.

Q. Tell us how she is.

The President. What?

Q. How is she?

Q. How is she doing?

Q. How is she?

The President. Just fine. Just left her. We've been together all afternoon and had lunch together, and she's feeling fine.

Q. What can you tell us about—[inaudible]. Is she walking in the hallways? How is she doing?

The President. I took her for a walk up and down the halls, yes.

Q. What did the doctors tell you about the recuperation?

The President. They think she's ahead of schedule.

Q. When are you going to bring her home?

The President. What?

Q. When are you going to bring her home?

Q. When do you expect her back?

The President. Well, they haven't told me that yet. They've indicated that it may be sooner than we think.

Q. What was in the package?

The President. What?

Q. What was in the package you took to her?

The President. It was a lovely little mirror that she had admired once.

U.S. Reprisal Against Iran

Q. [Inaudible]

The President. That what?

Q. The—[inaudible]—Persian Gulf—

The President. Oh.

Q. [Inaudible]

The President. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I've made it.

Q. What is that?

The President. I can't tell you.

Note: The exchange began at 4:10 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House upon the President's return from Bethesda Naval Hospital, where Mrs. Reagan was recovering from cancer surgery.

Remarks at a White House Concert Featuring the Works of Jerome Kern

October 18, 1987

Thank you all for a wonderful concert. Nancy asked me to tell you how very sorry that she is that she can't be here tonight. I know how much she would have particularly loved this romantic evening of music. And you've proven something I've always suspected: that when you hear a great tune, and you aren't quite sure who wrote it, you could guess Jerome Kern and 9 times out of 10 you'd be right.

When Jerome Kern died in 1945, one of my predecessors in this job, Harry Truman, said about him: "His melodies will live in our voices and warm our hearts for many years to come, for they are the kind of simple, honest songs that belong to no time or fashion." Well, he was right, of course. And 40 years later a Presidential proclamation pointed out that: "New generations of audiences of all ages and backgrounds have taken Kern's melodies to heart and given them a permanent place in our American musical heritage." And that is a direct quote from, well, from me—[laughter]—when a joint resolution of Congress declared that Jerome Kern was the "Father of the American Musical Theater."

Kern was not content just to write songs. Like many men of genius, he wanted to take what he knew and raise it up, make it more significant, establish a higher standard for everyone who would follow. He had

great faith in the intelligence of the American people and the power of the stage. He wanted to go beyond the old-fashioned musical revues and bring forth a vigorous new art form, a story told in music. The songs would come honestly from the plot. They would fit the characters' motivations. Integrity of the form is what he sought, and he pursued it throughout his life. He was dedicated to that integrity and, yes, he lived to see it realized. Jerome Kern's devotion to this new art form gave inspiration to the next generation of composers and helped bring forth the musical theater now recognized all over the world as distinctly and joyously American. As for Jerome Kern himself, he lives on in the beauty of his songs.

So, to all of you: Thank you for a truly splendid evening. And I spoke to Nancy earlier this evening, and she wanted me to say she sends you all her very best. And so do all of us.

Note: The President spoke at 5:58 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. The performers included Barbara Cook, Roberta Flack, Johnny Mathis, and Doc Severinsen. Marvin Hamlisch was the director and master of ceremonies. The concert was taped for the "In Performance at the White House" series by the Public Broadcasting Service for later television broadcast.

Statement on the United States Reprisal Against Iran

October 19, 1987

Acting pursuant to my authority as Commander in Chief, United States naval vessels at 7 a.m. e.d.t. today struck an Iranian military platform in international waters in the central Persian Gulf. This platform has been used to assist in a number of Iranian attacks against nonbelligerent shipping. Iran's unprovoked attacks upon U.S. and other non-

belligerent shipping, and particularly deliberate laying of mines and firing of Silkworm missiles, which have hit U.S.-flag vessels, have come in spite of numerous messages from the Government of the United States to the Government of Iran warning of the consequences.

The action against the Iranian military

platform came after consultations with congressional leadership and friendly governments. It is a prudent yet restrained response to this unlawful use of force against the United States and to numerous violations of the rights of other nonbelligerents. It is a lawful exercise of the right of self-defense enshrined in article 51 of the United Nations Charter and is being so notified to the President of the United Nations Security Council.

The United States has no desire for a military confrontation with Iran, but the Government of Iran should be under no illusion about our determination and ability to protect our ships and our interests against unprovoked attacks. We have informed the Government of Iran of our desire for an urgent end to tensions in the region and an end to the Iran-Iraq war through urgent implementation of Security Council Resolution 598.

Nomination of Two Members of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs

October 19, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be members of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs for terms expiring May 8, 1990. These are reappointments.

Esther Kratzer Everett, of New York. Since 1959 Mrs. Everett has been president of Emil A. Kratzer Co., Inc., in Amherst, NY. Previously she taught business management and accounting at the University of Buffalo. Mrs. Everett

graduated from the University of Buffalo (M.A., 1955). She was born January 5, 1929, in Buffalo, NY. Mrs. Everett is married, has three children, and resides in Amherst, NY.

Helen J. Valerio, of Massachusetts. Since 1957 Mrs. Valerio has been senior vice president and treasurer at Papa Gino's of America, Inc., in Dedham, MA. Mrs. Valerio attended Harvard University. She was born November 23, 1938, in Chelsea, MA. Mrs. Valerio is married, has three children, and resides in Framingham, MA.

Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for C. William Verity, Jr., as Secretary of Commerce

October 19, 1987

The President. Thank you, and with regard to your invitation—you mean the place is younger than I am? [*Laughter*] Well, we're here today to honor an old friend and welcome a new one.

The old friend, of course, was Malcolm Baldrige. No one knows and appreciates better Mac's contribution to the history of our times than you in this room. You were his colleagues for 6½ years. The partnership between you and him was, perhaps, the most fruitful in the history of this Department, going back even to Herbert Hoover's term here. Mac had a special quality. He was direct and unassuming. He didn't

stand on ceremony. He kept his eye on the big picture, but not so much that he ever took for granted those working with him. We won't see Mac in the halls or in meetings anymore, but we'll remember him in our prayers.

You may remember some years ago a definition of prayer that was in a movie called "How Green Was My Valley." It reminded me of Mac. It's when Walter Pidgeon tells young Roddy McDowall: "Prayer is only another name for good, clean, direct thinking. When you pray, think. Think well what you're saying and make your thoughts into

things that are solid." And he concluded: "In that way, your prayer will have strength, and that strength will become a part of your body, mind, and spirit." I wanted to come over here today to tell you that our thoughts of Mac will also take a solid form in the years ahead. You see, the Great Hall of this—one of Washington's great, monumental buildings, the building in which Mac did so much good work for our country—the Great Hall is to be renamed after Mac: the Malcolm Baldrige Great Hall.

Now, I said we were also welcoming a new friend today. And you know who I'm talking about: your new Secretary, Bill Verity. Bill has big shoes to fill, and I'm confident he's just the man to fill them. You know his story: the man who successfully charted the course of Armco Steel in the sixties and seventies, the Chairman of the highly successful Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives, the chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. The president of the union that represents Armco's workers recently said of Bill: "He's an honest person. He's strong. He listens to both sides, and then he gives you a fair decision." Well, I can't think of any fairer or better endorsement than that. Bill, the Commerce Department is one of the class acts of the administration, and so are you. Welcome aboard.

By the way, Bill, you may have heard questions over the years about whether Departments run Secretaries or Secretaries run Departments—who's really in the driver's seat? Well, it can be confusing, and it reminds me of a story. In case you were wondering, this is my way of sliding into a story. [Laughter] Many of you here work on East-West trade issues, and I like to collect stories that I can verify that the Russian people tell among themselves, so I'm going to tell you this one.

It's about General Secretary Gorbachev. It seems that as part of the campaign to straighten things out there in his country he had issued an order that everyone caught speeding, or seen speeding, should get a ticket, no matter how important they might be. Well, one morning he was out at his country home and realized that he was running late for a meeting that he had in the

Kremlin. And he went out to get in his car and told the driver to get into the back seat, that he'd drive. And he did, and down the street he went. And they passed two motorcycle policemen, and one of them took off after him. And a little while later, he came back and joined his companion, the other motorcycle officer. And the fellow said, "Did you give him a ticket?" And he said, "No." "Well," he said, "why not?" "Well," he said, "No, no, this was someone too important." "Well," he said, "we were told to give it no matter who it was, that they would get a—" "No," he says, "not—" "Well," he said, "who was it?" "Well," he said, "I don't know. I couldn't recognize him there, but his driver is Gorbachev." [Laughter]

Well, Bill will be in the driver's seat with some very important people—and I mean all of you. I can't think of a Department with a more noble purpose, one more central to the long-term welfare of our nation, than this one. If it is true, as I believe it is, that trade and economic relations are the brick and mortar in the temple of world peace, then your Department is a department of peace.

I know how many extraordinarily different functions are in the Department. You're often compared to a business conglomerate. But each of these activities—whether it's predicting the weather, taking a census, compiling economic data, or working on international trade—each of these helps make America stronger in the world economic arena.

Our trade policies, of course, must always be consistent with our national security interest. Today we know that the national interest of our country is directly challenged by the flow of advanced technologies and defense-related know-how and materials to hostile nations. Your Department, under the leadership of Bill Verity, must be ever vigilant in stopping this kind of harmful technology transfer to our adversaries. That's one of the challenges of the growing world economy.

Not only challenges await us but opportunities. I believe that the birth of a truly global economy, such as we're seeing happen now, will mark the birth of a new

age of peace. It's already marking a new era of opportunity. This month we'll set a record: the longest peacetime economic expansion on record. I know you know what that means, because I get many of the numbers from you. And those that come from elsewhere, you study with a microscope. In September the unemployment rate fell to the lowest level in this decade. A greater percentage of our working-age population has been employed this year than ever before in our history. Personal and family income have risen steadily since our recovery began.

The leading indicators are sending a message: Steady as she goes. As one national business magazine wrote recently: "Business is holding to its faster growth track, buoyed by the revival in factory output." Yes, even as some still talk about the deindustrialization of America, manufacturing output has surged, and exports have played a major part in this. Perhaps a few of you could take the fellows around the camera platform aside later and explain to them what I've been trying to help them understand for some time now. We've been seeing substantial growth in exports in recent months, and our exports continue to stay well above their 1986 average. Exports have also been growing strongly in volume terms, while import volumes are down. Emphasizing only the dollar value of the trade deficit misses some of these fundamentals. We've also made headway with our major trading partners through our improved economic policy coordination process.

Indeed, I'm delighted that [Treasury] Secretary Baker has proposed reforming this process by adding a new commodity price indicator to assist us in reaching judgments about mutually consistent policies and performance. By the way, could you also remind those fellows in the back there that not only is American industry more competitive than ever but that since our recovery began we've created more jobs in America than Europe and Japan combined and that more than 10 million American jobs depend on imports, exports, or both.

This is exactly the wrong time—although there never is a right time—for Congress to get on a protectionist binge. The trade bill is working its way through Capitol Hill, and

I know I speak for all of you when I say that the administration will work with Congress to achieve responsible trade legislation. But we will not support, and I am prepared to veto, anything that smacks of protectionism, whether it's procedural in nature or overt. Protectionism destroys jobs. It destroys growth. It undermines the entire global economy, and it undermines our own economy. I hope that Congress understands this and will produce a trade bill that you can be proud of and that I can sign.

And let me add one other thing: I hope that Congress will keep in mind that a strong and growing global economy is the great hope of the world of the next century. More than any other Department of the Government, you are helping our nation move into that economy of the century to come. You're helping to build the true temple of lasting world peace.

And too often your work is not sufficiently recognized, so let me leave you today with my profound thanks, on behalf of the entire Nation, for your loyalty, your dedication, and your hard work.

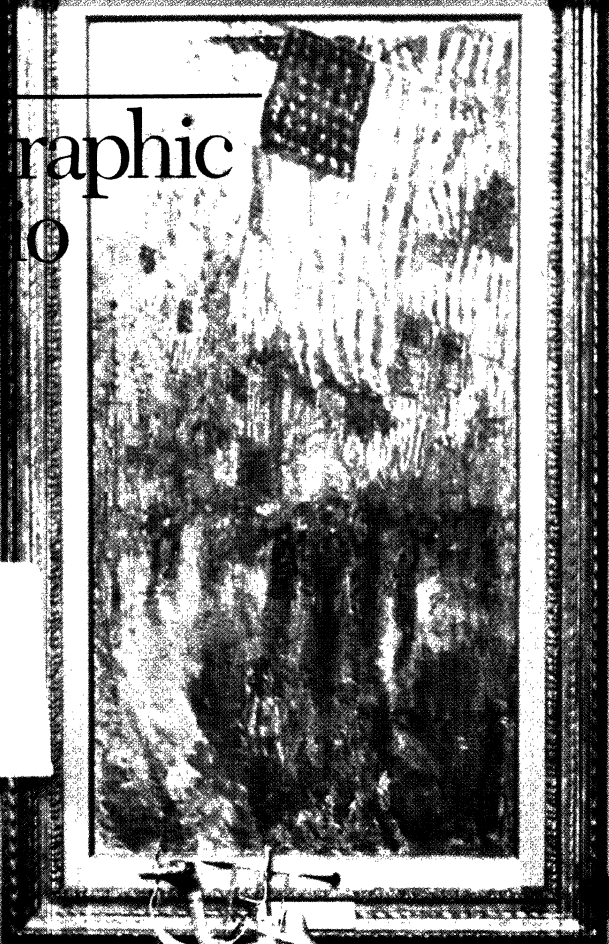
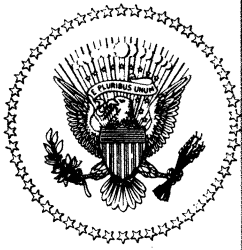
Thank you, and God bless you.

[At this point, Secretary Verity was sworn in.]

Secretary Verity. Thank you, Mr. President, for putting your trust in me. And thank you, Justice O'Connor, for leading me in this oath. Thank you, Tim, for your prayers, which got Peggy and me here. Thank you, Senators, and particularly Senator Thurmond, who's right in the center, who brought me to confirmation. And thank you, family and friends and friends-to-be in our government, for being here today.

This is the start of a great adventure, and it is my hope and prayer that we in the Commerce Department can help this President achieve his goals and that we shall be a proud part of the most meaningful and successful Presidency of our time. We have much to do, but we have the man and womanpower to do it. My predecessor, Mac Baldrige, built a superb team. He lifted the image of this Department, and he accomplished much of value. To all the people in the Commerce Department—I need your continued support to finish what he has started.

Photographic Portfolio





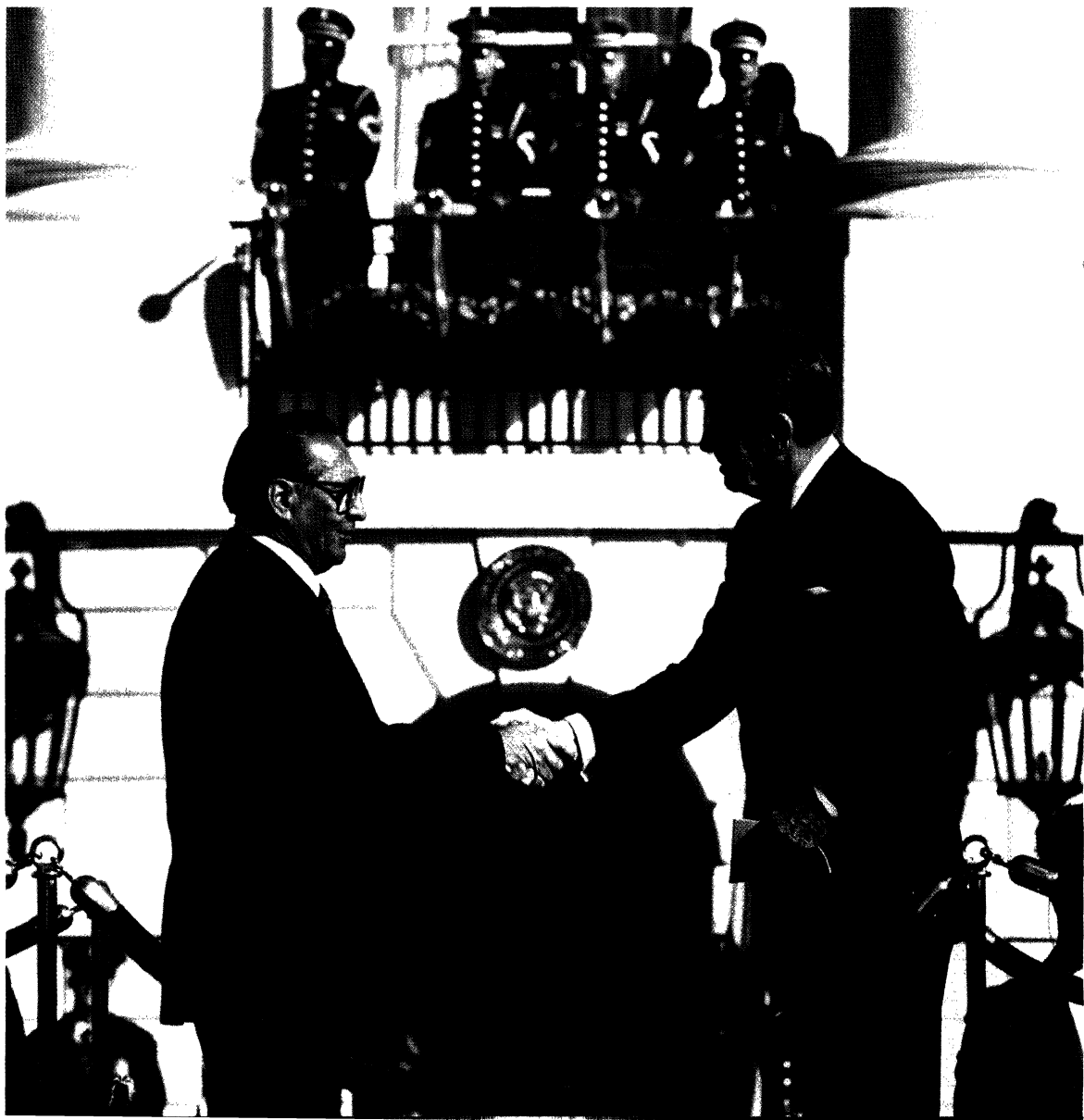
Overleaf: Working in the West Wing Study, December 22.

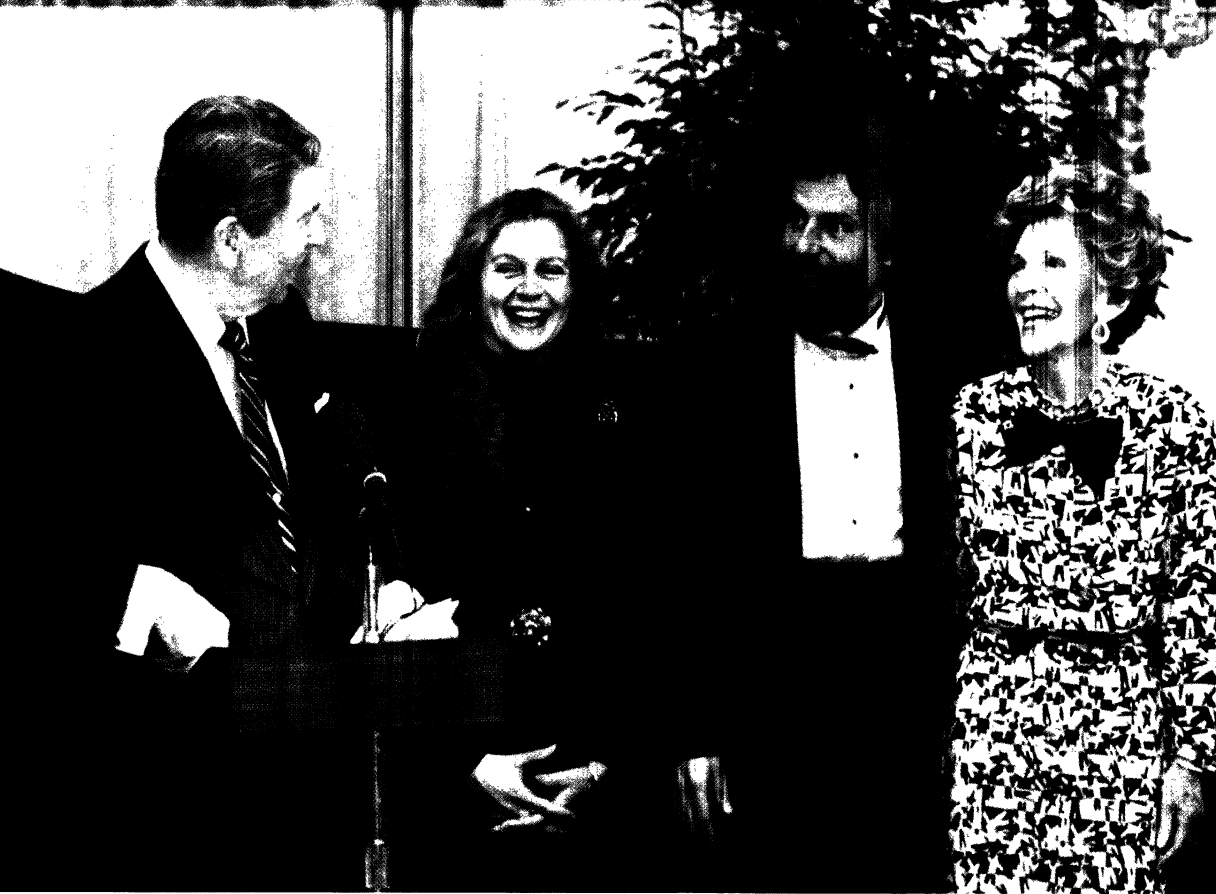
Left: Signing budget legislation in the Oval Office, December 22.

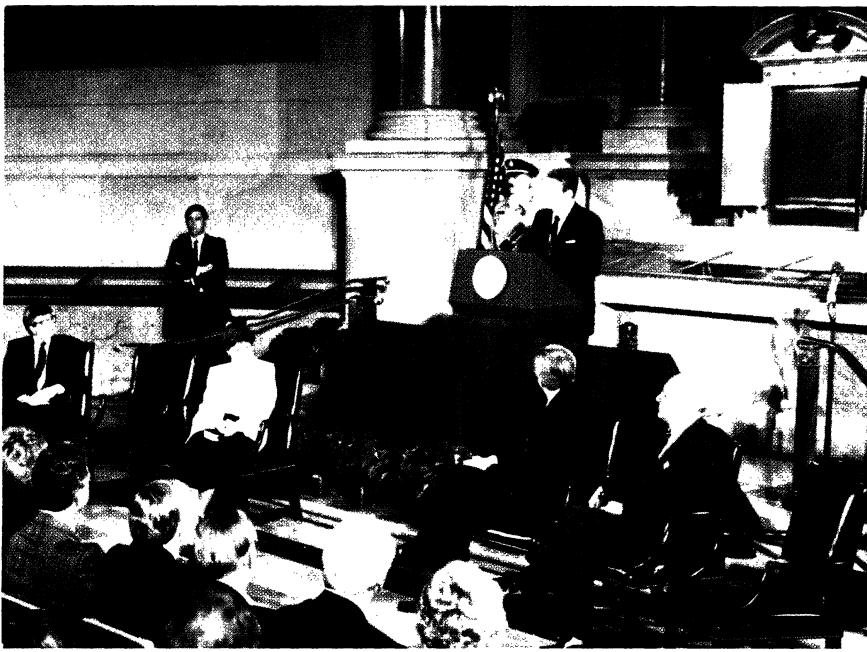
Below: Greeting President José Napoleón Duarte Fuentes of El Salvador at the South Portico, October 14.

Right: Congratulating pianist Vladimir Feltsman and his wife, Anna, after a performance in the East Room, September 27.

Below right: Meeting with the United States Olympic hockey team in the Rose Garden, September 24.







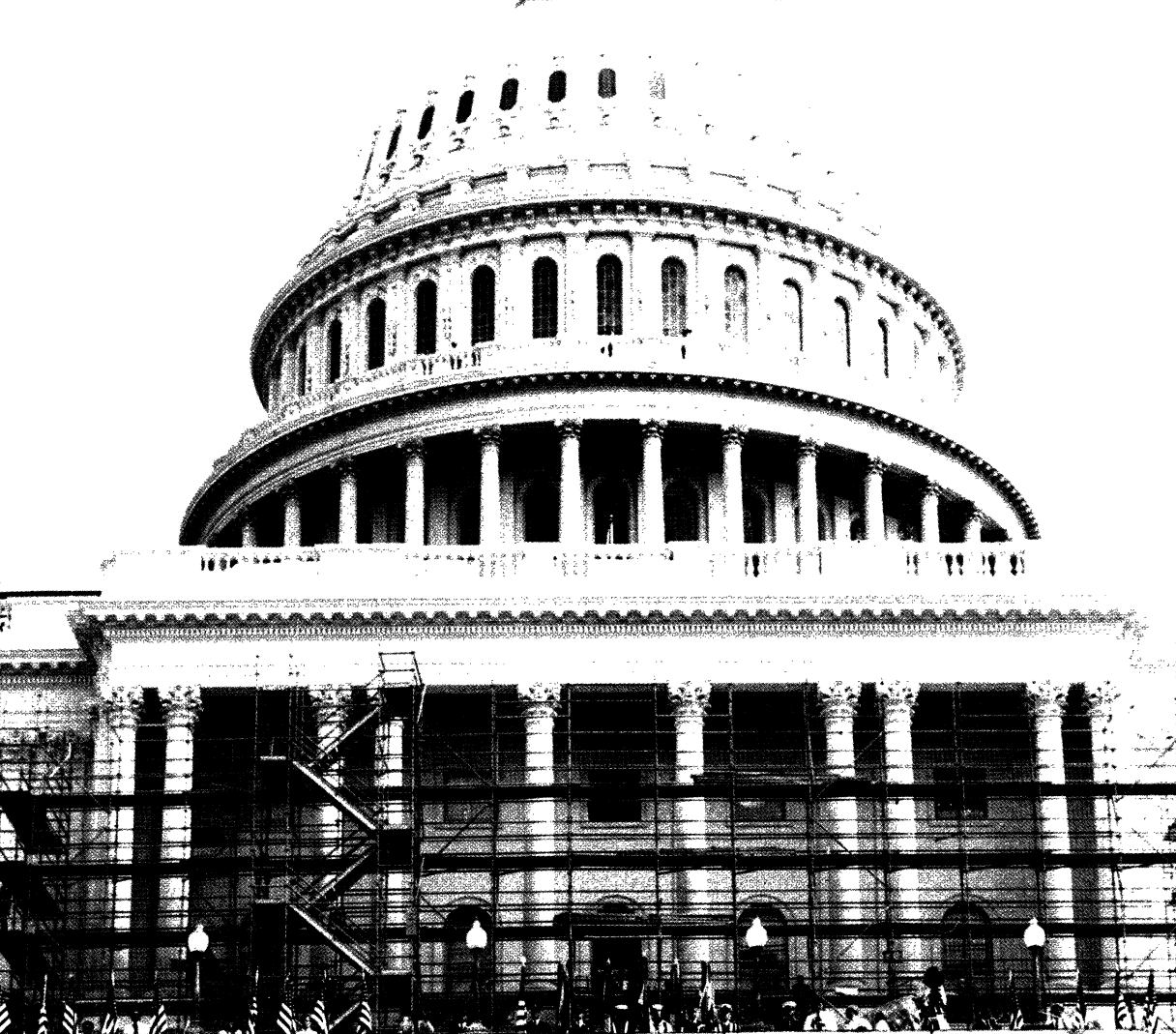
Above left: Speaking at the swearing-in ceremony of Don W. Wilson as Archivist of the United States at the National Archives, December 4.

Left: At the 100th birthday party for Alfred M. Landon in Topeka, KS, September 6.

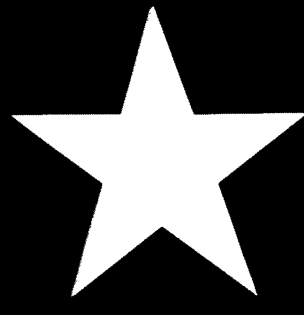
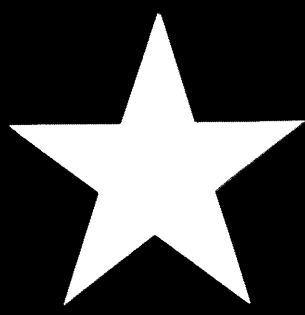
Above: Signing the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces treaty with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in the East Room, December 8.

Right: With Soviet General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev at a concert in the East Room, December 8.





We the People



Left: At the bicentennial celebration of the Constitution at the West Front of the Capitol, September 16.

Right: Meeting with Natan and Avital Shcharanskiy in the Oval Office, September 23.

Below: Walking with Pope John Paul II at the Vizcaya Museum in Miami, FL, September 10.

Overleaf: Reviewing the United States Military Academy cadets in West Point, NY, October 28.





We must work for a trade bill to promote free and fair trade. We want to increase exports, particularly by smaller businesses throughout the Nation. And we intend to take a leadership role in strengthening trade ties with our principal trading partners: Japan, Canada, Mexico, Western Europe, Latin America, and others in the developing countries and in Eastern Europe.

In trade with Eastern Europe, where export controls are required, we want to make certain that we effectively block transfer of militarily sensitive high technology and that the same safeguards are in place in COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls]. At the same time, we must reduce the list of products of a nontechnical nature so that our manufacturers can increase exports and jobs rather than handing this business on a platter to our trading partners.

Tourism is in our beat, too. It is a tremendous new thrust for the United States, for our States and our communities. Our economic analysis and statistics must have reliability and credibility.

And what a marvelous place is NOAA [National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration] in this Department, with its vast treasures from the oceans to space, fisheries and coastal areas, and the weather—and our 23-ship navy.

The National Bureau of Standards will help American industry and government

laboratories set new levels of standards and measurements to ensure that American products and services are the highest quality in the world.

We must assure that the 1990 census is the best ever. The completion of automating the Patent Office will be a milestone in the legacy of this President.

And I want to let you in on a secret: The Department of the Commerce is the best managed Department in this government. The goals established in 1981 are on target, so much so that we can take on three new missions: first, privatization; second, establishing an Office of Private Sector Initiatives in this Department; and Commerce must lead the charge in seeking innovative ways to reduce the trade deficit.

So, Mr. President, we're ready to go to work. And when you get me, you get a lot of extra help. My family, 35 of them, are right in front of me. And I want them to all stand, because I'm happy they're here, and I want you to see them all. And they're right there. Stand up, family.

Thank you, Mr. President, for being here. It's a great honor to have you in the Commerce Department.

Note: The President spoke at 1:31 p.m. in the lobby of the Herbert C. Hoover Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to an invitation by Acting Secretary Bruce Smart to visit the Department of Commerce on its 75th anniversary.

Informal Exchange With Reporters

October 19, 1987

Stock Market Decline

Q. Mr. President, are we headed for another great crash?

Q. What about the stock market?

Q. Are we headed for another great crash?

Q. Stock market.

The President. Oh, the stock market. Well, I only have one thing to say: I think everyone is a little puzzled, and I don't know what meaning it might have because

all the business indices are up. There is nothing wrong with the economy, though.

Q. Panic.

The President. What?

Q. Panic, how—

The President. Maybe some people seeing a chance to grab a profit, I don't know. But I do know this: More people are working than ever before in history. Our productivity is up. So is our manufacturing product up. There is no runaway inflation, as there

has been in the past. So, as I say, I don't think anyone should panic because all the economic indicators are solid.

U.S. Reprisal Against Iran

Q. Sir, about the Gulf—some people seem to think that the U.S. response was very, very, very minimal.

The President. Well, since so many of you keep calling it an oil derrick of some kind or platform, no. It was a command and control tower with radar and the ability to track shipping through the Gulf. And, so, we thought that it was an appropriate and proportionate response to their missile attack on a freighter, which wounded some of our people.

Q. What do you think the market's going to do tomorrow? What about tomorrow?

Q. What's the message to Khomeini?

Q. Are we now in a war with Iran?

The President. No, we're not going to have a war with Iran. They're not that stupid.

Stock Market Decline

Q. What about the market? Tomorrow will it go down again?

The President. I don't know. You tell me.

Q. Is the market your fault?

Q. Is it your fault? she says.

The President. Is it my fault? For what, taking cookies to my wife?

Q. Reaganomics.

The President. I just told you. Good Lord, we reduced the deficit over last year by \$70

billion. And all the other things I've told you about the economy are as solid as I told you. So, no, I have no more knowledge of why it took place than you have.

Q. What's the message to Khomeini?

Q. Well, what would you tell the small investors?

The President. What?

Q. What would you tell the little old lady who lost money today?

Q. The little old ladies who lost their shirts.

The President. I don't know of anyone. Are you talking about a specific case?

Q. I lost mine.

Q. Me.

Q. This one.

The President. Wait a minute! How about how many people must have sold out in order to get a profit because they bought it back before it was ever this high?

I've got to go to the hospital.

Q. Give our best to Mrs. Reagan.

The President. Thank you, Andrea [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News]. That, I will do. She'll be coming home soon.

Q. What's your message to Khomeini?

Q. Invest in our stock market.

The President. If I really gave it to you, you wouldn't be able to print it.

Note: The exchange began at 5:04 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House upon the President's departure for Bethesda Naval Hospital, where Mrs. Reagan was recovering from cancer surgery.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on the Stock Market Decline
October 19, 1987

The President has watched today with concern the continued drop in the stock market. He directed members of his administration to consult with the Chairmen of the Federal Reserve, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the New York Stock Exchange, the Chicago Commodities and Futures Exchanges, and leaders of the investment community.

Those consultations confirm our view that the underlying economy remains sound. We are in the longest peacetime expansion in history. Employment is at the highest level ever. Manufacturing output is up. The trade deficit, when adjusted for changes in currencies, is steadily improving. And as the Chairman of the Federal Reserve has recently stated, there is no evidence of a re-

surge of inflation in the United States. The President is keeping close watch on the markets here and in other countries. We

will continue to closely monitor these developments.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the International Natural Rubber Agreement, 1987

October 20, 1987

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the International Natural Rubber Agreement, 1987, adopted at Geneva on March 20, 1987. The Agreement was signed on behalf of the United States of America on August 28, 1987. The report of the Department of State is attached for the information of the Senate.

Like its predecessor, the International Natural Rubber Agreement (1987) seeks to stabilize natural rubber prices without distorting long-term market trends and to foster expanded natural rubber supplies at reasonable prices. It provides for continuation of the buffer stock of not more than 550,000 metric tons established by the 1979 Agreement. The new Agreement incorporates improvements sought by the United States and other consuming countries designed to ensure that it fully reflects market trends and operates in an effective and financially sound manner. The buffer stock is to be used to defend a price range that is adjusted regularly in accordance with market conditions; its financing is to be shared equally between importing and exporting members.

To meet U.S. financial obligations arising from membership, authorization and appropriation legislation will be submitted for congressional approval. The necessary funds will be included in the budget for Fiscal Year 1989. Approval will allow the United States to deposit its instrument of ratification in the fall of 1988. The appropriation will be offset to a substantial degree by assets to be transferred to the United States

from the existing Agreement.

The Agreement will have a term of five years that can be extended for two additional years. It should provide substantial benefits for consumers of natural rubber. The buffer stock is of sufficiently large size to provide, over time, adequate protection for both the maximum and minimum levels of the price range, thereby providing balanced protection for all members. Moreover, exporting members undertake to pursue policies to maintain continuous availability of natural rubber supplies to consumers. Finally, by moderating price increases during periods of high demand, the buffer stock also could help avoid inflationary pressure on manufactured rubber product prices.

The Agreement is consistent with our broad foreign policy objectives. It demonstrates our willingness to engage in a continuing dialogue with developing countries on issues of mutual concern and embodies our belief that long-run market forces are the appropriate determinants of prices and resource allocations. It will also strengthen our relations with the ASEAN countries, since three of them—Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand—account collectively for approximately 80 percent of world production of natural rubber.

For all these reasons, I urge the Senate to give this Agreement prompt consideration and its advice and consent to ratification to enable the United States to join the Agreement on a timely basis.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 20, 1987.

Order on Emergency Deficit Control Measures for Fiscal Year 1988 October 20, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the statutes of the United States of America, including section 252 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 (Public Law 99-177), as amended by the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act of 1987 (Public Law 100-119) (hereafter referred to as "the Act"), I hereby order that the following actions be taken immediately to implement the sequestrations and reductions determined by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget in his report dated October 20, 1987, under section 251 of the Act:

(1) Each automatic spending increase that would, but for the provisions of the Act, take effect during fiscal year 1988 is suspended as provided in section 252. The programs with such automatic spending increases subject to reduction in this manner, specified by account title, are: National Wool Act; Special milk program; and Vocational rehabilitation.

(2) The following are sequestered as provided in section 252: new budget authority; unobligated balances; new loan guarantee commitments or limitations; new direct loan obligations, commitments, or limitations; spending authority as defined in section 401(c)(2) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended; and obligation limitations.

(3) For accounts making payments otherwise required by substantive law, the head of each Department or agency is directed to modify the calculation of each such payment to the extent necessary to reduce the estimate of total required payments for the remainder of the fiscal year to the level of resources available after sequester.

(4) For accounts making commitments for guaranteed loans and obligations for direct loans as authorized by substantive law, the head of each Department or agency is directed to reduce the level of such commitments or obligations to the extent necessary to conform to the limitations established by the Act and specified in the Director of the Office of Management and Budget's determination of October 20, 1987.

(5) Each Department or agency head may, to the extent not otherwise prohibited by law, use existing authority to deobligate balances of budgetary resources as necessary to apply the required reduction or sequestration in as uniform a manner as possible for any person or other recipient entitled to payments under any formula-driven calculations specified in the substantive law. Deobligations may include budgetary resources obligations for which checks have not been issued or funds not otherwise disbursed (funds obligated but unexpended).

In accordance with section 252(a)(4)(A), amounts suspended or sequestered under this Order shall be withheld from obligation or expenditure pending the issuance of a final order under section 252(b).

This Order shall be reported to the Congress and shall be published in the *Federal Register*.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 20, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:22 a.m., October 20, 1987]

Note: The order was printed in the "Federal Register" of October 21.

Informal Exchange With Reporters on the Stock Market Decline and the Federal Deficit

October 20, 1987

Q. Mr. President, the Democrats say that it's your economic policies that caused that downturn on Wall Street yesterday.

The President. Yes, it's funny, Bill [Bill Plante, CBS News], that I couldn't understand at the beginning that creating 14 million new jobs, eliminating inflation—or virtually eliminating it, bringing it down—lowering interest rates, increasing the prosperity of the people—I just wouldn't understand that that could hurt the stock market.

Q. What word will you have for investors today, Mr. President?

The President. Well, we're in constant consultations. It think everyone has been caught by surprise in this. And it is true that at this point of the day the market is in a far better situation than it was yesterday at this time, with about the same number of sales of stock—trading of stock. But I'm very pleased and gratified with the action that has been taken so far by the Federal Reserve Board and the fact that two of the major banks have lowered their interest rates.

Q. Are you having meetings here today with your economic advisers—[Treasury] Secretary Baker?

The President. I can't speak to that, Bill, right now. I do know that we've been in

continuous consultations, and many times they come up without advance scheduling.

Q. Mr. President, some on Wall Street say they want some leadership from the White House. They want some action on the budget deficit. They want to calm the fears about the Persian Gulf. What do you have to say to them? Is there going to be any action by this administration, or are you set to just let the market run its course at this point?

The President. Well, as I told you, we are consulting continuously—and have been since this started—with others in our own administration, but also outside forces. With regard to the deficit—then why don't they fix the blame, as I have tried to, where it belongs: on the Legislature, which has gone on now for more than 50 years defending deficit spending.

Q. When's the news conference?

The President. What?

Q. When's the news conference?

The President. I thought you'd know. I don't know. I know that it's soon. [Laughter]

Note: The exchange began at 11:35 a.m. in the Oval Office at the White House, prior to a meeting with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India.

Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India

October 20, 1987

The President. I am delighted to welcome once again Prime Minister Gandhi to the White House. The Prime Minister and I have had useful discussions on the status of U.S.-Indian relations. We noted that in the years since our meeting in 1985 substantial progress has been made. Bilateral trade has expanded. Collaboration between our private sectors has intensified. We've enjoyed

cooperation in defense production, notably the Indian light combat aircraft. The memorandum of understanding on technology transfer has been implemented. The United States is working with India to launch its satellites. The U.S.-India Fund for Cultural, Educational, and Scientific Cooperation has been inaugurated. And we're working together to combat terrorism.

Beyond such concrete achievements, there are powerful political, economic, and cultural currents that are drawing our two societies into closer collaboration. Our shared dedication to democracy is paramount among these currents. We're also building on a strong foundation of cooperation in the fields of science, technology, and space, which permits us with confidence to set ambitious new goals.

In this connection, the Prime Minister and I have agreed to the following: to renew the Ronald Reagan-Indira Gandhi Science and Technology Initiative for an additional 3 years beyond 1988; we agreed to take steps to substantially expand two-way trade and recognized the need to reduce barriers to free trade; to consult regularly to ensure that U.S. supercomputer exports to India reflect the rapid pace of scientific advances while at the same time safeguarding U.S. technology; to work even more closely together to stem drug trafficking and abuse; to expand defense cooperation in technology and other military areas; to undertake joint research projects to explore the enhancement of arid zone agriculture, water management, and evolution of ground water resources; to increase the educational resources about our countries, as appropriate, using the U.S.-India Fund for Cultural, Educational, and Scientific Cooperation; to establish a program in research institutions in both countries for short-term exchange fellowships in development-related subjects. Expanding on our leadership exchanges, the Speaker of our House of Representatives will visit India this year, and his Indian counterpart will visit the United States next year.

Today the Prime Minister and I also discussed East-West relations and the prospects for an historic treaty eliminating an entire class of intermediate-range nuclear missiles of the United States and the Soviet Union. And the Prime Minister emphasized India's longstanding encouragement of such efforts to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons. In this context, I urged that India and Pakistan intensify their dialog to build greater mutual confidence, to resolve outstanding issues, and to deal with the threat of nuclear proliferation in the region.

We also discussed the tragic situation in

Afghanistan and strongly endorsed movement toward a political settlement—a settlement that would remove all foreign troops from that country and permit its people to live in peace, as citizens of a neutral country and free from outside intervention. On the subject of U.S. security assistance to Pakistan, I assured Mr. Gandhi that our objective is stability and reduced tensions in South Asia and that our assistance is not directed at India. And finally, let me acknowledge the statesmanship and courage demonstrated by Prime Minister Gandhi and the President of Sri Lanka in their efforts to end the ethnic strife in that troubled island nation. I have pledged to both leaders our full support.

It has been a pleasure to have had this opportunity to discuss these issues with Prime Minister Gandhi and to renew a very real friendship.

The Prime Minister. It's always a pleasure to be at the White House. Thank you, Mr. President, for your invitation and for your warm words. May I, at the outset, wish Mrs. Reagan the speediest recovery. We know what a source of strength she is to you, Mr. President, in your work for your country and the world.

I also take this opportunity to congratulate the people of the United States on the 200th anniversary of the Constitution. It is one of history's momentous documents that has made the United States grow to greatness. Your Constitution has been an inspiration to us in our struggle for freedom and liberty.

As the President informed you, we have had good and most useful meetings. We spoke of world peace and our concern for the well-being of humanity, and we spoke of the relations between our countries. We agreed upon further methods of strengthening our mutual friendship. The relations between our two countries have always held much promise. In recent years, we have made notable progress towards realizing that promise. Your personal attention and interest, Mr. President, have contributed greatly to our expanding partnership. We have agreed to collaborate at the frontiers of technology. We have reaffirmed the tradition of scientific interaction, which has

been the hallmark of our relationship. The growth in high technology, trade, and transfers has been a source of considerable satisfaction. I hope that the United States would recognize India not just as a market but as a partner in technological progress.

In the field of bilateral trade and investment, we have agreed that much can be done to expand the present level of activity. We will encourage increased interaction between our trading entities. Having successfully launched our cooperation for the light combat aircraft project, we have now agreed to explore other avenues in the field of defense. This is yet another step forward.

I am confident that after our talks today we will be able to place our relationship on a more enduring basis. We share not only aspirations and values, we sometimes face common threats. We have each recognized the dangers to our societies posed by terrorism and narcotics. I mentioned to you today our determination to fight these problems. I'm aware of your personal concern about narcotics, the price they extract in the form of blighted youth and wasted resources. I would like to reiterate once again our commitment to cooperate with you to this end.

Turning to international issues, I should first like to applaud the statesmanship demonstrated by you, Mr. President, and by General Secretary Gorbachev in pursuing the vexing and complex issues of nuclear disarmament. Your endeavors have given a glimmer of hope to a world threatened by imminent nuclear holocaust. An INF agreement will be an historic step. For the first time, an operational nuclear weapon system will be withdrawn and dismantled. We hope that this will be the beginning of the elimination of nuclear weapons altogether, an objective to which you are dedicated. I sincerely wish you, Mr. President, and General Secretary Gorbachev, every success in these endeavors. All humankind is with you.

Our deliberations today also covered the situation in Afghanistan. We agreed on the need for an early political settlement there and support the efforts of the U.N. Secretary-General. I believe that a just solution

must ensure a sovereign, independent, and nonaligned Afghanistan. Foreign intervention and interference must cease. The Afghan refugees must be allowed to return to their homes in honor, dignity, and security. We would welcome any earnest efforts in this direction.

We had a frank discussion on the dangers of nuclear proliferation, both horizontal and vertical. My country has consistently recognized that a secure world order cannot be built on nuclear weapons. Our actions have spoken louder than any words in expressing this commitment. We do not have nuclear weapons. We do not want nuclear weapons. And we certainly do not want nuclear weapons in our neighborhood. We have watched with concern developments in our immediate vicinity. Nuclear stockpiles have multiplied. Yet another country now seems on the threshold of fulfilling a long-time goal of acquiring nuclear weapons. On our part let me assure you, Mr. President and the people of your country, that we have no intention of producing nuclear weapons unless constrained to do so. Mr. President, you and I have discussed these matters and expressed our mutual concerns. Time is not on our side. We are faced with critical decisions on issues which need to be addressed urgently.

We appreciate your support to the efforts to end the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, Mr. President, in particular to the July 29th agreement, which I signed with President Jayewardene. We are determined to ensure the full implementation of its provisions as it represents the best hope for peace in the region.

I thank you, Mr. President, once again for your hospitality. Our discussions have been most productive, and I leave Washington, confident and optimistic about the future of our relationship. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. Earlier, the President and the Prime Minister met in the Oval Office and then had lunch in the Residence.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President Pro Tempore of the Senate on the United States Reprisal Against Iran

October 20, 1987

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

At approximately 10:45 p.m. (EDT) on October 15, 1987, a SILKWORM missile fired by Iranian forces from Iranian-occupied Iraqi territory struck the SEA ISLE CITY, a U.S.-flag tanker, in Kuwaiti territorial waters. This action is the latest in a series of such missile attacks against targets in Kuwait, including neutral vessels engaged in peaceful commerce. It also is the latest in a series of acts by Iranian forces against the United States, as described in my letters of September 23 and October 10, 1987.

At approximately 7:00 a.m. (EDT) on October 19, 1987, Armed Forces of the United States assigned to the Middle East Joint Task Force, after warning Iranian naval personnel and allowing them to depart, attacked Rashadat Platform, an armed platform equipped with radar and communications devices which is used for surveillance and command and control. This platform, located in international waters, also has been used to stage helicopter and small boat attacks and to support mine-laying operations targeted against non-belligerent shipping in the Persian Gulf. It is now believed that this platform also was the source of fire directed at a U.S. helicopter on October 8, 1987. United States Navy ships fired upon and destroyed the platform. Additionally, U.S. forces briefly boarded another platform in the area, which had been abandoned by the Iranians when the operation began.

United States forces have returned to

their prior state of alert readiness in the Persian Gulf region. They will remain prepared to take any additional action necessary to protect U.S. forces, U.S.-flag vessels, and U.S. lives.

These restrained and measured actions by U.S. forces were taken at my specific direction in accordance with our inherent right of self-defense, as recognized in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, and pursuant to my constitutional authority with respect to the conduct of foreign relations and as Commander in Chief.

Since March 1987, I and members of my Administration have provided to the Congress letters, reports, briefings, and testimony in connection with developments in the Persian Gulf and activities of U.S. Armed Forces in that region. Additionally, congressional leaders were consulted on Sunday, October 18, 1987, concerning this operation. In accordance with my desire that the Congress continue to be fully informed in this matter, I am providing this report consistent with the War Powers Resolution. I look forward to cooperating with the Congress in pursuit of our mutual, overriding aim of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf region.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and John C. Stennis, President pro tempore of the Senate.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters on the Stock Market and Economic Policy

October 20, 1987

The President. I have a statement I'd like to read here. I guess you all know now that the market closed up 102.27 points and 604 million shares traded. I've just finished a meeting with my economic advisers, and we thoroughly reviewed the developments of the financial markets of the last few days and the actions we've taken thus far and our options for additional measures.

We've been in constant contact with financial leaders of both countries, with the exchanges around the world, and with market participants. While I remain concerned, I'm pleased that the steps taken by the Federal Reserve have had a salutary effect on the markets: Interest rates are down across the spectrum. I'm also pleased with the actions by two major banks today to lower their prime interest rates. I believe that there remains room in the markets for a further decline in interest rates, and specifically I'm pleased that the bond market is strong and the foreign exchange markets are stable.

Yesterday Secretary Baker and his German counterpart reaffirmed our agreement with the Germans to coordinate our economic policies to provide for noninflationary growth and stable exchange rates. Finance Minister Miyazawa issued a similar statement reaffirming Japan's intent to cooperate with other industrial economies and follow economic policies that will provide for a sustained growth in the Japanese economy. And in a phone conversation with Prime Minister-designate Takeshita this morning, he stated that his top priority was to maintain stable economic relations with the United States. The United States remains committed to the Louvre Agreement, and today I signed the preliminary sequester order under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law.

However, I think it is preferable, if possible, that the executive and legislative branches reach agreement on a budget deficit reduction package. Accordingly, I am directing that discussions be undertaken

with the bipartisan leadership of the Congress for that purpose. The economic fundamentals in this country remain sound, and our citizens should not panic. And I have great confidence in the future.

Q. Mr. President, how about—

Q. Are you willing to compromise on taxes, sir? Are you willing to compromise on taxes?

The President. I presented in my budget a program that provided for \$22 billion in additional revenue, which was not necessarily taxes. And I am willing to look at whatever proposal they might have.

Q. Mr. President, someone described as a senior market—or economic analyst in the administration said the market might have been so weakened by this crash that there could be a recession as early as next spring.

The President. It's pretty hard for anyone to speculate on that. I would like to point out, however, that the only way that could happen would be if the people of this country ignored the economic signs. And then if you had people begin putting off purchases of automobiles, refrigerators, things of that kind because they feared hard times, yes, that could bring on a recession. But there is nothing in what has happened here that should result in a recession. We have a higher percentage of the eligible work force at work than ever in the history of our country.

Q. Let's see if I could do it. Can you hear me?

The President. What?

Q. Can you hear me?

The President. Yes.

Q. Okay. Are you willing to personally—personally—sit down with the Democrats at an economic summit?

The President. I don't know whether that's necessary or whether we would do it with some of our people, but certainly I'm willing to be a participant in anything that can bring us together. Let me point out—you mentioned the Democrats—for virtually a half a century or more they have con-

trolled both Houses of the Congress, and for more than a half a century there has been, with only two single-year exceptions, a budget deficit.

Q. You never submitted a balanced budget.

The President. No, because I said from the beginning that—having predicted for 30 years that the deficit would get out of control as it did—that there was no way you could balance the budget now in 1 year, but we could set ourselves on a course that would result in that. And the end result was that I have never gotten a budget that I asked for, even though the law says I must submit it to the Congress. And the Congress is responsible for the deficit.

Q. Mr. President, is the market going to keep going down?

Q. The Democrats say you have concrete around your feet on taxes. Concrete—

The President. If you heard that, it must have been the helicopter.

Q. Is the market going to keep going down? Will the market keep going down?

The President. It just closed [up] 102.27.

Note: The President spoke at 5:02 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House following a meeting with his economic advisers. He then went to Bethesda Naval Hospital, where Mrs. Reagan was recovering from cancer surgery.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for the Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs

October 21, 1987

Well, Henry Fowler, Melvin Laird, and distinguished guests: Welcome to the White House complex. For many of you the White House is an old stomping ground, so this is really welcome back. It's not often I could just about form a new Cabinet from people who are with me here in this room.

This year we mark 42 years of general peace in the world. And that doesn't mean there hasn't been conflicts in that time—obviously there have been—but it does mean that for 42 years mankind has not seen the likes of the world wars that in the first half of this century twice tore civilization apart. This peace has not come without sacrifice. Young Americans have fought, and some have died, to maintain it; and it has not come without resolve. It's come because America has been willing to shoulder the responsibilities of leadership.

No one understands better than you here today that, like it or not, we are the leader of the free world. And that is not a role we asked for; it's a role that was thrust upon us by history and by the hopes of those who aspire to freedom throughout the world. It is said that geography is destiny, but let me say that destiny is much more than that.

We are a global power, with global interests and global responsibilities. We can ignore but we cannot escape this basic truth, and any retreat from our responsibilities endangers both our national ideals and our national interests.

All Americans can agree on the fundamental objectives of our foreign policy. We want to promote democracy, because it is right, and because democratic governments are less likely to become involved in wars of aggression. We want a growing world economy where free enterprise works, because that's the kind of world in which men and women will live the best and most materially and, I would submit, spiritually decent lives. And we want to work with our friends and allies to prevent regional conflicts and enhance the security of friendly nations.

These goals have to do with something that's more enduring than day-to-day headlines or the narrow special interest politics that too often dominate Washington's agenda. It has to do with something we call the national interest, which is something every American has a stake in. Yet in the last few years, every old and worn excuse for not giving adequate financial support

for these goals has received a new and more sympathetic hearing on Capitol Hill. You know the excuses: We can't afford foreign aid anymore, or we're wasting money pouring it into these poor countries, or we can't buy friends—other countries just take the money and dislike us for giving it. Well, all these excuses are just that, excuses—and they're dead wrong.

Give away too much money without return? The truth is that now, and historically, we've spent very little on foreign affairs in terms of the overall budget of our government. In the late forties and early fifties, during the time of the Marshall plan, we spent 11 cents of every Federal dollar on foreign affairs. That figure had dropped to 4 cents on the dollar by 20 years ago and has continued to fall until, in recent years, we've been spending less than 2 cents of each dollar to support our foreign policy. And that's money that gets a big return. Is there anyone who believes that we in America would live in as good a world and be as secure if we could turn back the clock and undo the Marshall plan?

Today our economic development aid goes to those same countries in the developing world that provide some 35 percent of the market for our merchandise exports—more than the total volume of U.S. goods purchased by Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China all put together. And for every billion dollars we export, we support 26,000 jobs for Americans. Just as important, Latin America, for example, will be as pivotal to our peace and prosperity in the next century as Europe is in this. If we ignore it now, we'll pay the price later.

So, what about the charge that we waste our money trying to buy friends? Well, the truth is that the money we spend on security assistance means our allies around the world can join us in defending not only their security but ours. What they can do because of our assistance, we don't have to do. And we should never forget that we aren't buying friends; we're helping friends. We're helping them open the roads of enterprise and opportunity for their own people, helping them build their own institutions of pluralism and democracy, and helping them defend themselves against ex-

ternally sponsored pressures and subversion.

And anyone who doubts how the peoples of Central America, for example, feel about this should have been here at the White House last week when El Salvador's President Duarte, on behalf of his nation's people, stepped down from that reception platform over on the lawn and walked across the lawn to the Color Guard and kissed and saluted the American flag. Or maybe they should have been in Managua with our former U.N. Ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick, last week when cheering crowds greeted her. And as one of them said, "We want what she wants for Nicaragua," and that's what I want, too: democracy—true, full, and real democracy.

In the last few weeks, the Congress has been cutting foreign affairs funding to where it damages our nation's interests and security. We have already had to severely cut back economic and military support relationships with allies and friends who are very important to our security. And this is happening even as spending on many domestic programs is going up. For example, the entire Federal budget increased by almost 2 percent in 1987; by contrast, foreign aid was reduced by 29 percent in 1986 and another 11 percent in 1987. Congress throws money at its own priorities but ignores the priorities and the commitments this nation has to help build our national security. When it comes to special interests, too often Congress is like Ado Annie in "Oklahoma." It "can't say no."

For the budget year beginning this October, I submitted a rockbottom request that would still allow us to undo some of the harm caused by cuts in previous years and return to a level of funding that will not put our security at risk. But now the Congress is cutting again, and the amounts approved by the committees in both the House and the Senate—are being considered by the defense authorization conference—are more than 15 percent below what we requested as the minimum amount necessary to do the job. In fact, as it stands now, the foreign affairs part of the budget is one of the few that has decreased; all the others have increased. And just recently they did even

more damage when the Senate attached 86 amendments to the State Department authorization bill. It's time for Congress to shove the special interests aside and return the national interest to the head of the class.

So, I've just stopped by today to thank all of you for what you're doing. If we can get this message out, I think it'll change some minds. It's not that the folks on Capitol Hill don't want to do the right thing—most of them do—but they sometimes need a little encouraging. And as I've so often said: If you want them to see the light, make them feel the heat. [Laughter]

I could go on with this and some of our things, but just to give you one set of figures over the last few years that might in-

terest you: For every dollar of defense spending that they have cut, they have added \$2 in spending to the domestic programs. And it comes out to about \$125 billion cut from defense; \$250 billion have been added to the domestic spending.

So, I think we're all on the same side on this particular issue. And I want to tell you I feel much better as I now say thank you, and God bless you—and get back over to the Oval Office—for what you're doing.

Note: The President spoke at 11:48 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Henry H. Fowler and Melvin R. Laird, cochairmen of the Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs.

Informal Exchange With Reporters

October 21, 1987

Mrs. Reagan's Hospitalization

Q. Is Mrs. Reagan coming home tomorrow?

Q. Mr. President, they say that you're just talking—accommodating progress instead. You, sir, go ahead, sorry.

The President. I've got two statements to make today. Yes, both happy. You know about the market. It closed at 186 and some fraction, and some 450 million shares traded. But the most important day's news is, at 9:15 a.m. tomorrow morning, I will leave here to go out and pick up Nancy and bring her home.

Q. And tomorrow night you'll see us in the news conference.

The President. Yes. Well, that's not as happy as bringing her home.

Q. —Thursday.

Stock Market Decline

Q. Is the Wall Street crisis over?

Q. Is the crisis over?

The President. What?

Q. Is the crisis over, sir?

The President. The which is over?

Q. The crisis with the stock market over, now that it's gone up?

The President. Well, it would appear to be. Certainly, when more than half of the loss has already been regained, that sounds as if someone discovered that the economy is still rather sound.

Budget Deficit

Q. Jim Miller—

Q. Do you still want to meet with the Democrats?

Q. The Democrats—

Q. Do you still want to meet with Democrats if the crisis is over? Do you still need to meet with Democrats?

The President. Oh, yes, because we've got a crisis that they brought on over the last 50 years of a deficit that's got to be resolved.

Q. But you're trying to have it both ways by saying you'll talk to them, but you still don't want to raise taxes.

The President. Well, I will listen to what they have to say if they will listen to what I have to say about the fact that raising taxes has always resulted in a lowering of the revenues.

Q. Miller says you'll never accept taxing.

Q. Your budget director said that—no tax

increases.

The President. Does it make you mad that somebody else is guessing what I think?

Soviet-U.S. Summit Meeting

Q. Do you think you'll have an announcement tomorrow on a meeting with Gorbachev, a summit meeting? Is it likely?

The President. I don't know. We haven't heard yet as to what's been happening over there in Moscow. I don't know. This is about the summit whether we—

Q. —at the news conference tomorrow?

The President. That's an idea.

Q. What about the War Powers Act?

The President. What?

Q. What about the War Powers Act—to say that you've got to go to them on the War Powers Act or something like that.

The President. Well, I still say it's unconstitutional. There's a part of it that I think is fine.

Q. Gorbachev has said yes to the summit.

The President. We've heard that they've made a statement about wanting a summit, but they haven't officially notified us. I'd think that they would relate it to the Secretary.

Note: The exchange began at 5:03 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House upon the President's departure for Bethesda Naval Hospital, where Mrs. Reagan was recovering from cancer surgery. In the exchange, a reporter referred to James C. Miller III, Director of the Office of Management and Budget. In the President's last statement he referred to Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

Statement Urging Deficit Reduction Discussions With Congressional Leaders

October 22, 1987

I want to meet with the bipartisan leaders of Congress as soon as possible to arrange the procedure for deficit reduction discussions. As I have said previously, everything is on the table with the exception of Social Security, and there are no other pre-

conditions. I hope that Congress will also agree to put everything on the table. This matter requires that both sides make contributions and develop a package that keeps spending and taxes as low as possible.

Remarks at the Welcoming Home Ceremony for the First Lady

October 22, 1987

The President. I'll give her the mike in just a minute, but I'll say welcome home. And in view of all this, I'm trying to see if I can't scare up a little something that I could stay in the hospital for. [*Laughter*]

The Audience. No!

The President. God bless you all, and thank you very much. And wouldn't you like to thank all these wonderful people too?

Mrs. Reagan. Well, I don't know what to say. Thank you very, very much. I'm very

touched—Foster Grandparent Program people and the Just Say No kids and everybody else. And I'm very, very happy to be home—very.

The President. Well, bless you all, and I'm going to get her upstairs now.

Mrs. Reagan. Thank you.

The President. Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. from the State Balcony of the White House.

The President's News Conference October 22, 1987

The President. Well, it just seems like yesterday. [Laughter] Well, please be seated.

And I would like to start with a statement here. I'll start by saying it sure is good news to have Nancy back home, and she's doing just fine.

Stock Market Decline

Over the past several days, though, we Americans have watched the stock market toss and turn. It's important that we understand what is happening and that a calm, sound response be the course we follow. While there were a couple days of gains after several days of losses, we shouldn't assume that the stock market's excess volatility is over. However, it does appear the system is working. So, while there remains cause for concern, there is also cause for action. And tonight I plan to take the following steps to meet this challenge.

First, I will meet with the bipartisan leaders of Congress to arrange a procedure for deficit reduction discussions that will be productive and constructive. I'm appointing my Chief of Staff, Howard Baker, and my Treasury Secretary, Jim Baker, together with my OMB Director, Jim Miller, to lead the White House team. And I urge Speaker Jim Wright, Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd, Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, and House Minority Leader Bob Michel to appoint their representatives so this process can begin immediately.

Second, I'm putting everything on the table with the exception of Social Security, with no other preconditions, and I call on the leaders of Congress to do the same. This situation requires that all sides make a contribution to the process if it is to succeed and that a package be developed that keeps taxes and spending as low as possible. I'm able to announce tonight the final deficit figures for fiscal year 1987, which show a reduction from \$221 billion in fiscal year '86, to \$148 billion this year, or a deficit reduction of \$73 billion. This change occurred not only because of a one-time improvement in revenues but because of reduction in spending.

Third, I'm calling on the Members of Congress to join with me in sending a strong signal to our economic partners that trade markets should remain open, not closed, and that America will withstand any calls for protectionist legislation.

And fourth, I'm creating a task force that over the next 30 to 60 days will examine the stock market procedures and make recommendations on any necessary changes. Heading up this three-person team will be former Senator Nick Brady.

When we faced challenges before, this country has resolved them by pulling together, and now is the time for all of us to take a good hard look at where we stand as a country and as individuals. Adjustments can and will continue to be made to keep this country on the path to fiscal prudence and continued economic strength. And now, Terence [Terence Hunt, Associated Press]?

Q. Mr. President, the stock market plunge demonstrates that there is a crisis of confidence about economic stability and the leadership of our government. Are those fears warranted, and how serious is the threat of a recession or something worse?

The President. Well, first of all, the indices, the index that is used for judging whether we're sound economically and so forth, has been up and increasing 10 of the last 11 months. And with the great employment that we have, with the fact that we have reduced that double-digit inflation, and the prosperity that is ours out there, the one thing out of such a happening as the stock market that could possibly bring about a recession would be if enough people, without understanding the situation, panicked and decided to put off buying things that normally they would be buying, postponing purchases and so forth. That could bring on something of a recession. It's happened before.

But I don't think that there's any real reason for that. I think that this was a long-overdue correction, and what factors led to its kind of getting into the panic stage, I

don't know. But we'll be watching it very closely. I approve very much of what the exchange is going to do with regard to the next 3 days that trading is going on, and quitting 2 hours early to give them a chance to catch up with their paperwork, which is the reason for that. But this is I think purely a stock market thing and that there are no indicators out there of recession or hard times at all.

Deficit Reduction and Taxes

Q. Let me ask you sir, also, why did you change your tune on tax increases from "over my dead body" to "keeping any increase as low as possible"?

The President. Well, I am going to meet with the leaders of the Senate, because it is high time, after about 6½ years of trying—on my part, I know—to bring down the deficit and get us on a path which the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill was supposed to do for us toward a balanced budget. And if that was any factor in shaping peoples' confidence, I'm going to meet with them. Now, they will have an agenda. They will have their program. But I have mine.

Now, I submitted a budget program early in the year, and as they've done every year I've been here, they've simply put it on the shelf and have refused to even consider it. But my program had \$22 billion of additional revenues in it. I've said additional revenues. There are other things you can do that are not a deterrent to the economy, such as taxes can be. But what I've said was, all right, I'll listen to them and what they have in mind as an answer to this problem, but I expect them to listen to what I have in mind. And the bulk of these \$22 billion have nothing to do with taxes. As a matter of fact, I could claim that we have about \$5½ billion of that \$22 billion already. And the Congress has said I can't use it for lowering the deficit—that is the sale of assets and debts that we have accomplished just in recent weeks.

U.S. Policy in the Persian Gulf

Q. Mr. President, your Persian Gulf policies have caused widespread confusion and fear that reprisals on both sides will lead to wider hostilities, more terrorism. Did you miscalculate? And is there any limit to these

policies? I'd like to follow up.

The President. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I don't think that we miscalculated anything at all. We're not there to start a war. And we're there to protect neutral nations' shipping in international waters that under international law are supposed to be open to all traffic.

They, on the other hand—the irrationality of the Iranians—they have taken to attacking, as they did with this most recent incident—that was Kuwait and an oil loading platform offshore, which they fired, evidently, a Silkworm missile at and caused damage to it. We've said that if attacked why, we're going to defend ourselves. And we're certainly going to continue this task. And we've now been joined by a number of other nations in keeping the sealanes open. But I don't see it as leading to a war or anything else. And I don't think there's anything to panic about. I think we've done very well.

War Powers Act

Q. Mr. President, you've said you don't think the War Powers Act is constitutional. But do you think that you have the right to obey the laws that you pick and choose?

The President. Well, other Presidents have thought so, too. As a matter of fact, we are complying with a part of that act, although we do not call it that, but we have been consulting with the Congress, reporting to them, and telling them what we're doing—and in advance, as we did with this latest strike. But they have other things in there that we think would interfere so much with our rights and our strategy and so forth.

Let me point out that since 1798 there have been a few more than 200 military actions by the United States in foreign countries. Now, we have only been in 5 declared wars in our entire history. About 62 of these more than 200, there was action by the Congress, either through appropriating funds for those acts or passing resolutions or Senate ratifying a treaty or something. But the bulk of them, somewhere around 140 of them, were by American Presidents that, on their own, put American forces in action, because they believed it

was necessary to our national security and our welfare.

Yes?

Deficit Reduction and Taxes

Q. Mr. President, despite your earlier answer, it's been made clear by you and your aides that new taxes are a possibility as you go into these negotiations on the Hill. And many of us are wondering. In 1984 you promised not to raise taxes, and you may recall that same year Walter Mondale said that it was time to level with the American people. He said Mr. Reagan and I will both raise taxes, but the difference he said was that you wouldn't tell anybody. Now, aren't you going against your own campaign pledge if you're about to negotiate some new taxes?

The President. No. And you have me in a spot in which I don't feel that I can continue discussing these things or future actions. Because for about a quarter of a century I was doing some negotiating for a union against the employers, and you don't talk in advance about strategy or about what you will or won't do, or there's no point in having negotiations.

So, I just want to tell you that when we negotiate I'm going—as I say, on my side, I've got \$22 billion. Now, \$23 billion is all we're looking for in a reduction. And most of mine, as I say, are revenues that are not taxes and all. But let me also point something out that I think all of us ought to understand: why I feel so strongly about the tax situation, and resorting to taxes to curb a deficit when they'll do nothing of the kind.

In all these years, of these 59 months of expansion, our tax revenues—now I believe that this expansion we are having is largely due to the tax cuts that we implemented early in our administration—but for all this period of time the percentage of revenues is about—well, it's about 19 percent every year of the gross national product. Now, the gross national product has been increasing in size quite sizably. So that if we are getting revenues that are still 19 percent of that larger gross national product than the smaller, it would indicate that the revenues are sufficient. But the problem is that the deficit is—or I should say, wait a minute,

the spending I should say of gross national product—forgive me—the spending is roughly 23 percent to 24 percent, so that it is what is increasing while revenues are staying proportionately the same and what would be the proper amount that we should be taking from the private sector. And I think that this is something we have to consider if we are going to maintain prosperity.

I will say this with regard to taxes and our sources of revenue: They must not be something that has an adverse effect on the economy.

Q. To follow up on that, Mr. President, do you consider some taxes perhaps less harmful than others? Perhaps sin taxes—alcohol, tobacco? Are they less harmful to the economy than perhaps an income tax increase?

The President. Well, let me just say that there are some taxes, such as the income tax, that have a more definite effect on the economy than some other taxes; but I am not going to discuss anymore of what we are going to do in this.

Q. Mr. President, let's stay on this if we can. On Monday you said despite the plunge in the stock market that the economy was sound. On Wednesday you said it had turned around. Now, today you are ready to meet with the Congress. What has caused this transformation after months of refusing a budget summit?

The President. No, I haven't been refusing. I submitted, as I have to every year under the law, a budget. And a budget that provided for revenues, as I pointed out here. And the Congress wouldn't even look at it. And the manner in which we arrive at our budget is so much different than anything the Congress does.

We, with the men and the women who have to run the programs—that are the heads of the Departments and the Cabinet members—we spend weeks and hours every day, for a long period of time, with them and their expertise in running them, deciding how much money they require to perform the task that the Congress has imposed on us with that program. Then we send that up to the Hill. And those Congressmen—who don't have any idea about running those programs, they just voted to

pass a program to do a certain thing—they turn around and say oh, no, you need millions of dollars more to achieve the objective than you've asked for.

Well, I think it's kind of a stupid setup. And this is what we've been trying to do for a long time—is arrive at the ways in which we can reduce spending and so forth. But now, with the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings program, with the sequestering provision that has been passed, we have to get together and make a decision.

Q. If I could follow, sir, I'm wondering if it took a crisis to bring you to the point where you were willing to meet with Congress and whether, if you had met before, you might not have in some way averted the market crisis this week.

The President. No, I think it's been a crisis ever since I presented a budget and that they never will even look at them. If they had looked at our budgets, last year the cumulative deficit would have been \$207 billion less than it turned out to be.

Trude [Trude Feldman, Trans-Features]?

Q. Back to the Gulf, Mr. President.

The President. Yes.

Soviet Role in the Persian Gulf

Q. What kind of cooperation are you getting from the Soviets in restoring some stability to the Gulf and in ending the Iran-Iraq war?

The President. Well, the Soviet Union joined us in 598. That was, as you know, the U.N. resolution, the Security Council. They joined us in that and supporting that. Now, Iran is the only one of the two that has refused to accept it as yet. We're still pushing on that before we move on to the followup, which was what do we do if they won't accept it. We're still holding back on that, because the Secretary-General of the United Nations is still seeing if he cannot persuade Iran to cooperate. If they don't, then we will have to face, in the Security Council, the adoption of the second proviso, which is the arms embargo on Iran.

But they have been cooperative, and they did go along on the resolution.

Q. May I follow up? Are you finished?

The President. Yep.

Middle East Peace Settlement

Q. And what are the prospects for a peace conference under joint U.S.-Soviet sponsorship?

The President. Oh, well, we had thought, in going along for a long time with the others that believed that the Arab nations were still technically in a state of war with Israel, that they and Israel could get together and should get together. Some of them have, such as the great efforts that King Hussein of Jordan has—how far he has gone to try and bring this about. But it just hasn't worked. And more and more, the word has been uttered that we should form an international group to help them come together and bring peace. And we finally have gone over to explore that. That's what the Secretary-General has been doing in the Middle East. And so far, Israel prefers not to go that route. They—

Q. Meaning Mr. Shultz.

The President. Yes.

U.S. Presence in the Persian Gulf

Q. Mr. President, earlier this week, the U.S. attacked an Iranian oil platform in the Gulf. But despite that, today Iran fired another Silkworm missile on Kuwait. Do you really think you can stop the Ayatollah?

The President. Well, the Ayatollah is in a war, and if he's going to go on with provocative acts against us or anyone else, then he's running a great risk, because we're going to respond. We're not going to sit there. And we have to feel that, on the basis of everything he said and everything he's done, that if we did not retaliate as we did recently he still would have done again what he did the first time. We're going to try to point out to him that it's a little too expensive if he's to keep that up.

Q. Mr. President, if I could follow up: When this whole operation started, the U.S. had 5 ships in the Gulf. Now you have more than 30 in the area. Can you set any limits on the U.S. involvement in the Persian Gulf and tell us how long this escort operation is going to continue?

The President. No, I can't tell you how long that will, but I can tell you that I believe we're just the same as—we have a fleet in the Mediterranean, and we have

one in the Caribbean, other places of that kind. We've had naval forces there since 1949. And we have to have them as long as it is necessary to take action to keep international waters open to commerce and trade. And no nation has a right to close those, particularly when it's not involved with their enemy that they're at war with, but when it's neutral nations.

The Nation's Economy

Q. To restore public confidence in the economy, do you think it would be a good idea for you to urge more banks to lower their interest rates, as a couple have done this week?

The President. Well, I think they have done that on their own, and I think it was a very wise thing to do.

Q. What about business? Do you think that businesses should lower some of their prices and take a little bit less a profit to encourage more sales—[laughter]—to keep this economy going?

The President. I'm not going to make suggestions like that to them. I think that's up to them. And as I say, there are no signs of deteriorating economy out there in the economy. We have the highest percentage of the potential work force at work—employed today—than we've had in the entire history of the United States.

All right, Sam [Sam Donaldson, ABC News].

Deficit Reduction and Taxes

Q. Mr. President, I've listened to what you've had to say tonight, and it's still not clear to me that you will accept and agree to a budget compromise package that contains higher taxes. Will you?

The President. Sam, as I've told you, I can't discuss in advance what I will or won't do, but I'm going to tell you I have not changed my opinion about ever accepting a tax that will have a deleterious effect on the economy. And most tax increases do.

Taxing is not the policy with—or the problem with the deficit. The deficit is due to too much spending. Every dollar of increased revenue since 1980—and that means including our tax cuts—every dollar of increased revenue has been matched by \$1.25 of increased spending.

Q. Sir, you feel very strongly about this, obviously.

The President. Yes.

Q. You've been one of the leading proponents of supply-side economics. What went wrong?

The President. What went wrong with what? Supply-side economics?

Q. Why are we in the economic mess that we are in today?

The President. Because for more than half a century that was dominated entirely by the Congress of—both Houses of the Congress by one party. They have followed, beginning with what they call the Keynesian Theory, deficit spending—openly deficit spending on the basis that they claimed that it was necessary to maintain prosperity, that you had to do it, and it wasn't hurtful, because we owed it to ourselves. And some of us said year after year that this would keep on to the point that it would get out of control. And it has, just as we said it would. And they've got to give up that belief in that. I think I'd like to point out to them that Maynard Keynes didn't even have a degree in economics.

Q. The Democrats—

The President. What?

Q. It's the Democrats who did it?

The President. Well, you can look up and see who dominated both Houses of the Congress for the last 50 years.

Q. Mr. President, you've taken great delight, in your appearances over the last 6 months or year, in saying that there will absolutely be a veto of any tax increase that reaches my desk. You've said that in a number of different ways. Now, in light of the crisis on Wall Street this week, are you going to stop saying that, sir?

The President. You're all trying to get me into saying what am I going to do when I sit down at the table with the other fellows. And I'm going to tell you that I'm going to do what I think is absolutely necessary for the economy of the United States. And I still happen to believe that taxing is something—well, I think it's what brought on the troubles that we had when I came here.

Q. Sir, but it sounds like you're still basically opposed to any increased taxation, whether you call it revenue increases or tax

increases.

The President. No, there are many sources that we've pointed out. I'm in favor of a number of pay for services—that there are some things that government does for, say, a particular group of people, a service that's performed. I don't think that the taxpayer should pay for that service when it is limited to one particular group. They should pay a fee for that service.

Q. Are you still against tax increases?

The President. They'll find out when I sit down there.

Q. Mr. President, while your budget talk has been conciliatory over the past few days and a bit this evening, earlier this week you flatly blamed Congress again, out on the South Lawn, for the deficit. Doesn't the White House equally share in this mess?

The President. Well, just a minute. The President of the United States cannot spend a nickel; only Congress can authorize the spending of money. And for 6 years now, I have repeatedly asked the Congress for less money, and they have turned around and given more to spend, and done it in such a way that I can't veto it when they put it all together—instead of appropriations—in a continuing resolution. We haven't had a deficit—or, a budget since I've been here.

No, the Congress is the one that's in command, and we have to persuade them that what we've asked for is enough to support the programs as determined by the people who work those programs and who run them. And every budget that I've sent up there has been put on a shelf, and I've been told that it's dead on arrival. And then we are faced, someplace after the first of the fiscal year, with a continuing resolution containing 13 or so appropriation bills. And I think that I was perfectly justified in saying that a President is not responsible for this. You can go back all the way to 1931; we've been running deficits.

Q. Mr. President?

The President. Yes, wait just a—

AIDS Commission

Q. There's been dissension and disarray on your AIDS panel. Even Cardinal O'Connor, one of the most prominent members, has said that he thinks perhaps his time should be better spent working against this

plague on the local levels. What are you going to do about this?

The President. Well, a couple who've quit—we're going to replace them. We've appointed a new Chairman of the Commission. We think that it has to have a variety of skills, because it's a very complex problem. So, we have as much representation as we can get from the business community, from medicine, from education, and so forth. And we have two vacancies to fill. And I'm still hopeful that we'll learn something and find out if there are more things and better things that we can do with regard to this terrible plague.

We have spent more money every year—increased—on AIDS. And next year—well, in the present fiscal year, now that October 1 has passed, we'll be spending over \$1 billion on AIDS. And I think we need a Commission, someone to help and advise us on how best we can spend that money.

Q. Do you believe, sir, that the panel will be able to finish its report on schedule?

The President. I'm hoping that they can and have to assume they can.

Now, this gentleman here, I—

Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement

Q. Yes, Mr. President, back on the economy and trade: Your comments tonight on trade: Many economists think that one quick, sure-fire way to give the economy a big boost would be to create, in effect, a Common Market for North America. Now, you initiated these talks with [Canadian] Prime Minister Mulroney, and [Treasury] Secretary Baker recently completed the negotiations. But the Canada-U.S. trade pact is being vigorously opposed, especially in Canada and in some parts of the U.S. Is there any way that your office can be put behind this to give it the needed push?

The President. Oh, you bet that I'm behind it. The problem is right now there's a Parliament in Canada, also, that has to pass on it. And I understand they're somewhat reluctant about a few points. I think the trade agreement that we reached with them is one of the foremost things that has happened in this area in history. Here we are these two great partners—and we're the greatest trading partners in volume in the

world, between us. And this would just be a tremendous step forward for all of us.

Q. Well, sir, to follow up: Would you be willing to go back to Canada and try and get some of those Canadian legislators together and talk to them, as you just have here?

The President. I'm not sure that I could do any better with foreign legislators than I'm doing with our own. [*Laughter*]

Andrea [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News]?

Strategic Defense Initiative

Q. Mr. President, now that an INF deal is all but wrapped up, the next step would be strategic weapons. The Soviets have said that they are willing to give you the big cuts in those missiles that you've always wanted if you would agree to some limits on strategic defense testing. Now, a lot of experts have said that that would not require slowing down the program for the foreseeable future. Why have you told your negotiators that they cannot even discuss this issue with the Soviets?

The President. Because if you put it on the table as a bargaining chip, then it becomes a bargaining chip. And we have said that this, a real defense against nuclear weapons, can be the biggest factor in hopefully one day making those weapons obsolete, because I heard my own words come back to me the other day from Mr. [Soviet Foreign Minister] Shevardnadze, when he said to me what I've said a dozen times in some of the parliaments and legislatures of the world: A nuclear war can never be won and must never be fought. And the best way to ever bring that about is to perfect this plan, which we think can be perfected, and then be able to say to the world here is a defense against nuclear missiles. And we'll make it available to the world in return for the world giving up nuclear weapons.

Soviet-U.S. Summit Meeting

Q. Well, with the likelihood, then, at least of a summit here in the United States to sign the treaty on the medium-range missiles, what kind of summit do you envision with Mikhail Gorbachev? What would you like him to see in this country, and where would you like to take him? And how do you think—

The President. Oh, Andrea—

Q. —that would affect superpower relations?

The President. Andrea, we don't have a word yet or a date yet as to whether he's coming. We have a belief that this is going to take place, and I want it to take place very much. But also I hope that when it does that—he's never been to this country before—that he would have time to see a great deal of America. And I think it would be good for him to see this and to see things that he couldn't accuse us of staging them for him. Let him see it.

Now, yes, I've thought about—knowing something about the quarters that they have for beach homes in the summer and so forth—I've thought it would be kind of nice to invite him up to our 1,500-foot adobe shack that was built in 1872 and let him see how a capitalist spends his holidays.

Robert H. Bork

Q. Well, comment on the Bork confirmation. You said, "If they reject him, I'll give them someone they will dislike just as much." That seems a defiant statement. Both you and the Senate have fulfilled your constitutional duty. The people exercise their democratic privileges by expressing their opinion. The majority of the Senators rejected Judge Bork, and according to the polls, the majority of the American people. So, while it appears your defiance was aimed at the Senate, weren't you, in reality, defying the working of democracy in America, while advocating democracy around the world?

The President. I think that this selection of a judge—and what you were referring to as democracy—I think was totally out of line with what the procedure should be. We were not electing a political figure that could then be turned out of office by someone's votes—and for the first time in history, to go out and have private interest groups of various kinds pressuring individuals to vote a certain way on this. What I meant was that I will try to find, if he is turned down when they vote—and we have had the testimony of some of the greatest minds in the field of law in the United States, and including the former Justice and

all as to his qualifications—I will try to find somebody that is as qualified in the same way that he is.

I think that this thing was politicized, and I think that Judge Bork was one of the first ones that said, regardless of what happens to him now, we must all make sure that never again does this process that has been so dignified as a confirmation by the Senate of an appointee of the President turned into a political contest, as if people were voting on it. And I think if you would compare the qualities of the people who testified for him—and their qualifications, I should say, not quality—I think they were far superior than most of the people who were against him.

Q. You said it was politicized. It wasn't politicized from the beginning because of the fact that I remember about 2 years ago when Senator Paul Trible asked the Black Bar Association of Virginia to recommend a black person for a Federal judge. And I quote from Senator Paul Trible's letter; he said: "Recommend someone who shares the conservative philosophy of President Reagan." And it's pretty hard to find a black—you know—[laughter]—who shares it. [Laughter] And so, and then you said

again that you had pressure interest groups. Isn't that what happens in America? Special interest groups—I don't know whether you're talking about the civil rights people and women and all. They're American citizens, and don't they have that right to do so? And then, well, I guess that's—answer those questions.

The President. Well, if it was to be that way, then we would have early on decided you would elect judges by public vote. And they decided that that was probably not the way to get those with the best qualifications.

But on the racial question, I realize that there are some who believe that somehow I have a prejudice in that way and am a racist. And that is one of the most frustrating things to me, because I was on the other side in that fight long before it became a fight. And I would like to point out that the head of CORE, the Committee on [Congress of] Racial Equality, was one of the witnesses testifying on behalf of Judge Bork.

Note: The President's 42d news conference began at 8 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. It was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Remarks at the Employment Expansion Forum Sponsored by the Department of Labor October 23, 1987

Opening Remarks

The President. Good morning. I'm looking forward to hearing from each of you on what you think—both what the private sector and what government can do to make sure that our 59 months of growth and job creation continue. You should all be proud of the nearly 14 million jobs that we've created since the expansion began.

The trend toward higher education requirements is striking. Since I know that many of the new jobs created between now and the year 2000 will require educational backgrounds beyond the high school level, I'm interested in hearing you and your

thoughts on this. And another challenge facing us in the year 2000 will be the demographic changes in the work force and additional numbers—women, minorities, immigrants. And we need to make sure that our markets remain the—or keep the dynamic flexibility that has served us so well in creating new job opportunities.

I've always been a firm believer in the power of the people—that when we get the government out of their way, problems can be solved more quickly and more efficiently. I'm interested in hearing your thoughts—all of you—on how the private sector can rise to meet the challenges that

are facing the work force now and in the future. And that's enough from me because it's time for me to listen and learn from each of you.

Closing Remarks

The President. Well, Bill, thank you, and thank all of you very much. It's been a great pleasure and certainly a learning experience to be here at the Labor Department. Let me just begin though, if I can, with a special thanks to Secretary Brock, who's leaving all of us. Bill, you've been a dedicated public servant and a trusted adviser, and we'll miss you in the Cabinet. If I was really smart, I'd stop right there. [Laughter]

Secretary Brock. You're doing fine. [Laughter]

The President. Well, we've been briefed by several people, and very well, and I'll try to keep my remarks short. Although whenever I do run over, I remember a quip of President Eisenhower's. To paraphrase him, he said that one good thing about being President is that nobody can tell you when to stop talking. [Laughter]

But, I had a lesson some years ago—I've related it many times, but not for some years—about the importance of brevity in a speech or remarks. It was taught to me by the Reverend Bill Alexander of Oklahoma. Now, he was present when I made a speech, and he later told me his first experience as a clergyman, and I've always figured there was a connection between his story and my speech. [Laughter] He said that he had just been newly ordained, did not have a church, but was invited to preach at an evening service of a little country church in Oklahoma. He stood up in the pulpit and there was an empty church except for one lone, little man sitting out there in all the empty pews. So, after the opening prayer he went down and he said: "My friend, I'm just a young preacher getting started and you're the only member of the congregation that showed up. What do you think, should I go through with it?" And the fellow said, "Well, I don't know about that." He said: "I'm just a little old cowpoke out here in

Oklahoma, but I do know this: If I loaded up a truckload of hay, took it out in the prairie and only one cow showed up, I'd feed her." [Laughter]

Well, Bill took that as a cue, and an hour and a half later said amen. [Laughter] He went down and said, "My friend, you seem to have stuck with me and, like I told you, I'm a young preacher getting started. What did you think?" "Well," he said: "like I told you, I don't know about that sort of thing, but I do know this: If I loaded up a truckload of hay, took it out in the prairie and only one cow showed up, I sure as hell wouldn't give her the whole load." [Laughter]

But I would like to talk to you today about a new term that I recently read in the newspaper, and it's called job power. And it comes from an article in the Christian Science Monitor that ran with the headline, "Employers Pound Streets for Young and Choosy Workers." Well, they can afford to be choosy, the article says, because jobs in their area—the Middle Atlantic—are plentiful. They quote one high school student named Tom, who had turned down a \$5-an-hour internship at the courthouse to take an \$8-to-\$10-an-hour job doing construction. "Everyone can get a job," says young Tom. "You just pick your first choice." Sometimes you don't even have to go looking for a job—the jobs come looking for you.

Megan, a high school junior, tells of how she was sitting on the front steps of the library when a man from the local shoe store came by and said he needed someone to work for him. Megan declined the offer, because she already had another job. Well, those are only two anecdotal examples. Not every section of the country shares in this good fortune. In Texas, for instance, teenage unemployment tops 20 percent.

One expert in demographics predicts that it's only a matter of time before the experiences of young people like Megan and Tom spread across the entire country. The high employment today that's found in New England, California, and the Mid-Atlantic are, he says: "the wave of the future."

Well, as employers will be the first to tell you, the problem isn't just finding people,

it's finding people with the necessary skills. And that's what Bill Brock is talking about when he refers to Work Force 2000—that the workers between now and the turn of the century have the skills requisite for the jobs being created. And the reason we can celebrate job power today is our growing economy, an economy liberated by tax cuts, deregulation, and declining inflation. This month of October marks the 59th straight month in our economic expansion, and as of November, we'll have broken all U.S. records for the longest peacetime expansion in history. Not only is it the longest—it's one of the strongest, too.

Since it began, our gross national product has risen some 20 percent, well above that of comparable expansions. We've been creating jobs at an average rate of almost a quarter of a million a month, as Bill told us, for a total of nearly the 14 million new jobs, as you've seen. And we're not just creating more jobs, we're creating better jobs. According to Labor Department data, nearly two-thirds of the new jobs have been in the higher paying occupations, and we've seen that here now in the charts, with only 12 percent in lower paying, low-skill occupations. Over 90 percent of the jobs are full-time. In short, we're talking about continuing job creation with jobs that are better paying, more challenging, safer, and more rewarding. So much for the so-called McJobs thesis.

One of the groups that has benefited most from this job surge is, as we've been told, the black community. Employment of blacks has increased twice as fast as employment of whites. Since 1982, the real income of black families, as we've been told, has increased almost 40 percent faster than white family income. And the share of black families in the highest income bracket is up by over 70 percent. This August, the percentage of blacks employed was the highest on record, as was the percentage of all Americans employed. Economics columnist Warren Brookes looked at this record and concluded that, and I'll quote: "On every front—jobs, income, even household wealth—this, 1981 through 1986, has been the best 5 economic years in black history."

Well, so far I've concentrated on employment. But that's only one indication of the

strong and vital economy that we have today. I could talk about how inflation is holding low and steady; how real household income is way up; how manufacturing productivity has surged ahead, well above the postwar average; and industrial production has outpaced Europe and Japan. All of this is concrete evidence of an economy that is strong and fundamentally sound. It is an economy, judged in pure economic terms, that has a very bright future before it, a future of growth, low inflation, and high employment.

We've seen in the last week, however, that there is real concern on Wall Street. The recent turbulence in the stock market suggests that those who are investing in the future of our economy are worried that some roadblock may be put in the way of that future. The market is constantly reacting to an almost infinite flow of information. There may have been hundreds of factors affecting the uneasiness on Wall Street, but I think it's appropriate to single out some of the more likely ones: The first are domestic, and I think it's fair to say, primarily political in origin. I say political, because they have more to do with the actions—and lack of action—of the government than with American business people, entrepreneurs, and workers. As I said, the business of America is sound, the economy is strong.

Those who have to make the decision on whether or not to invest in the future of our economy see some very disturbing signs on Capitol Hill. For one, a dangerously protectionist trade bill working its way through conference. If passed, that bill would threaten a spiraling trade war and could very well bring our economic expansion to an end. And if it comes to that, I will have no choice but to veto it. The devastating effect on employment—on all those jobs I mentioned—would only be a part of the effect of protectionist trade legislation. Of the roadblocks that could be thrown in the way of our economic expansion, Wall Street knows protectionism is one of the worst. At the same time, we see a Congress that is unable to get control of deficit spending. It backed away from its Gramm-Rudman promises. And there are many who, while refusing to cut spending, insist on increas-

ing taxes.

The disruption in our markets is sending a signal loud and clear to get our economic house in order. And that is why, last night, I called for the bipartisan leadership in Congress to meet with me on Tuesday to arrange the process for reducing the Federal deficit. And as I said, I will listen to them but they must listen to me on the need to send a clear signal that spending will be restrained. And I'm asking every Member of Congress who agrees that we should reject protectionist legislation, every Member who agrees that tax increases are not the solution, to join with me in showing our support for America and her economic future.

As I've said, I think the markets are reacting more to the actions—and inactions—of government than to the deficit itself, which has been shrinking—down nearly 30 percent since the last fiscal year. But while that deficit exists, the uneasiness will remain. And that's why we're going to go back to Congress and, in light of what's happened, redouble our efforts to cut the deficit by cutting away overspending. Congress has made no effort to seriously restrain domestic spending. Just freezing spending at last year's levels would yield substantial deficit reduction. Overspending endangers our economy. And each one of those cherished special interest programs is going to have to justify itself against the good of the whole Nation.

But let me just close with a message to all those in government. The story of this historic 59-month expansion is first and foremost, as you heard up here today: a study of individual achievement, of the historic struggle—or the heroic struggle of entrepreneurs; the hard work and dedication of laborers; the ingenuity and creativity of our business community; and just the plain, raw power of American industry. All that's asked of us is not to get in their way, to keep the business environment as free and as stable as possible. Freedom and stability, that's all our economy needs. That's all Americans need to keep this economy growing well into the next decade.

A little example of that was sent to me by a man the other day who's an eminent scholar—speaks fluent Russian. He was on a

trip to Moscow, and he told me that in the cab, driving to the airport—had a young cab driver there—got into conversation with him. The young man was getting educated—going to school, but driving a cab to make that possible. And the scholar said, "Well, what are your plans—what do you intend to do?" And the young man said: "I haven't made up my mind yet." Well, by coincidence, when he got to Moscow and got in a cab there, he had a young cab driver. And speaking Russian he got into a conversation with him, and found out he, too, was going to school, as well as working. And he said: "Well, what do you intend to be?" And the young man said: "They haven't told me yet." That's the difference, and that's why freedom is the most important thing.

But now, before I go, there are a few special American workers that I want to mention. Recently, the country was riveted, as you know—all of us—to the story of tiny Jessica McClure. And I think that we all said prayers of thanks when that story had a happy ending. And I think we're also very thankful in our hearts for the generous people who worked around the clock, through fatigue, past exhaustion, to save little Jessica. And, of course that's why I'm happy and I think we all are that three employees of the Department of Labor who work for the Mine Safety and Health Administration are here with us today, having done their job so well.

Wayne Kanack is the manager of the southwestern division. When he heard of Jessica's plight, he called on the two best people he could think of—Dave Lilly and Sid Kirk—both experienced hard-rock miners. Working closely together, they directed the rescue operation, drilling a hole parallel to the well and then digging a shaft across to reach Jessica. In fact, Dave Lilly chipped away by hand the last few inches of rock to make the first physical contact with little Jessica. Now, I know another Midlander, Vice President Bush, has awarded you a certificate of recognition. Wayne and Dave and Sid—I think you've understood here already this morning that we're all very proud of you.

And now, I'll just close with one more

little episode. I received a letter the other day from a gentleman that pointed something out I hadn't thought of, and a subject that I think all of us are aware of, however. This man, in his letter, said that you can go to live in France, but you can't become a Frenchman; you can go to live in Japan, but you cannot become Japanese; or Turkey and not become a Turk; or Greece and become a Greek. But he said anybody in the entire world can come to this country

and become an American.

Note: The President first spoke at 11:10 a.m. in the Grand Hall at the Department of Labor. Following his opening remarks, four speakers representing small business, job training programs, the Women's Bureau, and the private sector spoke at the forum. William E. Brock III was Secretary of Labor.

Excerpts From an Interview With European Journalists on Soviet-United States Relations

October 23, 1987

Q. Mr. President, I am privileged to start off, and of course, we all have heard word from Moscow. So, I simply would ask you for your reaction. Are you disappointed that there was no date for a summit set, or are you still hopeful that you can have one sometime later this year?

The President. Well, I'm hopeful, of course. They have said they want such a thing and agreed to it—and to be held here in this country—but so far have not set a date. So, I'll remain hopeful that we can have it, yes. I understand there was some progress made, however, in the talks on the intermediate-range weapon agreement.

Q. Mr. President, do you think that the setback in Moscow heralds a cooler period in U.S.-Soviet relations, or you're very confident you can go on ahead and get an agreement?

The President. I have to believe that there is an effort being made on their part as well as ours to make the cold war a little warmer in the right way. Let's say a little less cold, but also a little less war.

Q. Mr. President, the sticking point seems to be SDI. And are you prepared to make an adjustment in your position in order to achieve an agreement on the strategic—

The President. No, I have said from the

beginning that this world, which has no defense against nuclear weapons—the only so-called defense is the MAD policy, and it truly is MAD: Mutual Assured Destruction. And I have spoken to several parliaments throughout the world and legislatures and in each one of them have said that I don't believe a nuclear war can be won and it must not be fought. And recently, [Soviet] Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, here in this room, repeated those words to me as being his own belief: that it can't be won and shouldn't be fought. So, I cannot make that a bargaining chip. We have the prospect of a defensive system that could practically make nuclear missiles obsolete. And I have said over and over again that if and when we have such a system we wouldn't use that for our advantage offensively against any other nation.

Note: The interview began at 1:32 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Participants in the interview included Leo Wieland, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Federal Republic of Germany; Stewart Fleming, Financial Times, United Kingdom; Rodolfo Brancoli, La Repubblica, Italy; Jan Werts, Haagsche Courant, the Netherlands; and Jan Krauze, Le Monde, France.

Statement on the Failure of the Senate to Confirm the Supreme Court Nomination of Robert H. Bork

October 23, 1987

I am saddened and disappointed that the Senate has bowed today to a campaign of political pressure and has turned down the nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Warren Burger said that he could not recall a more qualified nominee in the past 50 years. The highest Court in our land will not enjoy the services of one of the finest men ever put forward for a place on its bench. Judge Bork will be vindicated in history.

Alexander Hamilton wrote that "the complete independence of the courts of justice is . . . essential in . . . [the] Constitution." The framers of our Constitution believed that the judicial branch should be removed from politics and that its only goal should be the fair and impartial administration of justice. But in the last few months, the confirmation of a judicial nominee has become a spectacle of misrepresentation and single-issue politics. To allow this unprecedented practice to become the rule would jeopardize the integrity and independence of the American system of justice. All Americans

have a stake in making sure that the confirmation process is never distorted like this again. Let me just add that those Senators who stood up today for Judge Bork and for a judiciary free of politics have my gratitude and respect.

My next nominee for the Court will share Judge Bork's belief in judicial restraint: that a judge is bound by the Constitution to interpret laws, not make them. In our democracy, it is the elected representatives of the people, not unelected judges, who make laws. He or she will share my belief in judicial restraint. He or she will share my belief that the courts of law must administer fair and firm justice to criminals and must show compassion to the victims of crime. I will seek a nominee who understands the dangers of judicial license and leniency in the courtroom. This is the kind of jurist the American people want on the Supreme Court. This is the kind of jurist the framers of our Constitution envisioned sitting on the Supreme Court. This is the kind of jurist I am determined to appoint to the Supreme Court.

Radio Address to the Nation on the Economy and Soviet-United States Relations

October 24, 1987

My fellow Americans:

The bears and the bulls were out on Wall Street this week with some of the sharpest drops and gains in stock market history. So, what did it all mean? Now, there's a question that the experts and analysts will be pondering for a time. But on one point I've been certain all week, and it's a point that's been buttressed by some good economic news released on Friday. This news shows that the growth of our gross national product during this last quarter was a remarkable 3.8 percent. So, too, the inflation index showed only a two-tenths of 1-percent rise,

which if worked out to an annual rate would be only a 2.4-percent inflation rate. What this shows is that our predictions about the direction of the economy this year have been right on: strong growth with a slight rise followed by an encouraging drop in inflation.

Now, coupled with the declining interest rates we saw earlier this week, all this speaks to the point I made after Monday's drop in stock prices: that the American economy is sound and strong. Our historic, even astonishing, growth is continuing—the creation of nearly 14 million jobs, hundreds

of thousands of new businesses, rapid rises in family income—all adding up to 59 months of economic expansion, the longest peacetime expansion in our history. Though the market has been volatile, let's remember, if corrections or fluctuations do occur, that as long as consumers do not overreact by losing confidence our expansion will continue.

Let's also remember a critical reason for this expansion was our decision to reduce taxes in 1981. I'm sure many of you know it was very difficult getting this through the Congress, although with your help we achieved it. And despite all the predictions of high inflation from our opponents, our tax cuts not only fueled our expansion, they had a benefit that surprised some people: Far from reducing the amount of money the Federal Government collected in tax revenues, over the long run, those collections actually increased due to the economic activity sparked by the tax cuts. In fact, tax revenues from 1981 to 1987 actually went up \$255 billion. Of course, this meant we had enough to pay for our defense buildup and some left over to help get our deficit spending problems under control. But instead of using new revenues to cut the deficit, the Congress decided to spend even more.

In 1982, for example, TEFRA, as it was called, the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act, raised taxes by \$131 billion over 4 years, with Congress pledging to slash spending by \$3 for every dollar of increased revenue. Instead, 4 years later, taxes had gone up the expected \$131 billion, but spending over this same period had risen by \$244 billion. In fact, every dollar in increased revenue since 1980 had been matched by \$1.25 of increased spending.

Now, 3 days ago, I called on the congressional leaders to meet with me early next week to outline our deficit reduction plans.

And as we move toward a budget settlement, it's good to remember that there's a fundamental difference here in Washington on one critical issue. I'm proud that since 1913 my party has reduced taxes 10 times and increased them only once. And that's why I hope members of the Democratic Party will follow President Kennedy's lead of some years ago and remember that lower taxes mean higher growth.

But the simple fact is that all sides must contribute to this process if it is to succeed and if a package is to be developed that keeps taxes and spending as low as possible. This effort must also address the flipside of our twin deficit problem. I mean, here, our trade deficit, a problem that would only be worsened by protectionist legislation. So, let's keep the stock market healthy and sound, and let's do it by avoiding protectionist legislation and by keeping taxes and spending down so we can keep interest rates and inflation rates low.

As prominent as the news on Wall Street was this week, I'm sure you are also aware that Secretary Shultz and my national security adviser, Frank Carlucci, were in Moscow this week to talk to the Soviet leaders on the full range of our relations. We're closer now to completing a treaty on eliminating an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles, and progress was made in other areas as well. No date was set for a summit meeting, but we're in no hurry. And we certainly will not be pushed into sacrificing essential interests just to have a meeting. I'll keep you informed as events move forward.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Appointment of Richard G. Quick as a Member of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations

October 26, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Richard G. Quick to be a member of the Advisory Committee on Trade Negotiations for a term of 2 years. He would succeed W. Jarvis Moody.

Since February 1987 Mr. Quick has been chairman and president of Dravo International and, since 1978, vice president of Dravo Corp. in Pittsburgh, PA. He joined Dravo Corp. in 1976 as director of government relations. Prior to this Mr. Quick served as administrative assistant to Senator

Hugh Scott.

Mr. Quick graduated from the University of Puget Sound (B.A., 1970) and American University (M.P.A., 1974). He served in the United States Army Corps of Engineers, 1966–1970, and since 1970, has served in the Active Army Reserves with the rank of brigadier general. Mr. Quick was born August 8, 1942, in Bellefonte, PA. He is married, has two children, and resides in Pittsburgh.

Statement on Trade Sanctions Against Iran

October 26, 1987

I have directed the Secretaries of Treasury and State to take action to place an embargo on all U.S. imports from Iran. At the same time, we are instituting a ban on the export to Iran of 14 broad categories of U.S. products with potential military application. As required by law, we have consulted with Congress on these actions and are presently engaged in formally notifying Congress with regard to them. The ban on imports of Iranian goods will take effect as soon as possible. The additional controls on exports to Iran will go into effect in a week to 10 days.

The Congress itself has moved quickly and decisively in this important area, and the administration looks forward to cooperating closely with the Congress to ensure that any future legislation serves our broader goals of implementing United Nations Security Council Resolution 598 and restoring peace and stability to the Persian Gulf region.

The measures I am initiating are a direct result of the Iranian Government's own actions, including its unprovoked attacks on U.S. forces and U.S. merchant vessels, its refusal to implement U.N. Security Council

Resolution 598, its continued aggression against nonbelligerent nations of the Persian Gulf, and its sponsorship of terrorism there and elsewhere in the world. These measures will remain in place so long as Iran persists in its aggressive disregard for the most fundamental norms of international conduct.

Let me emphasize that we are taking these economic measures only after repeated but unsuccessful attempts to reduce tensions with Iran and in response to the continued and increasingly bellicose behavior of the Iranian Government. They do not reflect any quarrel with the Iranian people. Indeed, as I have said a number of times, the United States accepts the Iranian revolution as a fact and respects the right of the Iranian people to choose any government that they wish.

The United States hopes that more normal relations with Iran will evolve as Iranian belligerence and tensions in the area diminish. We have made these points known repeatedly to Iran, through diplomatic channels as well as public statements. Unfortunately, the Iranian Government's response to date, in deeds as well as in words, has been entirely unconstructive.

Appointment of Carolynn Reid-Wallace as a Member of the National Council on the Humanities

October 26, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Carolynn Reid-Wallace to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities, National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, for a term expiring January 26, 1992. She would succeed Samuel DuBois Cook.

Since 1982 Mrs. Reid-Wallace has been the Assistant Director, Division of Education Programs at the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, DC. Prior to this, she was the director for the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education Clearinghouse, Washing-

ton, DC, 1981–1982; director of NAFEO/NEH humanities program, 1979–1980. Mrs. Reid-Wallace was acting chief executive of Bowie State College, 1977–1978; dean of the college and vice president for academic affairs, 1976–1978.

Mrs. Reid-Wallace graduated from Fisk University (B.A., 1964), Adelphi University (M.A., 1965), and George Washington University (Ph.D., 1980). Mrs. Reid-Wallace was born June 26, 1942, in Williamsburg, VA. She is widowed, has one child, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Philip Abrams as a Member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council

October 26, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Philip Abrams to be a member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council for a term expiring January 15, 1992. He would succeed A. Arthur Davis.

Since 1984 Mr. Abrams has been the president of Philip Abrams and Associates, Inc., in Englewood, CO. Prior to this, he was Under Secretary, U.S. Department of

Housing and Urban Development, 1983–1984, and Assistant Secretary for Housing—Federal Housing Commissioner, 1982–1983.

Mr. Abrams graduated from Williams College (B.A., 1961) and served in the U.S. Navy, 1961–1965. Mr. Abrams was born November 13, 1939, in Boston, MA. He is married, has three children, and resides in Littleton, CO.

Appointment of Anne Newman Foreman as General Counsel of the Air Force

October 27, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Anne Newman Foreman to be General Counsel of the Department of the Air Force.

Since 1985 Mrs. Foreman has served at the White House as Associate Director of Presidential Personnel for National Security.

Before joining the White House staff, Mrs. Foreman practiced law with the Washington office of the Houston-based law firm of Bracewell and Patterson, where she specialized in international law and litigation. A former career member of the Foreign Service, Mrs. Foreman was posted as a po-

litical officer to Beirut, Lebanon, and to Tunis, Tunisia, and as an economic officer to the United States Mission to the United Nations. She was a member of the United States delegation to the 31st Session of the United Nations General Assembly and to the 60th Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Mrs. Foreman graduated from the University of Southern California (B.A., 1969; M.A., 1975) and American University (J.D., 1980). She is articulate in French and Arabic. Mrs. Foreman was born October 16, 1947, in Hollywood, CA. She is married, has two children, and resides in Potomac, MD.

Nomination of Robert W. Page, Sr., To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Army

October 27, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert W. Page, Sr., to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army (Civil Works). He would succeed Robert K. Dawson.

Since 1985 Mr. Page has been president and chief executive officer of Page Mickel Co. in Houston, TX. Prior to this he was president and chief executive officer of Kel-

logg Rust in Houston. Since 1985 Mr. Page has served on the President's Export Council.

Mr. Page graduated from Texas A&M University (B.S., 1950). He served in the United States Navy, 1944-1946. Mr. Page was born January 22, 1927, in Dallas, TX. He is married, has four children, and resides in Houston, TX.

Statement on Federal Deficit Reduction

October 27, 1987

I am pleased that discussions will begin today between the administration and congressional leaders about the budget deficit. These meetings come at a critical moment.

In the last 59 months America has enjoyed an economic expansion that will soon enter the history books—the longest peacetime expansion on record. During this period, we have created an average of almost a quarter of a million jobs a month. GNP has risen 20 percent. Yet recently the stock market has alerted us of potential dangers on the economic horizon. Anyone who doubted that these threats to our future growth were serious should have

been set straight in the last couple of weeks.

It is time to put aside partisan rivalries and work together for our nation's future. I pledge that in these meetings on the budget deficit the administration will do just that. I know that all Americans hope that the leaders of Congress will do the same. I urge Congress to work quickly with us to set year-by-year deficit reduction targets, moving from this day forward, and then to join us in putting together realistic plans for meeting those targets. We owe it to the Nation to get this job done.

Executive Order 12612—Federalism October 26, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, and in order to restore the division of governmental responsibilities between the national government and the States that was intended by the Framers of the Constitution and to ensure that the principles of federalism established by the Framers guide the Executive departments and agencies in the formulation and implementation of policies, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Definitions. For purposes of this Order:

(a) “Policies that have federalism implications” refers to regulations, legislative comments or proposed legislation, and other policy statements or actions that have substantial direct effects on the States, on the relationship between the national government and the States, or on the distribution of power and responsibilities among the various levels of government.

(b) “State” or “States” refer to the States of the United States of America, individually or collectively, and, where relevant, to State governments, including units of local government and other political subdivisions established by the States.

Sec. 2. Fundamental Federalism Principles. In formulating and implementing policies that have federalism implications, Executive departments and agencies shall be guided by the following fundamental federalism principles:

(a) Federalism is rooted in the knowledge that our political liberties are best assured by limiting the size and scope of the national government.

(b) The people of the States created the national government when they delegated to it those enumerated governmental powers relating to matters beyond the competence of the individual States. All other sovereign powers, save those expressly prohibited the States by the Constitution, are reserved to the States or to the people.

(c) The constitutional relationship among sovereign governments, State and national,

is formalized in and protected by the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution.

(d) The people of the States are free, subject only to restrictions in the Constitution itself or in constitutionally authorized Acts of Congress, to define the moral, political, and legal character of their lives.

(e) In most areas of governmental concern, the States uniquely possess the constitutional authority, the resources, and the competence to discern the sentiments of the people and to govern accordingly. In Thomas Jefferson’s words, the States are “the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against antirepublican tendencies.”

(f) The nature of our constitutional system encourages a healthy diversity in the public policies adopted by the people of the several States according to their own conditions, needs, and desires. In the search for enlightened public policy, individual States and communities are free to experiment with a variety of approaches to public issues.

(g) Acts of the national government—whether legislative, executive, or judicial in nature—that exceed the enumerated powers of that government under the Constitution violate the principle of federalism established by the Framers.

(h) Policies of the national government should recognize the responsibility of—and should encourage opportunities for—individuals, families, neighborhoods, local governments, and private associations to achieve their personal, social, and economic objectives through cooperative effort.

(i) In the absence of clear constitutional or statutory authority, the presumption of sovereignty should rest with the individual States. Uncertainties regarding the legitimate authority of the national government should be resolved against regulation at the national level.

Sec. 3. Federalism Policymaking Criteria. In addition to the fundamental federalism principles set forth in section 2, Executive departments and agencies shall adhere, to

the extent permitted by law, to the following criteria when formulating and implementing policies that have federalism implications:

(a) There should be strict adherence to constitutional principles. Executive departments and agencies should closely examine the constitutional and statutory authority supporting any Federal action that would limit the policymaking discretion of the States, and should carefully assess the necessity for such action. To the extent practicable, the States should be consulted before any such action is implemented. Executive Order No. 12372 ("Intergovernmental Review of Federal Programs") remains in effect for the programs and activities to which it is applicable.

(b) Federal action limiting the policymaking discretion of the States should be taken only where constitutional authority for the action is clear and certain and the national activity is necessitated by the presence of a problem of national scope. For the purposes of this Order:

(1) It is important to recognize the distinction between problems of national scope (which may justify Federal action) and problems that are merely common to the States (which will not justify Federal action because individual States, acting individually or together, can effectively deal with them).

(2) Constitutional authority for Federal action is clear and certain only when authority for the action may be found in a specific provision of the Constitution, there is no provision in the Constitution prohibiting Federal action, and the action does not encroach upon authority reserved to the States.

(c) With respect to national policies administered by the States, the national government should grant the States the maximum administrative discretion possible. Intrusive, Federal oversight of State administration is neither necessary nor desirable.

(d) When undertaking to formulate and implement policies that have federalism implications, Executive departments and agencies shall:

(1) Encourage States to develop their own policies to achieve program objectives and to work with appropriate officials in other

States.

(2) Refrain, to the maximum extent possible, from establishing uniform, national standards for programs and, when possible, defer to the States to establish standards.

(3) When national standards are required, consult with appropriate officials and organizations representing the States in developing those standards.

Sec. 4. Special Requirements for Preemption. (a) To the extent permitted by law, Executive departments and agencies shall construe, in regulations and otherwise, a Federal statute to preempt State law only when the statute contains an express preemption provision or there is some other firm and palpable evidence compelling the conclusion that the Congress intended preemption of State law, or when the exercise of State authority directly conflicts with the exercise of Federal authority under the Federal statute.

(b) Where a Federal statute does not preempt State law (as addressed in subsection (a) of this section), Executive departments and agencies shall construe any authorization in the statute for the issuance of regulations as authorizing preemption of State law by rule-making only when the statute expressly authorizes issuance of preemptive regulations or there is some other firm and palpable evidence compelling the conclusion that the Congress intended to delegate to the department or agency the authority to issue regulations preempting State law.

(c) Any regulatory preemption of State law shall be restricted to the minimum level necessary to achieve the objectives of the statute pursuant to which the regulations are promulgated.

(d) As soon as an Executive department or agency foresees the possibility of a conflict between State law and Federally protected interests within its area of regulatory responsibility, the department or agency shall consult, to the extent practicable, with appropriate officials and organizations representing the States in an effort to avoid such a conflict.

(e) When an Executive department or agency proposes to act through adjudication or rule-making to preempt State law, the department or agency shall provide all af-

affected States notice and an opportunity for appropriate participation in the proceedings.

Sec. 5. Special Requirements for Legislative Proposals. Executive departments and agencies shall not submit to the Congress legislation that would:

(a) Directly regulate the States in ways that would interfere with functions essential to the States' separate and independent existence or operate to directly displace the States' freedom to structure integral operations in areas of traditional governmental functions;

(b) Attach to Federal grants conditions that are not directly related to the purpose of the grant; or

(c) Preempt State law, unless preemption is consistent with the fundamental federalism principles set forth in section 2, and unless a clearly legitimate national purpose, consistent with the federalism policymaking criteria set forth in section 3, cannot otherwise be met.

Sec. 6. Agency Implementation. (a) The head of each Executive department and agency shall designate an official to be responsible for ensuring the implementation of this Order.

(b) In addition to whatever other actions the designated official may take to ensure implementation of this Order, the designated official shall determine which proposed policies have sufficient federalism implications to warrant the preparation of a Federalism Assessment. With respect to each such policy for which an affirmative determination is made, a Federalism Assessment, as described in subsection (c) of this section, shall be prepared. The department or agency head shall consider any such Assessment in all decisions involved in promulgating and implementing the policy.

(c) Each Federalism Assessment shall accompany any submission concerning the policy that is made to the Office of Management and Budget pursuant to Executive Order No. 12291 or OMB Circular No. A-19, and shall:

(1) Contain the designated official's certification that the policy has been assessed in light of the principles, criteria, and requirements stated in sections 2 through 5 of this Order;

(2) Identify any provision or element of the policy that is inconsistent with the principles, criteria, and requirements stated in sections 2 through 5 of this Order;

(3) Identify the extent to which the policy imposes additional costs or burdens on the States, including the likely source of funding for the States and the ability of the States to fulfill the purposes of the policy; and

(4) Identify the extent to which the policy would affect the States' ability to discharge traditional State governmental functions, or other aspects of State sovereignty.

Sec. 7. Government-wide Federalism Coordination and Review. (a) In implementing Executive Order Nos. 12291 and 12498 and OMB Circular No. A-19, the Office of Management and Budget, to the extent permitted by law and consistent with the provisions of those authorities, shall take action to ensure that the policies of the Executive departments and agencies are consistent with the principles, criteria, and requirements stated in sections 2 through 5 of this Order.

(b) In submissions to the Office of Management and Budget pursuant to Executive Order No. 12291 and OMB Circular No. A-19, Executive departments and agencies shall identify proposed regulatory and statutory provisions that have significant federalism implications and shall address any substantial federalism concerns. Where the departments or agencies deem it appropriate, substantial federalism concerns should also be addressed in notices of proposed rulemaking and messages transmitting legislative proposals to the Congress.

Sec. 8. Judicial Review. This Order is intended only to improve the internal management of the Executive branch, and is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers, or any person.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 26, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:33 p.m., October 28, 1987]

Note: The Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 28.

Remarks at the United States Military Academy in West Point, New York

October 28, 1987

Remarks Before Lunch

I know I'm going to be speaking to you after lunch, but I just wanted to tell you how great it is to be back at West Point. And I have never seen a more impressive and spirited Corps of Cadets; you make me proud. But I know the real reason why all of you are so warm in your greetings, so glad to see me. It has to do with this directive that I have written. [Laughter]

Consistent with past practices that have been established, as Commander in Chief, I have directed the Superintendent to grant amnesty to the Corps of Cadets.

Remarks After Lunch

General, thank you. And Secretary Weinberger and Congressman Gilman and General Palmer, General Gorden, and members of the staff and faculty, and ladies and gentlemen of the United States Military Academy, I want to thank you for all your hospitality, especially since I'm an old Army man myself.

It was back in the thirties that I joined the Army Reserves as a member of the 14th Regiment of the—get ready now—horse cavalry. [Laughter] It's not true that I was at the Battle of the Little Big Horn. [Laughter]

In 1778 George Washington erected a fort high upon a granite point overlooking the Hudson to guard the region of New York in the event of a British attack. And now, for more than 180 years, the United States Military Academy, here at West Point, has in effect extended and carried on that first mission. For here we train the men and women whose duty it is to defend the Republic, the men and women whose profession is watchfulness, whose skill is vigilance, whose calling is to guard the peace,

but if need be, to fight and win.

More than 180 years, West Point in this time has established and added luster to a proud story, a story of courage and wisdom, a story of heroism, of sacrifice, and yes, very often the ultimate sacrifice. It is the story of men like Ulysses Grant, the son of a humble tanner in Ohio who went on from West Point to save the American Union. It's the story of Dwight David Eisenhower, a Kansas farm boy who learned the skills at West Point that enabled him to command the mightiest invasion force in history, and of Douglas MacArthur, an acknowledged genius in war who showed himself during the occupation of Japan to be a genius in peace, as well. And if I may, it's the story of men like General Fred Gorden. The only black cadet in his class, today General Gorden has come back to West Point as Commandant, setting an example for you, and indeed for all young Americans, of what hard work and devotion to duty can achieve.

These last two names I mentioned, General Gorden and General MacArthur, call to mind a special moment in the history of this Academy. For it was 25 years ago that General of the Army Douglas MacArthur stood in this spot and addressed the cadets of West Point. And General Gorden, at the time cadet Gorden, was sitting where you are today. It was a moment cadet Gorden would never forget. Just days from graduation, he looked around this mess hall and saw war-hardened officers moved to tears by the power of MacArthur's words:

"The long gray line has never failed us." He said, "Were you to do so, a million ghosts would rise from their white crosses, thundering those magic words: Duty, honor, country." And then he added: "This does not mean that you're warmongers. On the

contrary, the soldier above all other people prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war.”

General Palmer, ladies and gentlemen of West Point, it is because you, above all other people, pray for peace, but must bear the burden should that peace fail, that I've come here today. For I want to speak about relations between the American Republic and democracy's main competitor, the Soviet Union—relations that are likely to shape the whole course of your careers as professional soldiers. I want in particular to discuss our present efforts for arms reduction, efforts that may soon be yielding historic results.

But first, some essential background—from the beginning, our administration has insisted that this country base its relations with the Soviet Union upon realism, not illusion. Now, this may sound obvious, but when we took office, the historical record needed restatement. So, restate it we did. We told the truth about the massive Soviet buildup. We told the truth about Afghanistan and Poland. We told the truth about economic growth and standards of living—that it is not the democracies that have backward economies, that it is not the Western World in which life expectancy is actually on the decline. We told the truth about the moral distinction between their system and ours.

When our administration took office, we found America's military forces in a state of disrepair. Today the situation is very different. Pay and training for our Armed Forces are up. The Navy has been expanded. Weapons systems of all kinds have been modernized, making full use of the technological revolution. As a result of our efforts, you in the Army will see the fielding of more than 400 new systems. And we've begun work upon a dramatic, new departure, both in military strategy and technology; our Strategic Defense Initiative, which offers the hope of rendering ballistic missiles obsolete and of ensuring deterrence by protecting lives, not threatening them. In brief: We have replaced weakness with strength.

To turn now from background to specific substance, the agenda of our relations with the Soviet Union has focused upon four crit-

ical areas: first, human rights, because freedom is what we stand for as Americans; second, negotiated settlements to regional conflicts; third, expanded exchanges between our peoples; and fourth, arms reduction.

In some areas of this four-part agenda, we have seen progress. Cultural, scientific, and other bilateral exchanges have shown a dramatic increase since my 1985 meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. In human rights, too, we've seen some positive developments. Some political prisoners have been released. Emigration figures are up somewhat. And of course, there's talk of reform in the Soviet Union, of some liberalizing changes in Soviet laws, and of economic reforms that could give greater scope to individual initiative.

We harbor no illusions: While changes have taken place in the Soviet system, the one-party system unchecked by democratic institutions remains unchanged. And yet we welcome such changes as have taken place, and we call upon them to make still more. It is in regional conflicts where Soviet performance has been most disturbing. Anyone searching for evidence that the Soviets remain expansionist, indeed imperialist, need look no farther than Nicaragua or Afghanistan.

Our policy in these regional conflicts is straightforward. We will continue to engage the Soviets, seeking to find political solutions to regional conflicts, solutions that eliminate foreign troops and return the fate of nations to their own people. In Nicaragua, we support the peace plan agreed upon by the Central American Presidents last August, insisting upon the establishment of full and genuine democracy in Nicaragua. Moreover, Soviet-bloc and Cuban forces must leave that nation; this is essential to protect our own security.

As for the democratic resistance in Nicaragua, year upon year, for 7 years now, they have fought and sacrificed and endured. It is the resistance—the brave members of the resistance, many of them no more than teenagers—who have kept the Communist Sandinistas from consolidating their power and forced them into the current peace plan. It is the resistance, in short, that has

given Nicaragua at least a chance for true freedom. And my friends, I know you agree: We must not abandon these courageous men and women, these soldiers. So, let me promise: Nicaragua will have its freedom. And we will help the resistance carry on its brave fight until freedom is secure.

And this brings me to the final area on our agenda for U.S.-Soviet relations: arms reductions. For here our realism and commitment are close to producing historic results. It was in 1977 that the Soviet Union first deployed the SS-20. The SS-20 was, as you know, a qualitatively new and unprovoked threat against our friends and allies, a triple-warhead nuclear missile capable of striking anywhere in Western Europe and much of Asia mere minutes after being launched. You must remember that NATO had no comparable weapon in its arsenal with which to counter this new force.

By 1979 the Soviets had deployed some 130 INF missiles, with 390 warheads. General Secretary Brezhnev declared that "a balance now exists." In March 1982 they declared a moratorium on the deployment of new INF missiles in Europe. But this was only a cover, and by August of 1982, the number of Soviet INF missiles had climbed to over 300, with more than 900 warheads.

How did the West respond? In 1977 Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany led the call for the deployment of NATO's own INF missiles to counter this new Soviet threat. And in December 1979 NATO made a two-track decision. First, the United States would negotiate with the Soviets, attempting to persuade them to withdraw the SS-20's. And second, as long as the Soviets refused to do so, the United States would indeed deploy a limited number of its own INF missiles—Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles—in Europe.

It's important to stress that the aim of this decision was not in itself the deployment of American missiles. That was only to be the means to an end. In the words of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, President of France at the time of the 1979 NATO decision, he said, "The deployment of Pershing II's in Europe was a tactical exercise whose preferred goal was to compel the Soviet Union

to eliminate the SS-20's."

Well, no doubt the Soviets wanted to test NATO resolve. And indeed, the deployment of our INF missiles had to be carried out in the face of sharp political protests and even mass demonstrations. I remember speaking in Bonn in 1982. Thousands of demonstrators chanted and marched. And I couldn't help thinking what irony, for it was to secure the peace they sought and the freedom they were exercising that we were deploying the missiles that they protested.

Yet NATO held firm. And, yes, it was when we showed strength that, if need be, we would ensure the credibility of our deterrent posture by meeting force with force that the Soviets, after first walking out of the negotiations, eventually returned and began to talk seriously about the possibility of withdrawing their own INF missiles.

I'm pleased to say that the agreement we're nearing is based upon the proposal that the United States, in consultation with our allies, first put forward in 1981: the zero-option. The zero-option calls very simply for the elimination of this entire class of U.S. and Soviet INF missiles. According to this agreement, the Soviets will be required to remove four times as many nuclear warheads as will the United States. Moreover, the Soviets will be required to destroy not only their entire force of SS-20's and SS-4's but also their shorter range ballistic missiles, the SS-12's and SS-23's. As I said, all these missiles will be eliminated.

How will we know that the Soviets have actually destroyed their missiles? As you know, the Soviets have an extensive record of violating past arms control agreements. So, frankly, we're not going to take their word for it. Any treaty that I agree to must provide for effective verification, including onsite inspection of facilities before and during reductions and short-notice inspections afterwards. All in all, the verification regime we have put forward is the most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations, and I will not settle for anything less.

At the same time that we've been moving forward on INF missiles, we've attached the highest priority to achieving deep reductions in U.S. and Soviet strategic

arms. Even Mr. Gorbachev has described strategic weapons as the "root problem" in arms control, and we agree. To that end we've expedited the strategic arms negotiations in Geneva. Much progress has been made in reaching accord on our proposal of cutting strategic arsenals in half. The Soviets must, however, stop holding strategic offensive reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our SDI, particularly since the Soviets are already spending billions of dollars on a strategic defense program of their own.

And this brings me to what happened last week in Moscow. As Secretary Shultz has reported, he had lively, sometimes heated discussions with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and General Secretary Gorbachev. Well, that was no surprise. The whole range of issues on our agenda was covered. There was important positive movement toward an INF agreement, and there was progress in other areas, as well, not only in arms reductions. As I announced earlier today, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will come to Washington Friday to meet with me and Secretary Shultz to continue these discussions.

And let me repeat what I've said before. Summits can be useful for leaders and for nations, occasions for frank talk and a bridge to better relations. It would be good for Mr. Gorbachev to see this country for himself. I'm ready to continue and intensify our negotiations, but a summit is not a precondition for progress on the agenda at hand. When the General Secretary is ready to visit the United States, I and the American people will welcome him. Let us remember that we've reached this point only as a solid alliance, an alliance made up of NATO, Congress, and the American people. If we're to continue to see real results and to convince the Soviets to bargain seriously, this cohesion must continue.

Now, some have argued that when the INF missiles have been removed, our commitment to Europe will have been weakened. Yet this is simply untrue. We maintain our firm commitment to the NATO strategy of flexible response, ensuring that the alliance is capable of blocking aggression at any level. In Europe itself, we will retain a large force of many types, includ-

ing ground-based systems and aircraft and submarines capable of delivering nuclear weapons. And in consultation with our NATO allies, we've agreed that further nuclear reductions can take place only in the context of a substantial improvement in the balance of chemical and conventional forces.

During the years of these negotiations, new realities have come into play, new realities that present new opportunities. In particular, in recent years we've seen the emergence among some of our European allies of a willingness, even an eagerness, to seek a larger, more closely coordinated role for Western Europe in providing its own defense. Well, we Americans welcome this. For these four decades, NATO has in effect represented an alliance between a number of partners and one very senior partner. Yet today our European allies have risen from the ruins of war to vitality, prosperity, and growing unity as a continent. And so, I would submit that now the alliance should become more and more among equals, indeed, an alliance between continents. In the words of former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, the time has come for our country, quote, "to welcome a European identity in defense, which in the end is bound to spur Atlantic cooperation."

This, then, is the accounting that I've come here to give you. For, ladies and gentlemen of West Point, I believe that from time to time we who are your civilian leaders owe that—an accounting—to you who bear the burden of our decisions. But I've come not only to inform you, I've come to enlist your help.

If we do reach an INF agreement with the Soviets, when its provisions have been fulfilled and the INF missiles destroyed, you will be assuming your posts as platoon leaders and troop commanders. And even then, when I and the members of my administration will already have been some years out of office, your careers will only be beginning. So, I ask you to guard the future of the Republic. Use the courage and steadiness that this Academy is teaching you in dealing with our adversaries. Employ all your skill as soldiers and good will as Americans in preserving and strengthening the

emerging relationship with our friends and allies. And always, always remain true to the values for which this Academy and our country stand: Duty, honor, country.

As Commander in Chief these 7 years, I have been struck again and again by the professionalism of our military officers and by the dedication of the soldiers that I have met in the field. But one who impressed me most deeply is a member of the United States Army I never met. His name was Sean Luketina. He was 23 years old. He didn't have the privilege of attending this Academy. He was a sergeant, a soldier like those you will command.

In this month of October, 4 years ago, Sean Luketina fought in the invasion of Grenada. He was wounded, badly wounded. He was evacuated to a hospital in Puerto Rico, where his father, a retired Army officer, joined him. He slipped in and out of a coma. And during a moment when he was conscious, his father asked him, "Sean, was it worth it?" "Yes, Dad," he answered. And then his father asked, "Son, would you do it again?" Sergeant Luketina looked into his father's eyes and said simply, "Hell yes, Dad: Duty, honor, country."

Sean Luketina died for the cause that the

Army of this Republic has always served, from the hunger and bloody snow of Valley Forge to the heavy demands of vigilance upon the borders of Germany and Korea. It is the cause of life as God meant life to be lived. It's the cause of human freedom. And so, the proud words sound again today as they did 25 years ago and as they will at this Academy 25 years hence: Duty, honor, and country.

Permit me to say, as well, that I feel something today of what General MacArthur must have felt. Your youth, your optimism—they give me strength. And as I look out upon your young faces, I feel as one who will depart the stage almost before you've made your first entrance. I feel in my heart a great confidence in the future of our country, for I know that you will defend that future. And it's true: The long gray line has never failed us.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President first spoke at 11:59 a.m. and then at 12:40 p.m. in Washington Hall. In his remarks after lunch, he referred to Lt. Gen. David Palmer, Superintendent of the Academy. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Statement on Signing the Bill Amending the Federal Civilian Physicians' Pay Comparability Allowance Program

October 28, 1987

I have signed S. 1666, an act that extends and improves the Government's pay comparability allowance program for Federal civilian physicians. This important program has helped Federal agencies recruit and retain badly needed physicians by bringing their salaries closer to those available in the private sector.

I wish to set forth my understanding of a provision in section 1 of this act permitting certain physicians who were previously employed by the Veterans' Administration (VA) and the Public Health Service (PHS) and who are now employed in positions covered by the physician comparability allowance program in 5 U.S.C. section 5948

to count that previous service with the VA and the PHS in computing the total length of their service as a "Government physician" to determine the amount due them under the physician pay comparability allowance program. Nothing in this provision is intended to bring physicians currently employed in the VA or the PHS within the coverage of the pay comparability allowance program or to change in any way the definition of the term "Government physician" for purposes of that program. Further, this provision does not have the effect of amending any statute relating to the pay or allowances of a physician employed by the VA or the PHS. Its sole purpose is computa-

tion of the length of service as a "Government physician" for purposes of determining the amount of physicians' pay comparability allowance.

I also wish to point out that section 2 of the act, which requires payment of special allowances to certain nonphysician psychologists in the Public Health Service, is unnecessary since the agency is not experiencing any recruitment or retention prob-

lems regarding such professionals. This provision could also lead to pressure to provide similar allowances to psychologists in other agencies, which would be an equally unwarranted use of the taxpayers' money. Accordingly, the administration plans to seek its early repeal.

Note: S. 1666, approved October 26, was assigned Public Law No. 100-140.

Proclamation 5733—National Adult Immunization Awareness Week, 1987

October 28, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

We have good reason to set aside a week to remind ourselves of the benefits of adult immunization: The lives of many adults could be saved each year by inoculation with vaccines readily available and approved by the United States Food and Drug Administration. Vaccination against infectious diseases saves lives and lowers health care costs as well, as the Surgeon General has repeatedly reminded our Nation.

Many adults needlessly become victims of diseases that vaccination prevents. Influenza and pneumonia kill more than 70,000 adult Americans each year, in part because approximately 80 percent of people at high risk for influenza-related complications have not been vaccinated. Estimates are that more than 200,000 cases of hepatitis B occur in the United States every year, yet 70 percent of those who should be protected remain unimmunized. Between 10 and 15 percent of women of childbearing age—more than 11 million women—are unprotected against rubella. As many as seven million adults born after 1956 remain susceptible to measles, and the majority of

Americans over 60 are not protected from tetanus and diphtheria.

In recognition of the importance of adult immunization and the benefits of public awareness, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 168, has designated the week beginning October 25, 1987, as "National Adult Immunization Awareness Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this occasion.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning October 25, 1987, as National Adult Immunization Awareness Week. I call upon all government agencies and the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-eighth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:44 a.m., October 29, 1987]

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on Senate Passage of a Catastrophic Illness Health Insurance Bill

October 28, 1987

The President commends the Senate for passage of a catastrophic health insurance bill with bipartisan support. This action brings to fruition an effort the President has promoted for many years. He is pleased that the plan that has passed is modeled after the proposal he sent to Congress earlier this year.

The Senate-passed catastrophic health insurance plan for the elderly meets the President's three goals:

—The program provides protection for senior citizens against financial ruin associated with catastrophic illness.

—The program is deficit-neutral, because it is entirely funded by premiums paid by beneficiaries and will be administered under a separate trust fund.

—The program's costs are contained and the program's growth is limited by safeguards that will prevent premiums from becoming a financial burden on the elderly.

The President wishes to recognize the dedication and hard work of several members of the Senate Finance Committee in helping shape the bipartisan plan, which answers his call for catastrophic insurance in his 1987 State of the Union Address.

Executive Order 12613—Prohibiting Imports from Iran

October 29, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including section 505 of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (22 U.S.C. 2349aa-9), and section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code,

I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, find that the Government of Iran is actively supporting terrorism as an instrument of state policy. In addition, Iran has conducted aggressive and unlawful military action against U.S.-flag vessels and merchant vessels of other non-belligerent nations engaged in lawful and peaceful commerce in international waters of the Persian Gulf and territorial waters of non-belligerent nations of that region. To ensure that United States imports of Iranian goods and services will not contribute financial support to terrorism or to further aggressive actions against non-belligerent shipping, I hereby order that:

Section 1. Except as otherwise provided in regulations issued pursuant to this Order, no goods or services of Iranian origin may

be imported into the United States, including its territories and possessions, after the effective date of this Order.

Sec. 2. The prohibition contained in Section 1 shall not apply to:

(a) Iranian-origin publications and materials imported for news publications or news broadcast dissemination;

(b) petroleum products refined from Iranian crude oil in a third country;

(c) articles imported directly from Iran into the United States that were exported from Iran prior to the effective date of this Order.

Sec. 3. This Order shall take effect at 12:01 p.m. Eastern Standard Time on October 29, 1987, except as otherwise provided in regulations issued pursuant to this Order.

Sec. 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Order. The Secretary of the Treasury may redelegate any of these func-

tions to other officers and agencies of the Federal Government. All agencies of the United States Government are directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to carry out the provisions of this Order, including the suspension or termination of licenses or other authorizations in effect as of the date of this Order.

Sec. 5. The measures taken pursuant to this Order are in response to the actions of the Government of Iran referred to above, occurring after the conclusion of the 1981

Algiers Accords, and are intended solely as a response to those actions.

This Order shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the *Federal Register*.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 29, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:16 p.m., October 29, 1987]

Message to the Congress Reporting Budget Deferrals October 29, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report six deferrals of budget authority totaling \$96,285,288.

The deferrals affect programs in the Departments of Energy, Health and Human Services, and Justice.

The details of these deferrals are con-

tained in the attached report.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 29, 1987.

Note: The attachment detailing the deferrals was printed in the "Federal Register" of November 4.

Message to the Congress Reporting on the Prohibition of Imports From Iran October 29, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to section 505 of the International Security and Development Cooperation Act of 1985 (22 U.S.C. 2349aa-9), I hereby report to the Congress that I have exercised my constitutional and statutory authority to prohibit the importation into the United States of all goods and services of Iranian origin.

I am enclosing a copy of the Executive Order that I have issued exercising this authority. I have delegated to the Secretary of the Treasury the power, in consultation with the Secretary of State, to carry out the provisions of the Order.

I have authorized these steps in response to the actions and policies of the Govern-

ment of Iran in support of terrorism and in the conduct of aggressive and unlawful military action against U.S.-flag vessels and merchant vessels of other non-belligerent nations engaged in lawful and peaceful commerce in international waters of the Persian Gulf and territorial waters of non-belligerent nations of that region. These Iranian actions and policies have been supported in part by revenue earned from the sale of products imported into the United States. The measures taken pursuant to this Order are in response to such hostile Iranian actions occurring after the conclusion of the 1981 Algiers Accords, and are intended solely as a response to such action.

Since Iran was officially designated under

U.S. law in 1984 as a country that has repeatedly supported acts of international terrorism, the United States has taken a number of limited economic measures in response to hostile Iranian actions. These measures have included export controls on items that would contribute to Iran's military potential and its ability to support international terrorism.

Iran, however, not only has continued but has escalated its aggressive acts against the United States. Iranian actions in the Persian Gulf have not only directly threatened U.S.-flag merchant vessels and U.S. forces but those of our allies and other friendly states as well. These policies of the Government of Iran have necessitated the further eco-

nomic measures I have announced today.

The United States calls upon the Government of Iran to cease its support of terrorism and acts of aggression directed at the United States and other nations both in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere. The United States calls upon other nations to join us by taking similar measures. We must demonstrate by firm political, economic, and other steps that the international community considers the actions and policies of the Government of Iran unlawful and intolerable.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 29, 1987.

Remarks Congratulating the World Series Champion Minnesota Twins

October 29, 1987

The President. Well, I thank you all, and I'd like to welcome the winners of the 84th World Series, the Minnesota Twins; their owner, Carl Pohlad; and the umpires and officials of major league baseball to the White House and Washington, the Twins' original home. And by the way, if you'd like to move back here, keep in mind, there's no astroturf here. [Laughter] The Rose Garden has real grass. [Laughter] And I know there are a lot of people in this town who want a major league baseball team again. So, if you guys ever get tired of playing in front of all those screaming, adoring fans, you're welcome back. [Laughter] Well, actually, I could use a couple of you guys in the Congress hitting some grand slams for me up there, and maybe some of you umpires calling the shots.

But seriously, I'd like to congratulate your manager, Tom Kelly, the youngest nonplaying manager to take his team to a World Series since 1905, and Frank Viola, the series most valuable player, and Garry Gaetti, the league championship series most valuable player. And, Frank and Garry, you two really did an outstanding job, as did all the Twins.

You know, right up there until the end, there were a few skeptics saying the Twins didn't stand a chance. Well, you guys proved them wrong, winning all four home games, which is the way it should have been, what with your home-win percentage of 691, the best of any team during the past season. That's one heck of a finish, considering the Twins were 150 to 1 long shots at the start of the season. But with Frank's pitching, Garry's fielding, and the hitting of Kirby Puckett and Dan Gladden and Tom Brunansky and Kent Hrbek, your team was a shoo-in. As Kirby said after the final victory, you're "number one in the whole world."

The Minnesota Twins franchise has come a long way in the past 86 years. It started out as the Washington Senators, won the '24 World Series, lost in the '25 and '33 series, moved to Minnesota in '61 and lost the '65 series, and finally, ending up with a thrilling seventh game victory in front of 55,376 decibel-shattering fans. [Laughter] You know, one sportscaster announcing those games proclaimed: "Forget the decibel meter; how about the Richter scale." [Laughter] Or as second baseman Steve

Lombardozi said: "I wish all the fans that were out there tonight could stand in my shoes and feel the exhilarating feeling. It is beyond description." Well, Steve, I'm not sure those fans didn't feel a bit of the exhilaration. I know they felt the thunder.

And you know all this talk about baseball, I got to get in the game somehow myself here with a story. I set a record in baseball, in major league baseball. I wasn't playing, I was a sports announcer. I was doing a telegraphic report game of the Cubs and the Cards. Billy Jorges at the plate, ninth inning, the game tied up. I saw my operator on the other side of the window with the headphones on, listening to the dot and dash from the field, and start typing meaning that there was something—the ball was on the way to the plate, and so I didn't wait. Dizzy Dean was on the mound. And I said, "All right, Dean has got his sign. He's out of the windup. Here comes the pitch."

And he was shaking his head no. And I took it, and it said the wire has gone dead. [Laughter] I had a ball on the way to the plate, so I had Jorges foul it off. [Laughter] And then I thought, you know, in those days a dozen of us were broadcasting the same baseball game. It wasn't one outfit. And I didn't want to, at that point of the game, lose my audience.

So, I decided I'd have Jorges foul another one off, which he did. [Laughter] And my operator still just sitting there. Then I had him foul one that just missed being a home-run by a foot. [Laughter] Then I had him foul one down back of third, and I described the two kids that got in a fight over the ball. [Laughter]

Well, this went on until I knew now I couldn't back out; I'd had him at the plate so long. And all of a sudden, Curly started typing. And I started another ball to the plate, and I could hardly talk for giggling. Jorges popped out on the first ball pitched. [Laughter] But in the meantime, I had set a baseball record for successive fouls and length of time at the bat for one player. [Laughter]

Well, you know, this is the true essence of sportsmanship—what has taken place here. A World Series saw two teams competing right down to the ninth inning of the seventh game. And it's reflected, I think, in St.

Louis manager Whitey Herzog's statement: "We got to the seventh game of the World Series. If I could do that for the next 10 years, I'd be satisfied."

Well, the Cards just might do that, considering they're the only team to play in the World Series three times in this decade. And to reach this playoff, the Cardinals had to overcome the immense talent of three great teams: the Mets, the Expos, and the Giants. I'd like to think the Cardinals were winners in their own way. They made no excuses, and they accepted their defeat with class.

So, to all you champions here and those homer hanky-waving Minnesotans back home as well as here, again congratulations. And Steve Lombardozi no longer needs to worry about hearing the term "Twinkie" anymore. [Laughter] The Minnesota Twins are the world champs. So, good luck, champs, and God bless you all.

Mr. Pohlada. Well, thank you, Mr. President. On behalf of the Minnesota Twins, Minnesota, and the entire upper Midwest area, we thank you for this honor, Mr. President.

I'd like to take a moment of silence just to extend our deep sympathy to Mrs. Reagan and the unfortunate death of her mother. So, if you'll just be quiet and bow your heads for a second. I hope, Mr. President, you will extend our best to Mrs. Reagan.

The President. I will.

Mr. Pohlada. You know, there used to be an old saying around Washington: Washington is noted for being "first in war, first in peace, and you could always depend on the Senators to finish last." [Laughter] I'm proud of our team, Mr. President. They operate—or, work together as a family. Never have I heard the expression "I." You understand how important it is to work as a team. And everything I've heard this year has been "we, we, we," and I think it's a great tribute to you players out there. And I'm looking forward to being back here, personally, next year at this same time, if you'll be good enough to invite me. [Laughter]

Now, I can remember Mr. Reagan when he used to—Mr. President, I should say, announce at WHO in Des Moines.

The President. Yes.

Mr. Pohlad. I was brought up in Valley Junction. You've probably never heard of that.

The President. Oh, yes.

Mr. Pohlad. Now known as West Des Moines. They've changed the name, and they're trying to get the name now changed back to Valley Junction. So, that's because I guess I was there or something. [Laughter] Well, anyway, thank you again, Mr. President, for inviting us, and as I say, we'll look forward to next year.

Mr. Kelly. On behalf of the ball club, I get to do the honors. But one thing I want to bring up here: After looking at these umpires for 7 days, it's nice to see their wives with them here today. [Laughter] What an awful sight for 7 days. God! Frightening! [Laughter] You think talking to the media is bad—you talk to these fellows for 7 days. [Laughter] Okay.

On behalf of the ball club, Mr. President, we've brought along a few tokens of our appreciation of you having us here. We've got a couple of Ken Hrbek model bats—but we've got everybody's name on there. And one's for you and Mrs. Reagan. Also we

have a shirt that Frankie is going to model here. And also, from the wives, the wives brought a whistle along for Mrs. Reagan. Okay. If you need that to referee any of your talks coming up, just whip that baby out. [Laughter]

The President. Thank you very much.

Mr. Kelly. Do you want me to hold them for you?

The President. No, thank you very much. I'm very proud to have these things. And before I blow the whistle, I do want to thank you for also that moment for Nancy. And I couldn't help but think how appropriate. Nancy's mother was a wonderful woman. And she always insisted that Nancy's July 6th birthday was supposed to be July 4th. But there was a double-header that day—[laughter]—and she postponed it. [Laughter] She was in New York and a Yankee fan at the time. [Laughter] But I'm very proud to have these and proud of all of you. And now here we go!

Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. Following his remarks, he blew the whistle given to him by Tom Kelly.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Members of the Small Business Community

October 29, 1987

Thank you very much, and welcome to the Old Executive Office Building. It's wonderful to have you all here today and to have this chance to celebrate America's small businesses. I'm happy to hear from Jim Abdnor that the state of small business in this economy is strong and growing. I was asked some time ago what the difference is between a small business and a large business, and I said a large business is what a small one would be if the Government would get out of the way. [Laughter]

But in a sense, that's what the last 7 years have been all about: getting the Government out of the way. When we first came to town, there was a lot of getting out of the way that needed to be done. If you

were a small businessman or entrepreneur in those days, the outlook was not bright. Nearly everywhere you turned the Government had set up a roadblock in your path.

Double-digit inflation was eroding your savings and the savings of everyone who might be a potential investor in your business. That same inflation was driving interest rates sky high. It got to the point that to borrow money you had to be so rich you didn't need it. And then there were the taxes: 70 percent top rate on individuals and 46 percent on corporations. And bracket creep meant that you got a tax hike every year, even if you were just holding even.

Added to all these problems were the vol-

umes of governmental regulations. It seemed that those in government thought they could run businesses better than businessmen. You know, it's said that the 10 most frightening words in the English language are: "Hello, I'm from the Government, and I'm here to help." [Laughter] Well, any more of that kind of government help and our economy would have gone right down the tubes. With taxes on top of inflation, and interest rates on top of regulations, economic activity was just drying up.

Well, we turned that around with tax cuts, deregulation, and declining inflation. And the result is an economic expansion 59 months long—the longest peacetime expansion on record. And since it began, our gross national product has risen more than 20 percent. The story of these 59 months is one of consistent growth with low inflation; of dramatic rises in real household income; of surging productivity in manufacturing, well above the postwar average. But perhaps the single most impressive gain has been the employment.

We've been creating jobs at an average rate of almost a quarter of a million a month, for a total of nearly 14 million new jobs. This summer the employment-population ratio—that's the measure of the percentage of all Americans 16 years and older who are working—was at the highest level in U.S. history. And we're not just creating more jobs: We're creating better jobs. According to Labor Department data, nearly two-thirds of the new jobs have been in the higher paying occupations, with only 12 percent in lower paying, low-skill occupations; and over 90 percent of these new jobs are full-time. In short, we're talking about creating—or continuing job creation with jobs that are better paying, more challenging, safer, and more rewarding.

Well, we know where most of the new jobs came from, too—not the big corporations, not the Fortune 500. It is small businesses that have accounted for about 70 percent of all the new jobs—that's right, 70 percent. Small businessmen and entrepreneurs don't just create jobs: They're helping shape America's future. On a per-employee basis, small firms contributed over twice as many first-of-type innovations.

That's why one of the best economic indi-

cators we have is the rapid growth of small business incorporations, which have been increasing at a rate of about 5 percent a year for 4 straight years now. That's not simply a measure of economic health—it's a measure of how much opportunity there is in the American economy. It's not just a measure of business activity: It's a measure of the American spirit of enterprise—restless, large, and growing. It won't be satisfied till it captures the future.

Recently, there have been some signs of economic concern. The fact is the stock market, even after these last weeks of adjustment, is still much more than double what it was in August of 1982. We're concerned, of course, and are now in the process of negotiating with Congress to do something about that persistent black cloud on the economic horizon: the Federal budget deficit.

Now, before I took this job, I was a labor negotiator for many years, negotiating on the side of labor. And if there's one thing about negotiating, it's that you don't tip your hand. I will promise you this much, however: There will not be an agreement that could threaten our economic recovery. Our goal is to work together on a course that will signal growth and opportunity for the future. And as I said at the Department of Labor last week, I've promised to veto any protectionist trade bill that comes across my desk, and that promise stands. [Applause]

Well, thank you very much. We've got some tough fights ahead of us on these issues and others, such as the threat of government-mandated costs on business and opposition to fundamental tort and product liability reform. But with your help and support, we'll keep America's economy on the high road of growth and opportunity. And working together, I know we will succeed. I thank you all very much, and God bless all of you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:03 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to James Abdnor, Administrator of the Small Business Administration.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report on the State of Small Business

October 29, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to submit to the Congress my sixth annual report on the state of small business. This report confirms that the small business economy was healthier at the end of 1986 than at the start of the year, reflecting growth in both new firms and new employment. Our Nation's small businesses fare best with stable prices, low interest rates, and steady growth, all of which were present in 1986.

A healthy small business sector is more than a reflection of the national well-being; it is an active force for change. America's entrepreneurs are continually experimenting with new products, new technologies, and new channels of distribution. Half of all major innovations in the past 30 years were generated in small companies.

The result of all this innovative activity is new companies and more employment for our workers. The great industrial and commercial concerns of our Nation were built by innovators like Henry Ford and Alexander Graham Bell, whose small businesses grew to help shape a new economy. Today, many of America's great corporations rely on small firms as suppliers, manufacturers, distributors, and customers.

A broader spectrum of Americans than ever before is starting businesses. In the past 10 years, the number of businesses owned by women has increased three times as fast as businesses owned by men. Minority-owned businesses have also increased; American minorities are more likely than ever before to be business owners in 1987.

It is critical to listen to the people whose small enterprises comprise such a vital part of our economy. Consequently, in May 1984, I signed into law a bill providing for the 1986 White House Conference on Small Business. This Conference, held in Washington, D.C., in 1986, brought together 1,800 small business delegates from the 50 States, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia. The delegates debated and voted on a myriad of small business issues.

In the end, they made 60 recommendations to the Federal government, ranging from reducing the deficit, to easing the terribly expensive burden of liability insurance, to continuing our efforts to enlist small firms in important national research efforts. This last recommendation—to reauthorize the Small Business Innovation Research Act—has been signed into law, as have several other bills addressing the delegates' concerns. I can assure the small business delegates that their message will continue to be heard during the 100th Congress.

What benefits the economy also benefits small business. On October 22, 1986, I signed into law the most comprehensive tax reform legislation since the enactment of the Internal Revenue Code in 1954. Culminating 2 years of bipartisan effort, this law cuts tax rates significantly for corporations and individuals alike, and limits or eliminates many special tax advantages. The law is designed to help remove tax considerations from business decisions, which are best made in a free, competitive marketplace.

For the future, I have a very simple goal, which I believe all Americans share. Call it competitiveness or a quest for excellence. The quest for excellence that I envision is not just a legislative package, although legislation will play a part. It is not just another government program, although government will have a role. Rather, it is a great national undertaking that challenges all Americans.

To help achieve this goal, I have submitted to the Congress a major competitiveness proposal to assure that the Federal government does everything possible to make our businesses and workers preeminent in the 21st century. Enactment of my proposal will allow American workers and businesses to meet world competition head-on. This six-part program is aimed at increasing investment in human and intellectual capital, promoting the development of

science and technology, protecting intellectual property, enacting essential legal and regulatory reforms, meeting the challenges of international markets, and reducing the Federal deficit.

Promoting flexible job skills and more challenging work for a better work force are important to the competitiveness of American industry. This new program will help workers displaced by adverse economic conditions, technological changes, or increased imports. Small firms—major employers of first-time job holders, recently unemployed workers, and workers in need of training—will play a very important part in this program.

This Administration is interested in exploring with the Congress and industry representatives measures that will provide more incentives for American business to advance in research and technological development. To help transfer technology from Federal laboratories to the marketplace, I have signed Executive Order No. 12591 creating incentives for the development and transfer of federally supported innovation. To protect business confidentiality, I am also proposing to broaden legislatively the Freedom of Information Act definitions of trade secrets and confidential commercial information. In addition, I have signed an Executive Order giving businesses an opportunity to object to the government's release of commercial information if disclosure would harm commercial competitive interests.

To maintain the incentives for continued innovation and the protection of intellectual property envisioned by the signers of our Constitution, I have proposed legislation to the Congress that would: protect processes for manufacturing products, restore the time lost by inventors due to government-mandated testing of products, and reduce the incentives for unnecessary litigation.

Regulations and excessive paperwork place small businesses at a disadvantage in an increasingly competitive world marketplace. Over the past decade, small firms have benefited from the more competitive milieu in the deregulated financial and transportation industries. The Administration supports continued deregulation and

other reforms to eliminate regulatory obstacles to open competition. I have also proposed statutory reforms to curtail the costly product liability spiral and to amend our antitrust laws to reflect the dynamics of world trade.

U.S. trade laws have been effective instruments for opening foreign markets and defending American industries against unfair practices by our competitors. I have proposed improving those laws that enhance our ability to meet the challenges from abroad without enacting protectionist barriers at home. Our proposals will emphasize opening markets through multilateral negotiations, encouraging adjustment while providing relief to industries injured by import competition, and tightening our laws to deal more effectively with unfair competition.

Finally, improving our national competitiveness means eliminating the Federal budget deficit. Controlling Federal spending remains an essential goal. I have proposed a budget that achieves the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings target by reducing spending, not by raising taxes.

The quest for America's business is to make products more efficiently, to embrace new ideas, and to develop better methods of management and new technologies. In that quest, this Administration will continue to listen to the concerns of small business owners and to press for legislation that will enhance small business' ability to compete. In the final analysis, though, it is the individual decisions and innovative efforts of our Nation's business owners and workers that will forge a new American competitiveness.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 29, 1987.

Note: The report was entitled "The State of Small Business: A Report of the President—Transmitted to the Congress, 1987, Together With the Annual Report on Small Business and Competition of the U.S. Small Business Administration" (Government Printing Office, 345 pages).

Remarks Announcing the Nomination of Douglas H. Ginsburg To Be an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court

October 29, 1987

The President. I am announcing today that, in accordance with my duty under the Constitution, I intend to nominate and ask the Senate to confirm Judge Douglas Ginsburg of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit for the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

Judge Ginsburg is a highly regarded member of the legal profession. His career as a Federal judge, as Assistant Attorney General of the United States, as a senior official at the Office of Management and Budget, as a distinguished professor at Harvard Law School, and as a former law clerk to Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall makes him eminently qualified to sit on our highest court. Just as importantly, Judge Ginsburg is highly respected by his peers across the political spectrum. When I nominated him to the U.S. Court of Appeals last year, he was unanimously confirmed by the Senate and won lavish praise not just from conservatives but from liberals, as well.

Judge Ginsburg is, as I am, as every justice I've nominated has been, a believer in judicial restraint; that is, that the proper role of the courts is to interpret the law, not make it. In our democracy, our elected representatives make laws, and unelected judges interpret the laws. And that's the foundation of our system of government. Above all, judges must be guided by our most fundamental law: the Constitution. Every judge that I appoint must understand that he or she serves under the Constitution, not above it, and Judge Ginsburg is such a judge.

Throughout his professional career, Judge Ginsburg has shown that he also believes, as I do, that the courts must administer fair and firm justice, while remembering not just the rights of criminals but, equally important, the rights of the victims of crime and the rights of society. Too often, judges have reinterpreted the Constitution and have made law enforcement a game in

which clever lawyers can try to find ways to trip up the police on the rules. This is not what our Founding Fathers intended when they framed our Constitution 200 years ago. They knew that among the most vital duties of government was to "ensure domestic tranquility." They drafted a Constitution and gave us a system that was true to that duty, while protecting the rights of all Americans. I believe that Judge Ginsburg will take a tough, clear-eyed view of this essential purpose of the Constitution, while remaining sensitive to the safety of our citizens and to the problems facing law enforcement professionals.

Much has been said about my agenda for the courts. I want courts that protect the rights of all citizens. No one has rights when criminals are allowed to prey on society. Judge Ginsburg understands that, and that's why I am nominating him. That's why I have selected each of the people I have put forward for the Supreme Court. In taking up this nomination, I hope we can all resolve not to permit a repetition of the campaign of pressure politics that has so recently chilled the judicial selection process. It is time for the Senate to show that it will join with me in defending the integrity and independence of the American system of justice.

And a good way to begin would be by holding hearings promptly. When Justice Powell announced his retirement 4 months ago, he made it plain that he believed it would be unfair to the parties with cases before the Supreme Court, and unfair to the remaining members of the Court, to be left without nine full-time Justices. He graciously stepped down from the Court to enable the President and the Congress to select his replacement before this October term began. But as a result of the longest delay in starting hearings to fill a vacant seat on the Court since the custom of taking testimony from Supreme Court nominees first began in 1939, the Nation's highest court is still operating at less than

full strength over 4 months later.

The long delay in scheduling hearings for Judge Bork had other results, as well. Since June 1987, when Justice Powell resigned, the work of the Supreme Court has grown even more burdensome. All during the months of July, August, and September, nearly one-third of the literally hundreds of cases that the remaining eight Justices reviewed for hearing were criminal cases. Throughout this time, the empty seat on the Supreme Court has been a casualty in the fight for victims' rights and the war against crime.

During the last 25 years, the average time between nomination and the start of hearings has been less than 18 days. In fact, in the entire 200-year history of our country, since the nomination of John Jay, the average start-to-finish time from a President's appointment to confirmation or other action by the Senate has been only 24 days. One Senator has boasted that the reason for the 70-day delay in beginning Judge Robert Bork's hearings was to allow time to gear up the political campaign against him. And that was, very simply, a disservice to the Court and to the Nation. If these hearings take longer than 3 weeks to get going, the American people will know what's up.

It's time to put the national interest ahead of partisan political interests. No excuses about the press of other business before the Senate Judiciary Committee. There's no more important business before that committee than to bring the Supreme Court up to full strength. The Senate has a duty in this regard, just as I do. So, this is my call to the Senate today: Let us all resolve that the process of confirming a Supreme Court nominee will never again be distorted. Alexander Hamilton wrote that "the complete independence of the courts of justice is essential in the Constitution." Let us resolve this time that guarding that independence will be the Senate's highest priority. The American people want this. They have a right to expect it.

By selecting Judge Ginsburg, I've gone the extra mile to ensure a speedy confirmation. I've been impressed by the fact that in academia, in government, and on the bench Judge Ginsburg has been enormously popular with colleagues of all political persuasions. A word that many have used to describe Douglas Ginsburg is "unpretentious." Now, that's quite a compliment for a judge. [Laughter] But I guess that's just one reflection of a man who believes profoundly in the rule of law. In the last analysis, it is just such men and women who ensure the continued respect for our constitutional system. And that's why I'm so pleased to nominate Judge Douglas Ginsburg to the highest court of our nation.

Let me say in closing, it is up to all of us to see to it that Senate consideration of Judge Ginsburg's nomination is fair and dispassionate and, above all, prompt. I believe America is looking for a sign that this time the process will protect the independence of our judiciary as the framers of the Constitution intended. I urge Senator Biden and Senator Thurmond and the other members of the Senate Judiciary Committee to join me in the spirit of bipartisan cooperation and to demonstrate this spirit by meeting during this coming week to schedule hearings on this nomination.

And now, I believe that Judge Ginsburg, who already has one supporter in the group—[laughter]—has a few words to say.

Judge Ginsburg. Thank you, Mr. President. I want to express my deep appreciation for the confidence you've placed in me and nominating me to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. I just want to say that I'm looking forward to the confirmation process and, upon confirmation, to taking a place in the Court and playing a part in the work that it does that's so important in our system of government. Thank you again.

Note: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Nomination of J. Joseph Lydon To Be a Member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority

October 29, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate J. Joseph Lydon to be a member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years expiring July 1, 1990. He would succeed Henry Bowen Frazier III.

Since 1976 Mr. Lydon has been an attorney with the firm of Kennedy & Lydon in Boston, MA. Previously he was general counsel with the Massachusetts State Police,

1970–1976. From 1963 to 1970, Mr. Lydon was chief legislative counsel for the Massachusetts Port Authority.

Mr. Lydon graduated from Suffolk University (A.B., 1957) and Boston College Law School (LL.B., 1961). He served in the United States Naval Reserve, 1948–1954. Mr. Lydon was born May 18, 1930, in Boston, MA. He is married, has three children, and resides in Dover, MA.

Proclamation 5734—National Hospice Month, 1987

October 29, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The hospice movement in America is an organized voluntary effort to enhance health care for dying people and their families. Hospices, expanding rapidly as a vital component of health care, provide a compassionate way for terminally ill patients to approach death naturally in a supportive environment and surrounded by family members. Hospices foster personal care, comfort, and full living, with attention to physical, emotional, and spiritual needs, especially those relating to pain and grief. The enactment in recent years of a permanent Medicare hospice benefit and an optional Medicaid benefit makes this care a possibility for more Americans.

The most important focus of hospice care is concern for patients and their families. This emphasis on the sanctity of human life and the dignity and worth of every individual is exactly why we set aside a time to salute the professional staffs of our Nation's approximately 1,700 hospices and the thousands of volunteers who give freely of

themselves in this endeavor.

The Congress, by House Joint Resolution 234, has designated November 1987 as "National Hospice Month" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this month.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim November 1987 as National Hospice Month. I urge all government agencies, the health care community, appropriate private organizations, and the people of the United States to observe the month of November with appropriate programs and activities to recognize and support hospice care.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-ninth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:36 a.m., October 30, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on October 30.

Informal Exchange With Reporters Prior to a Meeting With Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze

October 30, 1987

Q. Mr. President, are you pleased with the way things have worked out?

The President. Well, we still have a meeting to do ourselves, but apparently, progress is being made.

Q. So, you expect an INF agreement at a summit, Mr. President?

The President. I think we should wait, because I'll be making a statement at 2 p.m.

Q. —bring the letter?

Q. Mr. Shevardnadze, did you bring dates for a summit in the U.S., sir?

The Foreign Minister. I will speak to you after my talk with the President.

Q. But it's good news, Mr. President?

Q. Pardon?

The Foreign Minister. The prognosis, the forecast is good.

Q. Mr. President, do you agree it's good news?

The President. You just heard him. He said—

Q. What's in the letter?

The President. —that the prognosis is

good.

Q. What's in the letter, Mr. President?

The President. What?

Q. What is in the letter from Mr. Gorbachev?

The President. I will be thinking about that in my statement to you.

Q. Looks like you've won, Mr. President. Didn't you win?

The President. There are no winners and losers yet.

Q. You're not caving in on Star Wars, are you, Mr. President? You're not going to cave in on Star Wars now, are you?

The President. Wait for my statement at 2 p.m. We've got to go into the meeting now.

Note: The exchange began at 1:19 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The Foreign Minister spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Following the exchange, the President and the Foreign Minister met in the Cabinet Room.

Message to the Congress Reporting on the National Emergency With Respect to Nicaragua

October 30, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby report to the Congress on developments since my last report of May 1, 1987, concerning the national emergency with respect to Nicaragua that was declared in Executive Order No. 12513 of May 1, 1985. In that Order, I prohibited: (1) all imports into the United States of goods and services of Nicaraguan origin; (2) all exports from the United States of goods to or destined for Nicaragua except those destined for the organized democratic resistance; (3) Nicaraguan air carriers from engaging in air transportation to or from points in the United States; and (4) vessels of Nicaraguan

registry from entering United States ports.

1. The declaration of emergency was made pursuant to the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*, and the National Emergencies Act, 50 U.S.C. 1601 *et seq.* This report is submitted pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1641(c) and 1703(c).

2. The Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury issued the Nicaraguan Trade Control Regulations implementing the prohibitions in Executive Order No. 12513 on May 8, 1985, 50 Fed.

Reg. 19890 (May 10, 1985). There have been no changes in those regulations in the past 6 months. On March 11, 1987, a decision by the United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts upholding the exercise of emergency powers in the Nicaraguan context was affirmed by the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit in *Beacon Products Corp. v. Reagan*.

3. Since my report of May 1, 1987, fewer than 30 applications for licenses have been received with respect to Nicaragua, and the majority of these applications have been granted. Of the licenses issued in this period, most either authorized exports for humanitarian purposes, covering medical supplies, food, and animal vaccines, or extended authorizations previously given to acquire intellectual property protection under Nicaraguan law.

4. The trade sanctions complement the diplomatic and other aspects of our policy toward Nicaragua. They exert additional pressure intended to induce the Sandinistas to undertake serious dialogue with representatives of all elements of the Nicaraguan democratic resistance and to respond favorably to the many opportunities available for achieving a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Central America. The trade sanctions are part of a larger policy seeking a democratic outcome in Nicaragua by peaceful means.

5. The expenses incurred by the Federal Government in the period from May 1, 1987, through October 31, 1987, that are directly attributable to the exercise of powers and authorities conferred by the declaration of the Nicaraguan national emergency are estimated at approximately \$167,800, all of which represents wage and salary costs for Federal personnel. Personnel costs were largely centered in the Department of the Treasury (particularly in the Customs Service, as well as in the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Enforcement, and the Office of the General Counsel), with expenses also incurred by the Department of State and the National Security Council.

6. The policies and actions of the Government of Nicaragua continue to pose an unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to apply economic sanctions against Nicaragua as long as these measures are appropriate and will continue to report periodically to the Congress on expenses and significant developments pursuant to 50 U.S.C. 1641(c) and 1703(c).

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
October 30, 1987.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session with Reporters on the Soviet-United States Summit Meeting October 30, 1987

The President. I have just finished meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, and Mr. Shevardnadze presented a letter to me from General Secretary Gorbachev, who has accepted my invitation to come to Washington for a summit beginning on December 7th. At that time, we expect to sign an agreement eliminating the entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear forces, or INF. In his letter, General Secretary Gorbachev set

forth his views of other arms reductions topics that should be discussed during that meeting and indicated the Foreign Minister had authority to agree on the agenda and duration of the meeting. I am studying that letter carefully, and it appears forthcoming and statesmanlike, and I welcome it.

In our discussions, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and I reviewed the status of outstanding issues incident to completing an INF agreement and discussed progress in

Geneva. The remaining details, while technical, are important in ensuring effective verification of any agreement. Verification remains a major concern of the United States. Our proposals will result in the most comprehensive verification regime in history. We also reviewed recent developments in other negotiations, as well, and I stressed the importance I place on reaching an agreement on reducing strategic offensive arms by 50 percent. In particular, I emphasized that we seek a formal, verifiable treaty and do not believe either nation should settle for anything less. We agreed to work toward such an agreement, which I hope to sign during a visit to Moscow next year.

Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and I also discussed the general state of relations between our two countries. We agreed that in addition to arms reductions, a meeting between myself and the General Secretary should deal with the whole range of issues that concern us, including bilateral, regional, and human rights issues.

Secretary Shultz and Mr. Shevardnadze will continue their discussions this afternoon. And I am very pleased with the results of my discussion today. A formal announcement on behalf of the two Governments will be forthcoming shortly. I'm looking forward to welcoming Mr. Gorbachev to Washington and to productive discussions with him that will advance the U.S. agenda of peace and freedom.

Now, I have time for just a few questions, because the gentlemen with me have not had lunch yet.

Q. What caused Gorbachev to have a change of heart? Why is he more comfortable in coming in December, and how long will the visit last, and will it go beyond Washington?

The President. Well, I don't know about the term of the visit. I think it will be simply for that conference, because he has some scheduling problems, too, just as we do here. But as to the other things there, I can't say. I don't know.

Q. You don't know why he has changed his mind?

The President. Well, there has never been, to my knowledge, any negative from him. Back in Geneva, in our first meeting,

we agreed to two more summits. And the first one to be here, and the second one to be there.

Q. I thought he said he wasn't comfortable coming to Washington at this time.

The President. Well, he seems to be.

Q. Mr. President, you talked about 50-percent reductions on strategic weapons. Do you think, as a result of the letter from General Secretary Gorbachev that there is some movement possible on strategic defense that would make the other kinds of reductions possible? Are they still linked?

The President. Not in the sense of making one a condition for the other. All of these things are going to be discussed between our people. But I've made it clear, and—they've not rejected this—that there's no way that we can give up SDI, which we believe is offering an opportunity for peace for the world.

Q. But are you saying that there could be reductions on the missiles side without progress on strategic defense?

The President. Well, we think we've made some progress on strategic defense in that it is no longer put down as a flat demand.

Q. Mr. President, there have been some indications from the administration in recent days that there is some flexibility on the deployment schedule for your Strategic Defense Initiative. Could this come in to play in your discussions with Mr. Gorbachev?

The President. This would be one of the things that would be discussed. There are some things that we've agreed to discuss about that.

Q. So, you think it's possible that that could help you get an agreement on strategic missiles?

The President. Yes.

Q. Mr. President, if I heard you correctly, you seem to be talking about the fact that there are still some remaining details, including some on verification, to be completed. Am I correct? Have you announced a summit and the fact that you will sign an INF agreement, when in fact it isn't done yet?

The President. I think that will be taken care of in a statement that will be given to

you shortly after I take one more question, and then I have to go. These gentlemen have to go, but there is being released a joint communique that will answer a number of these questions.

Q. Did I misread you, sir? Is it in fact done? In other words, every "I" is dotted and every "T" is crossed?

The President. No, I don't think we could say that.

Secretary Shultz. It's not done, but if it doesn't get done, Mr. Shevardnadze and I are going to get kicked in the rear end very hard by our leaders. [Laughter]

Q. Mr. President, some conservatives are already saying that this is nothing but a PR summit and that signing this INF treaty is going to endanger Europe. This week during the Republican debate, the majority of the candidates from your own party were against the INF treaty. Why are you having such trouble convincing your old friends that this is a good deal?

The President. I think there's a great deal of misunderstanding having to do with our relationship with our European allies and all of that. I can only assure you that none of us feel that way. We believe that we're leading a situation that is equal between our two countries with the things yet to be tied down in verification and so forth. And as I say, I have great confidence in it.

Q. Sir, could we perhaps ask Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to explain what appears to much of the Western World to have been a flip-flop by Mr. Gorbachev in the course of the last week?

The President. We have promised him that he would not be answering any questions in here now, because they still have further meetings to go. And as I say, they haven't had lunch yet, and I—

Q. Why are these talks starting on Pearl Harbor Day? [Laughter]

The President. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], it must be ESP. Do you know that I hadn't even thought about that until we were sitting in the Cabinet Room in this recent meeting, and I thought to myself, wouldn't it be wonderful if Pearl Harbor Day would become superseded by the day that we began the path to peace and safety in the world through disarmament?

Q. How disappointed are you that you will not be able to take Gorbachev around the country and show him what you had wanted to show him, like your ranch?

The President. Well, maybe that could be another meeting. He would come purely for that purpose, and I would still like to do that, just as I know when we discussed these two meetings in Geneva he suggested that there might be things in the Soviet Union that he would like to show me.

Q. Like the Gulag.

Q. Mr. President, do you think verification will be a problem? Ratification—do you think ratification will be a problem?

Q. Senate ratification.

Q. Yes, the Senate.

Q. Senate ratification—will that be a problem?

The President. Not if they're thinking correctly.

Q. You say we'll be flexible on strategic defense, Mr. President, but the Soviets haven't even admitted yet that they've been working on their own strategic defense for 17 years.

Q. Mr. Shevardnadze, did Mr. Gorbachev flip-flop?

Mr. Shevardnadze. There was no flip-flop. There was no flip-flop. Everything is going on according to plans.

Note: The President spoke at 2 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House.

Joint Announcement of the Upcoming Soviet-United States Summit Meeting

October 30, 1987

Building on progress in U.S.-Soviet relations, including high-level exchanges and the discussions between Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Shultz in Washington on October 30, as well as their talks in Moscow, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev have agreed to meet in the United States beginning on December 7, 1987.

The President and the General Secretary attach the highest importance to holding a substantive meeting which covers the full range of issues between the two countries—arms reductions, human rights and humanitarian issues, settlement of regional conflicts, and bilateral relations—and which makes significant headway over the full range of these issues.

The two sides have agreed on a plan of action for further development of the U.S.-Soviet dialogue, including the following:

They have agreed to complete as soon as possible the treaty on the total elimination of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

At their meeting in the United States, the President and the General Secretary will, in

addition to reviewing the full range of U.S.-Soviet relations, sign the treaty on the total elimination of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles; set the agenda for future contacts between the leaders of the two countries; and consider thoroughly the development of instructions to delegations on a future treaty on 50 percent reductions in U.S. and Soviet strategic offensive arms and on the observance of and non-withdrawal from the ABM Treaty for an agreed period.

The President and the General Secretary envision a further meeting between them in the Soviet Union in the first half of 1988, where they would also seek progress across the entire range of U.S.-Soviet relations. Toward this end, both sides will work towards early achievement of a treaty implementing the agreement to reduce strategic offensive arms by 50 percent, which could be signed during the President's visit to Moscow.

Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary of State Shultz will coordinate closely to ensure thorough and expeditious preparations of the forthcoming summit in Washington.

Radio Address to the Nation on the Supreme Court Nomination of Douglas H. Ginsburg and the Federal Budget

October 31, 1987

My fellow Americans:

I'm speaking to you today by a taped message, because I am away from Washington and my usual microphone. But I'd like to take a few minutes to talk to you about two issues that have occupied our Nation's Capital this past week, issues that will affect the lives of all Americans for years to come.

The first has to do with the Supreme Court. This week I nominated Judge Douglas Ginsburg of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit

to fill the open seat on the Court. Judge Ginsburg is the kind of Justice I want on the Court. This means that he believes, as I do, as every judge I have nominated or will ever nominate must, that the proper role of the judiciary is to interpret the laws, not make them. It means that he believes that in our democracy it is for the elected representatives of the people to make the laws and that unelected judges must never attempt to substitute their private will for the

will of the people. You see, Judge Ginsburg remembers, as I do, the warning of James Madison that "if the sense in which the Constitution was accepted and ratified by the Nation is not the guide to expounding it, there can be no security for the faithful exercise of its powers."

My concern is that in recent years too many judges have forgotten that one of the goals of our Founding Fathers was to ensure domestic tranquility. Too many judges have reinterpreted the Constitution, got away from the original intent of the Founders and, in the process, made law enforcement a game in which clever lawyers try to find ways to trip up the police.

Our courts must protect the rights of all Americans, and that includes the rights of the victims of crime and of society, not just of criminals. I believe that Judge Ginsburg will do just that. He has had a distinguished legal career that has included teaching at the Harvard Law School and serving as a law clerk to Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall and as an Assistant U.S. Attorney General.

As the Senate takes up Judge Ginsburg's nomination, I hope that it will join with me in defending the integrity and independence of the American system of justice against the kind of campaign of pressure politics we saw during the consideration of Judge Robert Bork's nomination. The way to show its determination to prevent such a campaign from happening again is for the Senate to insist that the Judiciary Committee hold hearings promptly, no delays to gear up opposition or support for this nomination—prompt hearings. You have a right to expect nothing less.

The other issue I wanted to talk about is the economy. Our economic expansion continues strong. In November it will enter the history books as the longest peacetime expansion on record. During the expansion we've created nearly 14 million new jobs. Employment levels this year have been the highest ever recorded. Industrial production is rising strongly, much of it because our manufacturers are exporting more. De-

spite the trade deficit, since the day I was sworn in for my second term, America's total real exports have risen at a powerful annual rate of over 8 percent. And the budget deficit is on the way down. This week it became official: The budget deficit was \$73 billion smaller in the fiscal year that just ended than it was the year before. And what's more, it was technically within the range of what was called for in the original Gramm-Rudman-Hollings bill. Now, that's good news, but in the last few months, I've warned that we could end the expansion and send the economy into a tailspin. Well, now the stock market is giving its own warning. And there are some steps we can take in Washington to deal with the Federal deficit, to reject moves toward trade protectionism, and to examine the stock market mechanism and procedures.

This week leaders of Congress sat down with me and members of my administration to talk about the budget deficit. These were bipartisan meetings to make sure the budget deficit comes down again this year by at least \$23 billion. If we can do that, it'll be the first time deficits have dropped 2 years in a row since 1974. But cutting deficit spending can no longer be a sometime thing. Let's resolve that from now on we will join together each year to bring it down again until the budget is balanced. When we cut spending, it must stay cut, no coming back to next year with new programs or replacing old reductions with new increases. From now on, deficit cuts, like diamonds, must be forever.

The world is looking to Washington for leadership. So, I say to the leaders in Congress: Let's roll up our sleeves, pull together. The things we want aren't all that different—a better life for all Americans.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President's address was recorded on October 30 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast at 12:06 p.m. on October 31.

Remarks at the Memorial Service for Edith Lockett Davis in
Phoenix, Arizona
October 31, 1987

Father Doran. We want to welcome all of you to St. Thomas the Apostle Parish. In a sense, it's a home parish for Edie, for though she was not a Catholic, she began coming to this parish in 1951, when we were a little barracks built on the back of the property. And she, as a matter of fact, became one of the first benefactors of this parish, where she came one Sunday in the old, cold barracks—and we were sitting on folding chairs—and she said, “We’ve got to do something about this parish.” So, she went back up to the Biltmore, and she said, “There’s a bunch of you rich Catholics around here, and you’ve got to do something for that young, little”—years ago—“young, little priest that is trying to build a parish. Now, I’m going to give a bingo game Sunday night, and you’re going to come, and you’re going to dish out.” And thus it happened. When she said something, it happened. And she came down the next day very gleefully with a pocket—or, with a bagful of money that she had made for the parish that night.

So, that was her beginning here, and it carried on. As the parish grew, she continued to be a part of it. And one day about 18 years ago, when Edie wasn’t feeling particularly well at that time, Loyal got me aside, and he said, “Father, you’ve got to make a promise to me.” I said, “What?” He said, “When Edie dies, you’ve got to bury her, and you’ve got to bury her down in that church, where she’s been going all these years.” So, we are fulfilling a promise. And Nancy and I looked at each other the other night, and we said, “We’re fulfilling a promise to Edie. We’re also fulfilling a promise to Loyal.”

So, it is very appropriate that you join with us today, as we say a very happy word of memory to a very happy person. So, we continue now.

Monsignor Donohoe. From Edie’s own little Bible, loaned me for this occasion by her precious daughter, we read one of Mrs. Davis’ favorite prayers.

“The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures. He leadeth me beside the still waters. He restoreth my soul. He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his namesake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil. For thou art with me. Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies. Thou anointest my head with oil. My cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.” These are the words of Holy Scripture.

Father Doran. Over many years of priesthood, 22 of which were spent in this parish, I came to know a great number of people, naturally. And I came to build a habit of—when I was saying a few words at their funeral service—of trying to pick out some particular aspect of that person, something that perhaps gave the key to that person’s personality. And what I always wanted to do was to choose something that her friends and her family and all who knew her would sit back and say, “Yes, that’s right. That’s true of him. That’s true of her.” It was a way of seeking a truth of a person and have it verified by the family and the friends.

So, we looked to the center aspect of Edie Davis, something that would be singular about her. And I think her family and you, her friends, will agree that if you wanted one word to describe Edie Davis it would be “delightful.” She was a delightful person. One felt delight in her presence. One felt delight in the anticipation of her presence. One found delight in the memory of her presence. For that is the way of Edie Davis in her life and to all those around her. She reminded me of what a poetess had said: “She walks, the lady of my delight.” And that is what I saw, and I have a feeling what you saw, in this lovely woman.

Now, it might be interesting to consider for a moment just what is delight. If you

were asked to describe the word "delight," how would you put it? What would you say of it? It's a strange thing that delight is curiously human and intensely intellectual. We experience delight first with our minds. We feel it is not so much a pleasure of the senses as it is a delight of the mind at something that another has said or something that another has done that gives pleasure, delight to those around, to those who hear, to those who experience. So true is this that sometimes, though we're reluctant to admit it, we can be delighted in ourselves at something we have said or something that we feel was particularly good that we might have done. Delight—delight is a reaction. It's a vibration responding to the wisdom or the wit or the outright humor of another person, of the vibrations of that reaching our mind like a spark coming out and igniting a fire of warmth within us.

One couldn't be with Edie Davis for a few minutes, or one couldn't be with Edie Davis for a long time, without experiencing the effulgence of delight which came from her presence or which came from hearing her witty, fun-filled reactions to the vagaries and the varieties of human life. She could turn a formal occasion into a fun-filled occasion with one simple phrase. I remember one time I introduced her to our first Bishop of Phoenix, and she met him very formally, almost curtsied to him. And then she turned to me, and she said, "Well, aren't you and I going to kiss? We always do when the Bishop isn't here"—[*laughter*—a typical Edie remark.

She could come back at you. She could answer you in a flash. She called me one time late in a week and asked if I could come for dinner on Saturday night. I said, "I'm not really sure. Let me check." She said, "You have to come. You have to come." And I said, "Why do I have to come?" She said, "The Governor of California is coming over for dinner tonight, and I've got to let Ronnie know I've got some decent friends." [*Laughter*]

People who knew Edie for a short time began to love her for her warmth, her wit, and her delightful character. One time, she and Loyal turned over their house for what we called, in this parish, a holiday house. People of the parish had made all sorts of

things for holiday sale. And we would decorate a house, and it would be an open house for anyone to come. Well, several of the ladies were up there early, getting the house ready, and they came out just simply bubbling at Edie Davis. And then, on the following day when anybody could go through, she stood there almost the whole day long as the great hostess. And over and over again, people coming out remarked, "What a wonderful woman this is. What a delight!" That word was used so often—"What a delight to meet her or to know her."

And so, may I say to the family and to you friends the assurance that something special is in delight in the very eyes of God. You know, God made us humans the only creatures who can laugh. The animals don't laugh, even the angels don't laugh—only humans. It's our human characteristic. And so, we have this power of laughter and of joy and of delight in the grandeur or the lovability or the wit or the wisdom of another. And this gift of God was intended to lighten our days, to make them lighter and brighter by the delight that we see in others. And that same God—I think I can assure you, Nancy—that same God who gave us this power rejoices in our use of that power and certainly will smile benignly at one who used that power with such graciousness and such generosity, who gave delight to others through these many, many years of her life; because there's an old saying—I think it's an Indian saying, but I'm not sure—and it says this: "Laughter is music to the ears of God." And she played a song of music in her life and will have it now. God bless you.

Monsignor Donohoe. In this day of thanksgiving for heritage—heritage for her family and, through the providence of God, heritage for our nation—we go back to the Book of Ecclesiastes and read this passage for ourselves as we go on our pilgrimage to join Edie in heaven.

"To everything there is a season and a time to every purpose under the heavens; a time to be born and a time to die; a time to plant and a time to pluck up that which is planted; a time to kill and a time to heal; a time to break down and a time to build up;

a time to weep and a time to laugh; a time to mourn and a time to dance; a time to cast away stones and a time to gather stones together; a time to embrace and a time to refrain from embracing; a time to get and a time to lose; a time to keep and a time to cast away; a time to reap and a time to sow; a time to keep silence and a time to speak; a time to love and a time to hate; a time of war and a time of peace. What profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboreth?"

Thus ends the words of this passage.

The President. How do we say goodbye to someone we've loved for so long, someone of innate tenderness who loved us? Indeed, she loved all humankind. We all have our memories, precious memories. I became acquainted with Deedie by telephone. When Nancy and I were courting, if she were calling her mother or her mother calling her and I was there, she—well, she introduced me to Deedie on the phone. And then she would put me on the phone to visit for a while. And it was quite a time before we met face-to-face, but when we did we were already close friends.

To paraphrase Winston Churchill, meeting her was "like opening a bottle of champagne." Nancy and I spent our honeymoon with Deedie and Loyal here in Arizona. And after getting to know her and after a period of that kind together, I have to tell you I have never been able to tell a mother-in-law story or joke since. Somerset Maugham wrote a line that could have been for her: "When you have loved as she has loved, you grow old beautifully."

Many people who only knew about Deedie will remember her as the lady who headed up the great fundraising charity in Chicago for 25 years. Many more will remember her for all that she did here in Phoenix, raising millions of dollars, particularly for children who were disabled or handicapped. But there are countless more individuals who will remember her for what she did for them, personally, when they had a problem or a trouble or something that made them need help. She didn't just recognize the cop on the corner; they were personal friends. She knew countless other people who just crossed her path—delivery boys, the cleaning woman, Dr.

Loyal's patients, and, yes, his students in the medical school at Northwestern University.

My first inkling of how well she was known and loved came some years ago when, at that time, my television sponsor had brought me to Chicago to appear at a kind of forum. It ran late, and I came out; it was dark. And I was supposed to meet Deedie and Loyal. They had told me the name of the cafe, and I was to meet them for dinner. And I told the doorman about this and that I needed some instructions as to where was that cafe. And was it far enough away that I needed transportation? And in doing so, I, without realizing it, I told him who I was meeting. And he just raised his hand when I said that name. And he left me and went out to the curb, and he started looking, I suppose, for a cab. But the traffic was stopped for the stoplight on the corner, and there was a police car. And he waved the police car over to the curb, and he told them about me and who I was meeting and that I needed to get there. And the next thing I knew, I was a passenger in a police car with two officers who knew Deedie Davis and who drove me right to the door as quickly as they could.

On another occasion, Nancy and I were coming into Chicago on the overnight train from New York, getting in early in the morning in the midst of a blizzard. And there wasn't a redcap in sight. The porters on the cars took the luggage off and sat it down there on the ramp. We were quite a ways from the station. In that blizzard, and all up and down the train, were all the passengers trying to sort out the luggage and trying to find their own bags. And Nancy and I looked up, and coming down the ramp was Deedie, arm in arm with two redcaps. [*Laughter*] They were having quite a conversation. And as they got closer, I heard she was talking to one about his daughter, and by name. She knew his daughter, also, and how was she getting along in school? And by that time, they were close to us. And Deedie said, "Oh, this is my son and daughter. Could you help them with their luggage?" And so the five of us went back up the ramp. And now Edie was arm in arm with both of us, and the two redcaps were carrying our baggage

past hundreds of passengers who had no such help. I remembered one thing that I've never forgotten. She said to her two friends when they caught up with us that I was her son and Nancy her daughter. She didn't say son-in-law.

She gave wit and charm and kindness throughout all of her life. She also raised a son who was a respected surgeon, an honorable man, caring father, and husband. And she gave the world a loving daughter, a woman who has made my life complete.

In the midst of our grief, Dick and Nancy, I hope you'll take comfort from this: that you were loving children, and you made Deedie happy and very proud. Yes, all of us who are gathered here feel great sorrow. But let's be sure we know the sorrow is for ourselves, for the loss that we now feel. But let us realize that Deedie has just gone through a door from this life to

that other life that God promised us, that life that is eternal, where no one is old, where there's no pain or sorrow, and where she is a smiling and loving Deedie we all remember, now once again hand in hand with Loyal, surrounded by others of her loved ones who have preceded her there.

And she's looking back on us with that loving kindness. Yes, she's here. She's seeing us and hearing us now. She's wanting us to be happy in knowing that one day, we will all be together again. And if I know Deedie, that other life that we've been promised will even be better, because she's been there for a while before we arrived.

Note: The President spoke at 2:50 p.m. at St. Thomas the Apostle Roman Catholic Church. Father John Doran and Monsignor Robert Donohoe were affiliated with the parish when Mrs. Davis was a parishioner.

Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for William Steele Sessions as Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation

November 2, 1987

The President. Judge Sessions and ladies and gentlemen of the FBI: Thank you, and good afternoon. Special greetings to the Sessions family, gathered here today to see the Nation do honor to the man they've known as husband and father. And, judge, I can't help thinking it's typical of your thorough and methodical manner that you got the ulcer out of the way before you started the job. *[Laughter]*

But before I begin, I can't resist telling you all about my visit to the FBI museum exhibit just a moment ago—how it really carried me back. I saw John Dillinger's death mask, an old-style machine gun, and I remembered how, as a young man, I used to thrill at the FBI story. And I want you to know that all these years later, when, as President, I'm briefed on all that the Bureau is doing—when I learn, for example, that during the past 5 years, FBI investigations have led to more than 7,000 drug convictions—well, my friends, I still thrill at the FBI story. But we're here today to con-

gratulate Judge Sessions.

"Tough but fair." "Devoted to safeguarding constitutional rights." "A man of integrity." Those who commented on his nomination found themselves using these phrases to describe Judge William Steele Sessions. But perhaps the most eloquent testimony was offered to a newspaper reporter by the judge's eldest son. He said simply: "My father has drilled honesty into me from day one."

Born in Arkansas, William Sessions grew up in Kansas City and served 5 years in the Air Force before he and his wife, Alice, settled in Texas. After receiving his law degree from Baylor University in 1958, he began a legal career of immense distinction: successful private practice in Texas; service in the Criminal Division of the Justice Department here in Washington; appointment by President Nixon as United States attorney for the Western District of Texas; and then appointment, just 3 years later, by President Ford as a Federal judge.

If I could just add something here, I can't resist pointing out that a record as impressive as Judge Sessions' is the kind of thing some people find hard to take. At one point a reporter suggested to the judge's son—again, the eldest son, William—that there had to be some skeleton in the judge's closet. And William answered that, as a matter of fact, there was. One of the judge's grandsons had given him a plastic skeleton to satisfy the Senate. [Laughter]

If I could interject something else, I can't help thinking of another superb judge whose nomination is soon to go before the Senate—Judge Douglas Ginsburg. As you know, Judge Sessions, we've been toughening the Federal laws against crime, and judges have been returning to a more faithful interpretation of the Constitution regarding criminal law. The constitutional rights of the accused must be protected, but so must the rights of law-abiding citizens. Hardened criminals simply must not be allowed to prey upon the innocent.

On the Supreme Court, Judge Ginsburg would continue the trend toward a recognition that victims have rights, too. And, so, his Senate confirmation is vitally important to the fight against crime. Let's commit ourselves today to providing for future generations an America that cares about victims' rights, not just criminal rights. The next Justice on the Supreme Court better be ready to deal with that challenge. And Doug Ginsburg is ready.

But reviewing your own remarkable record, Judge Sessions, the Senate Judiciary Committee concluded in its unanimous report that, and again, I quote: "Judge Sessions' record demonstrates that he is a tough but fair-minded man, a man of experience, intellect, and character."

Now this fine judge has taken the oath of office as our nation's fourth Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. You will lead a Bureau that has sharpened its investigative focus to ensure that our country's law enforcement expertise and resources are directed against the crimes of the highest national priority.

Foreign intelligence activities and terrorism threaten the security of our nation and the lives of all Americans. In the past 3 years, the FBI's counterintelligence efforts

have achieved unprecedented success against those who threaten our nation's security. By targeting these criminal activities and other priority matters such as organized crime, white collar crime and drugs, and pursuing investigations of quality rather than mere quantity, the FBI is confronting the challenge of enforcing our laws and protecting our citizens. I am confident that, under the leadership of Judge Sessions, the men and women of the FBI will carry on the fight against crime with ever greater thoroughness and skill.

Judge Sessions, I can think of no one better qualified to live up to and enlarge on the FBI tradition of fighting crime fiercely, but always according to the due process of law. No one can better embody the FBI belief that the enforcement of our laws must be very tough, but very fair. On behalf of all Americans and, if I may, especially on behalf of the men and women of the FBI gathered here today: Judge Sessions, congratulations. Thank you, and God bless you.

[At this point, former FBI Director William H. Webster spoke.]

Director Sessions. Mr. President, Chief Justice Burger, Attorney General Meese, Judge Webster, and distinguished Senators and Congressmen, distinguished guests, and my former friends of the Federal judiciary, Mr. Otto—I think I said that poorly, they are always my friends, and I'm the former judge, but you know what I mean—Alice, dear friends, and family: Before I can look to the future, I am compelled to recall the past and to acknowledge the contribution of Judge Webster to the tradition of this amazing institution.

To you, Mr. President, I can now publicly express my gratitude for being afforded the opportunity to lead the men and women of the world's finest and most extraordinary law enforcement agency. I would be remiss if I did not express my thanks to the Acting Director, John Otto, for the illustrious service he has performed during the months of waiting, and also for waiting so patiently for the passing of the torch of leadership.

My pledge today is truly unchanged, though it is now supported by my publicly

expressed oath, that is, to lead in a fashion that unerringly and faithfully supports and defends the constitutions and the laws of this great land.

My hope is that I can so faithfully uphold the standards of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that when my term is completed my associates here at the Bureau will regret my departure and my country will have been strengthened and enriched by

my service. My commitment to the Bureau is to give, as courageously as I can and with all the integrity that I can muster, whatever is required to fulfill the obligation of my oath and my pledge. And I do truly thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:55 p.m. in the courtyard of the J. Edgar Hoover Building.

Nomination of Chandler L. van Orman To Be Administrator of the Economic Regulatory Administration at the Department of Energy *November 2, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Chandler L. van Orman to be Administrator of the Economic Regulatory Administration at the Department of Energy. He would succeed Marshall A. Staunton.

Mr. van Orman is currently a partner in the law firm of Wheeler & Wheeler in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was Exec-

utive Director for the Commission on Executive, Legislative and Judicial Salaries.

Mr. van Orman graduated from the University of North Carolina (A.B., 1963) and the University of Virginia (J.D., 1966). He was born January 15, 1941, in Oak Park, IL. Mr. van Orman is married, has two children, and resides in Chevy Chase, MD.

Appointment of T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr., as a Member of the Board of Governors of the American National Red Cross *November 2, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint T. Kenneth Cribb, Jr., to be a Governor of the Board of Governors of the American National Red Cross for a term of 3 years. This is a reappointment.

Mr. Cribb is currently Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs at the White House. Previously he was Counselor to the

Attorney General at the United States Department of Justice, 1985–1987.

Mr. Cribb graduated from Washington and Lee University (B.A., 1970). He received a law degree from the University of Virginia (J.D., 1980). He was born August 7, 1948, in Spartanburg, SC, and currently resides in Arlington, VA.

Remarks Announcing the Nomination of Ann D. McLaughlin To Be Secretary of Labor

November 3, 1987

The President. We're here today to welcome into the Cabinet the new Secretary of Labor, a woman of uncommon experience and competence, and a woman who will continue the tradition of strong leadership that the Department has known under Bill Brock, a woman who has won my full confidence and support, Ann McLaughlin.

Ann McLaughlin has had an outstanding career, both in private industry and government, where she's held senior positions in the Environmental Protection Agency, the Treasury Department, and the Department of the Interior. And she'll give the Labor Department decisive and forceful leadership. And besides, if she's handled John McLaughlin this long, she can handle anything. *[Laughter]*

You know, the Labor Department collects many of our statistics, and since coming to Washington I've found that statistics can be a little slippery. In case you're wondering, that's my way of sliding into a story. It's about a lemon-squeezing contest at a State fair. The first man got up, and he was strong. He picked up the lemon and squeezed and squeezed and got out 80 percent of the juice. The crowd applauded, and he pulled open his jacket, and on his shirt it read "Bodybuilders Club." The next man got up, and he looked even stronger. He squeezed and squeezed, and he got out 90 percent of the juice. The crowd cheered, and he pulled open his jacket, and his shirt said "Police Athletic League." The final contestant got up. He was thin and scrawny and slouched and a little weak-looking. He picked up the lemon and began to squeeze, and out came 150 percent of the juice. He pulled open his jacket, and his shirt said "State Association of Statisticians." *[Laughter]*

Since I've come here, though, I've found that some statistics aren't lemons. One I've been talking up lately has to do with America's economic growth. In just 3 days the employment figures will come out for October. Now, we don't know exactly what

they'll be yet, but we have enough of an idea to know one thing: They'll make it official—59 months of uninterrupted expansion. On November 6th our expansion will enter the history books as the longest peacetime expansion on record. The Labor Department has been among those tracking what has meant to be America's families. After years on a falling roller coaster, family income has been rising sharply. We've created more jobs in this recovery than Europe and Japan combined—nearly 14 million jobs—and that's been almost a quarter of a million a month.

For a while we heard some saying that, well, yes, there are a lot of jobs, but they aren't good jobs. They called them McJobs. Everyone gets them, but there's not much to them. Well, then the Labor Department did some studies and found that nearly two-thirds of the new jobs have been in higher paying occupations, only 10 percent in lower paying, low-skill, service occupations. Over 90 percent of the new jobs are full-time. In short, these are jobs that are better paying, more challenging, and more rewarding.

This has been an expansion for all seasons and all Americans. For example, in the last 5 years, black employment has shot forward twice as fast as white employment. Since 1982 the real income of black families has grown almost 40 percent faster than white income, and the share of black families in the highest bracket is up by over 70 percent. This August the percentage of blacks employed was the highest in our history, as was the percentage of whites. One authority on economic trends was written for this record: "On every front—jobs, income, even household wealth—1981 through 1986 were the 5 best economic years in black history."

From New York to Dayton to the west coast, we've heard stories of labor shortages as unemployment has fallen and the competition for workers has become more intense. Manufacturing has come back strong. In old

industries like steel and new ones like computers and semiconductors, productivity and production have grown strongly in the past year, and this is in part because exports are on the rise. In fact, since I was sworn in for my second term, total real exports have been growing at a powerful annual rate of over 8 percent. America is doing business in every corner of the world, and more than 10 million American jobs depend on international trade.

Now, that's the good news. The bad news is that in the last few weeks the stock market has been telling us that unless we pay attention to some unfinished business it won't last. And while the market today is still more than twice what it was when it began its climb 5 years ago, higher even than it was at this time last year, this is one warning we can't afford to ignore.

There are times when partisan rivalries must be put on the shelf, and that's just what the leaders of Congress and I did last week. We began talks about how to reduce our nation's budget deficit. We'll be building on what we did last year when we cut the deficit by \$73 billion, nearly one-third of what it was in 1986. This year the goals are less ambitious, but if we meet them deficit spending will have been knocked down by roughly 40 percent in just 2 years.

Many economists have been warning us to tread softly. Just last week, the New York Times ran a front-page story headlined, "Perilous Economic Cures." It noted that new taxation, for example, could, as the article said: "Chill the economy, reduce personal and business incomes, and thus lower tax receipts." Well, I've said that everything except Social Security is on the table in these talks. One way or another, we're going to put the public menace of deficit spending behind bars. It won't be easy, and like Sergeant Esterhaus of the old Hill Street Blues precinct, I send negotiators of both sides to their beats each morning with the warning: "Let's all be careful out there."

So, yes, there has been a lot said about the "twin deficits," budget and trade, and that the possible cure may be worse than the disease. On the trade front, there are those who feel now is the time to close the door and pull down the shade to our trad-

ing partners, to isolate ourselves in a darkness of protectionism. Well, the signs from Wall Street say just the opposite.

I'm pleased to announce today that 38 courageous men and women in the United States Senate have signed up to fight for America, to fight for jobs and continued growth; and to lend their support to our efforts to make sure our trade message remains one of openness, fairness, and, yes, productiveness.

As we move to solve the budget deficit and preparing America for the 21st century, one of those I'll be looking to for advice and help will be Ann McLaughlin. So, Ann, welcome to the team. And now it is your turn, you have a few words to say.

Mrs. McLaughlin. Thank you very much, Mr. President, for those kind words and for the trust that you have placed in me today. Now I look forward to working with the Senate on my confirmation process. Mr. President, when I left your administration earlier this year, I had no idea that I would be back so soon. I've heard a lot about the revolving door between government and the private sector, but this is a recordbreaker. Let me illustrate: Congress first created the Bureau of Labor as part of the Department of Interior in 1884. The Department of Labor was then created in 1913. Now, that's 29 years. It took only 7 months for you to transfer me from Interior to Labor. [Laughter]

This is, indeed, a very special privilege which I cherish and which makes me feel both very proud and humble. Hardworking women and men built America. The Department of Labor was founded to protect and promote their welfare. To have the honor, if confirmed, to be Secretary of Labor will be to have a special bond with each of these American workers. To be able to assist them is a singular responsibility, because it is in our daily work that we find some of our greatest opportunities for good.

As the second woman to undertake this position, I'm indeed aware of the challenges. Now, doubtless, Mr. President, there will be comment about my being a woman. But one of my predecessors, Frances Perkins, the first woman to serve as Secretary of Labor and, in fact, the first woman to

serve in a President's Cabinet, was once asked whether being a woman was a disadvantage in public life. "Only when I am climbing trees," she said. [Laughter] And that was before blue jeans. So, I have no reason to feel disadvantaged at all.

Mr. President, thank you again for asking me to join your Cabinet as Secretary of Labor. This is a great honor and an extraor-

dinary opportunity for service. I will do my best to fulfill its obligations. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:30 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to William E. Brock III, former Secretary of Labor. He also referred to the television series "Hill Street Blues."

Nomination of Ann D. McLaughlin To Be Secretary of Labor *November 3, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Ann D. McLaughlin to be Secretary of Labor at the Department of Labor. She would succeed William Emerson Brock.

Mrs. McLaughlin is currently a consultant with the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC. She is also presently in the executive M.B.A. program at the Wharton School of Business, University of Pennsylvania, and lectures in their public policy department. From 1984 to March of 1987, Mrs. McLaughlin was

Under Secretary at the United States Department of the Interior. Since her resignation as Under Secretary, Mrs. McLaughlin has served on the board of directors of the Union Camp Corp. and the American Farmland Trust. From 1981 to 1984, she was Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs at the Department of Treasury.

Mrs. McLaughlin graduated from Marymount College in Tarrytown, NY (B.A., 1963). She was born November 16, 1941, in Chatham, NJ. Mrs. McLaughlin is married and resides in Washington, DC.

Address to the People of Western Europe on Soviet-United States Relations *November 4, 1987*

Greetings. I'm speaking with you from here in Washington via the satellite channels of WORLDNET and Voice of America. This is but another demonstration of the dramatic effect technology is having on our lives. Science is shrinking distances, overcoming obstacles, and opening borders. Today individuals in distant lands are working, trading, and even playing together on a global scale. We are, as would never have been thought possible a century ago, truly becoming a community—perhaps even a family—of free people, united by humane values and democratic ideals, and sharing in a prosperity that is closely linked to the trade and commerce between us.

Earlier in this century, during a time when fascism and communism were on the rise, there were those who believed that the light of democracy might well be extinguished. It was feared that the era of representative government, of political and economic freedom, would prove to be a short interlude of history and would disappear just as the democracy of Greece and the Roman republic had vanished.

Well, our cause may have seemed precariously perched, fragile, and without the power projected by strutting troops and mass political spectacles; but it should be clear now that the courage and resilience of free people are too easily underestimated,

as is our resolve to cooperate, to see a common purpose, and to act together in our own defense.

Victor Hugo once wrote: "People do not lack strength; they lack will." Well, in my life, I have time and again seen evidence that gives me great confidence that those who live in freedom do indeed have the will to remain free, even under enormous pressure, even against great odds. Those of us who lived through the Second World War saw that in the British people, whose indomitable spirit never broke under heavy bombardment. We saw it in the French troops and resistance fighters, who battled to free their homeland; in Polish Home Army soldiers, who rose in Warsaw; in the moral heroes throughout the continent, including within Germany itself, who resisted nazism often at the cost of their own lives; and others who risked all to save Jews, sometimes perfect strangers, from the death camps. We saw it in Normandy, where Americans joined with people from all over Europe to breach the Atlantic Wall and head inland, joined together in one mighty crusade to rid the continent of Hitler's National Socialism and all the horrors that went with it.

Yes, and in the four decades since the end of the Second World War, the free peoples of the world have continued to prove their courage and, just as important, as never before to demonstrate their solidarity with one another. The North Atlantic alliance, a lasting triumph of unity and cooperation among free peoples, has maintained peace on the European continent for four decades. It has been the shield of democracy and the greatest deterrent to war in history.

Four decades of European peace have been no accident. They have been earned by those in uniform who stood guard, and paid for by all of us whose taxes kept our allied forces manned, equipped, and armed with the conventional and nuclear weapons needed to deter aggression. We've all had to do our part, or it wouldn't have worked. But it has worked. The alliance has been prepared to meet any challenge. The message to anyone who would threaten the peace has been simple and direct: "Don't even think about it."

And when our will has been tested, we've come together as allies, as people whose destinies are inextricably linked, and have acted in unison to meet the challenge. It has not been easy, yet we've done what was necessary to keep our countries free and to preserve the peace. That certainly was true of the alliance's response to the vast expansion of Soviet military power in the late 1970's, especially their introduction of the new SS-20 intermediate-range missiles. It was in 1977 when the Soviet Union deployed its first SS-20's. This triple-warhead weapon could hit anywhere in Western Europe and much of Asia. Though NATO had no comparable missile to counter this new threat, by August of 1982 the number of Soviet INF missiles had climbed to over 300, with more than 900 warheads.

What we were witnessing was an attempt to tip the military balance of power in Europe and erode the security bond between Europe and the United States. It tested our cohesion and could well have had serious, even catastrophic, long-term consequences had the alliance not acted with resolve. But we did act.

In December of 1979 Western leaders made the decision to move forward on a two-track approach. First, the United States would negotiate with the Soviets in an attempt to convince them to withdraw their new missiles. Second, as long as the Soviets continued on their course and kept their missiles in place, NATO would deploy in Europe a limited number of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles. What the alliance sought, however, were fewer missiles, not more.

Our plan depended upon unflagging solidarity and steadfastness of purpose, even under immense pressure. And the pressure was put on. Had the nuclear freeze and unilateral disarmament protesters won, Europe would now be condemned to live under the shadow of Soviet nuclear-armed INF missiles. To democracy's credit, the political courage of farsighted European leaders carried the day. That resolve has now made it possible to achieve an historic agreement—an agreement that will eliminate a whole class of United States and Soviet INF missiles from the face of the

planet.

The agreement we are now hearing is based upon the proposal that the United States, in full consultation with allied leaders, put forward in 1981: the zero option. The plan will require the Soviets to remove four times as many nuclear warheads as the United States. Not only will the entire Soviet force of SS-20's and SS-4's be destroyed but also the shorter range SS-12's and SS-23's. It'll be the first mutual reduction of the world's nuclear arsenals in history. And more than that, the shorter range Soviet missiles that will be eliminated are capable of carrying not just nuclear but also chemical and conventional warheads. Thus, we will be making a promising start in cutting back these threats to Europe as well.

Achievements like this are not the result of wishful thinking, nor are they made more likely by loud proclamations of a desire for peace. Lasting progress derives from hardnosed realism, strenuous effort, and firmness of principle. I can assure you that any treaty I sign will be realistic and in the long-term interest of all the members of the alliance, or no agreement will be signed.

The Soviet Union, for example, has a poor record of compliance with past arms control agreements. So, any new treaty will contain ironclad provisions for effective verification, including on-site inspection of facilities before and during reductions and short-notice inspections afterward. The verification regime we've put forward is the most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations. None of us in the alliance can settle for anything less.

Arms reduction—if done with care to ensure the continuing credibility of our deterrent, both nuclear and conventional—is in the interest of all Western countries. And any INF agreement should be viewed not as the end of the process but the beginning, a first big step. We and the Soviets have also been negotiating possible reductions in our strategic arsenals, which for us is a high priority. Again, it's an American proposal that is the centerpiece of the negotiation—a dramatic proposition to cut our strategic arsenals in half. Considerable progress has been made, and further movement can be expected if Soviet flexibility is evident.

What is totally unacceptable, however, is the Soviet tactic of holding these offensive reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our Strategic Defense Initiative. We won't bargain away SDI, which offers the promise of a safer world in which both sides would rely more on defenses, which threaten no one, than on offensive forces. It shouldn't escape our attention that the Soviets themselves have been spending billions on a strategic defense program of their own.

Much has been heard as of late about reforms being instituted within the Soviet Union. *Glasnost*, we are told, is ushering in a new era. Well, who cannot but hope these reports are true, that the optimism is justified? Good sense, however, dictates that we look for tangible changes in behavior—for action, not words—in deciding what is real or illusionary. We will, for example, closely watch the condition of human rights within the Soviet Union. It is difficult to imagine that a government that continues to repress freedom in its own country, breaking faith with its own people, can be trusted to keep agreements with others.

Yes, this year some people, including a few very prominent individuals, were permitted to leave the Soviet Union. It's better than the record of recent years, yet many more emigration and divided-family cases remain. And let us remember: Denial of the right to emigrate is only a small part of the problem of the repressive Soviet system. A recognition of freedom of speech, religion, and press; a release of all prisoners of conscience; an ending of the practice of sending perfectly sane political dissidents to psychiatric hospitals; tolerance of real opposition; and freedom of political choice—these things, which we all take for granted, would signal that a true turning point has been reached and would offer hope of positive changes in the international arena, as well.

If there's one observation that rings true in today's changing world, it is that freedom and peace go hand in hand. The further the Soviet leadership opens their system and frees their people, the more likely it will be that the tensions between East and West will lessen. Reflecting this, we also hope to see changes in Soviet foreign policy. The

Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is most certainly a dreadful quagmire. The Afghan people have proven themselves the bravest of the brave. They will continue to have the sympathy and support of free nations in their struggle for independence. Soviet leaders can win accolades from people of good will everywhere and free their country from a no-win situation by grounding their helicopter gunships, promptly withdrawing their troops, and permitting the Afghan people to choose their own destiny. Such actions would be viewed not as a retreat but as a courageous and positive step.

Another sign to look for—this one closer to home for you on your side of the Atlantic—would be a loosening of the Soviet hold over Eastern Europe. Why should the peoples of Europe remain divided as they are with barbed wire, watch towers, and machineguns? Why shouldn't all Europeans be free to travel, to visit one another, or to conduct business with each other? Shouldn't the Brezhnev doctrine finally be renounced? Four decades after the war, why should 17 million Germans be treated like prisoners in their own land? A true opening-up and recognition of their sovereign independence would be welcomed by all the peoples of Eastern and central Europe, and it would not threaten the security of the Soviet Union or anyone else.

A few months ago, I visited Berlin. I stood there alongside the cruel wall that symbolizes so powerfully the scar that divides the European continent. It's time for that wound to heal and that scar to disappear. Wouldn't it be a wonderful sight for the world to see, if someday General Secretary Gorbachev and I could meet in Berlin and together take down the first bricks of that wall—and we could continue taking down walls until the distrust between our peoples and the scars of the past are forgotten.

A few moments ago, I recalled the valiant fight 40 years ago to liberate the European continent. Who cannot help but appreciate that, in that epic struggle, the peoples of the Soviet Union fought bravely and sacrificed so immensely to defeat the common enemy. After the war, we became adversaries, at times bitter adversaries. Yet this need not have happened and need not continue.

Any philosophy or leader suggesting that there is a predetermined course of history and that conflict between our peoples and systems is inevitable is wrong. We are not condemned by forces beyond our control. We, all peoples in every land, can shape the world in which we live and determine the future. We in the Western democracies have been doing just that. Together we've built a freer and more prosperous way of life, a community of free people. I'm certain you agree with me that the door is open to all who would join with us.

German literary figure Heinrich Heine has written: "Do not mock our dreamers. Their words become the seeds of freedom." Well, today our vision, not only of a more peaceful world but of a world of freedom in which democratic rights are enjoyed in every land, seems ever more in focus, almost as if it is within reach. We will continue to watch and to be hopeful, yet we must also remain vigilant. The strength and viability of the alliance remains essential, even as an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union opens new opportunities for peace. It is just such strength as NATO has demonstrated that is a precondition to such progress. Weakness, vulnerability, and wishful thinking can undo what has been accomplished by standing firm.

This, nevertheless, can be a time of great change. As you're likely aware, General Secretary Gorbachev has accepted my invitation to come to Washington for a summit in early December. We'll be discussing face-to-face the wide spectrum of issues I've spoken to you about today. I, in fact, expect we'll sign that agreement concerning U.S. and Soviet INF missiles during the time of our meetings.

For our part, the commitment of the United States to the alliance and to the security of Europe—INF treaty or no INF treaty—remains unshakable. Over 300,000 American servicemen with you on the continent and our steadfast nuclear guarantee underscore this pledge. Those who worry that we will somehow drift apart or that deterrence has been weakened are mistaken on both counts. Our ties will be strengthened, not diminished, by this suc-

cess. Such an historic reduction in nuclear weapons, as now appears on the way, will be a resounding vindication of the unity, strength, and determination of the alliance.

As far as our ability to keep the peace, the NATO strategy of flexible response will continue to ensure that aggression, at any level, is blocked. A viable deterrent force of nuclear weapons of many types, including ground-based systems as well as those carried by aircraft and submarines, still protects Europe and remains in place. And we have agreed with our allies that the existing imbalances in conventional forces and chemical weapons must be redressed prior to any further nuclear reductions in Europe.

The alliance has had underway for some time a program of modernizing our forces so that a credible deterrent is maintained over the long term. That is why major initiatives are moving forward to upgrade NATO's conventional strength. And after 18 years of unilaterally refraining from any production of chemical weapons, improvements are being made in our modest chemical weapon inventory. The Soviet Union, of course, possesses what is by far the world's most extensive chemical weapon stockpile.

But just as we're doing in our INF talks, we're also seeking through negotiation to correct the disparities we face in both the chemical and conventional areas. In fact, in 1984 the United States, with allied support, proposed an effective global ban on chemical weapons. As far as conventional forces, the alliance stands ready, if the East meets us halfway, to make reductions in central Europe through mutual balanced force reductions, or MBFR, as they are called. At the same time, in Vienna an agreement between East and West is being sought that would mandate new negotiations on conventional stability from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains.

Our common security agenda, as you can see, is broad and ambitious. An INF agreement is an important first step, but only the first one toward our greater goal. And let there be no doubt, the citizens of the United States fully understand and appreciate that we are partners for peace with you, the peoples of our fellow Western democracies. That's why we applaud what we see as

a new willingness, even eagerness, on the part of some of our allies to increase the level of cooperation and coordination among themselves in European defense. The growing cooperation between France and Germany is a positive sign, as is the modernization of the British and French independent nuclear deterrents, which are both vital components of the Western security system. Last week the foreign and defense ministers of the Western European union issued an impressive declaration. It reaffirmed the importance of maintaining our nuclear and conventional deterrents and affirmed a positive Western European identity in the field of defense within the framework of the Atlantic alliance. We welcome these developments.

Over these last four decades, all too often the United States has been viewed as the senior partner of the alliance. Well, today when the economic strength of Western Europe and the United States are fully comparable, the time has long since come when we will view ourselves as equal partners, and a more equal relationship should not diminish our bonds but strengthen them. It should not limit our potential but expand it.

Goethe, the soul of German literature, once wrote: "If you would create something, you must be something." Well, in these last four decades the people of the United States and Europe have been a force for progress and freedom on this planet. And only a few short years from now, as mankind literally enters into a new millennium, we will have laid the foundation for a prosperous and free future. We've proven wrong—dead wrong—those doubters and despots who earlier in this century thought democracy was soon to be extinct. We have ensured that, in the centuries ahead, it is free people who will dominate the affairs of mankind. And let me predict that, someday, the realm of liberty and justice will encompass the planet. Freedom is not just the birthright of the few, it is the God-given right of all His children, in every country. It won't come by conquest. It will come, because freedom is right and freedom works. It will come, because cooperation and good will among free people will carry the day.

There's a story that was brought to my

attention a few years ago about an elderly couple who live in the small town of Marstel on the island of Aero in Denmark—Natalia and Nels Mortensen. For the last 40 years they have tended the grave of a young man they never met. They dig the weeds and place flowers, and always there's a small American flag. When it becomes worn, they replace it with another.

They are watching over the final resting place of U.S. Air Force Sergeant Jack Wagner, who died when his plane was shot down on June 20th, 1944, near Aero, which was then occupied territory. Jack Wagner's body washed up on shore a few days later, and the word quickly spread through the tiny community. When the Nazi occupation troops came to bury the young American, they found nearly the whole town of 2,000 had been waiting by the grave since early in the morning to pay tribute to the young flyer. The path had been lined with flowers. And when the troops laid young Jack Wagner in his grave, the townspeople conducted a funeral service and placed red, white, and blue flowers on his grave, along with a banner that read: "Thank you for what you have done."

Jack was a 19-year-old American from Snyder County, Pennsylvania. The Danish townspeople had never met him, but they knew this young man had given his life for them. He cared enough for people he'd never met to make the supreme sacrifice for their freedom. The Mortensens never forgot this. They still care for that grave as if he was a member of their family, and in a way, he was. Just as we are all part of the family of free people.

Many young people from all of our countries have died to preserve the freedom we now enjoy. Many of our children still serve. They stand together on the ramparts of freedom. We care about each and every one of them as if he or she was our own. Let us be as brave as they are brave, as proud as they are proud.

Thank you for letting me share these moments with you. God bless you.

Note: The President's address was recorded on November 3 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast by the U.S. Information Agency on WORLDNET television and the Voice of America at 8 a.m. on November 4.

Nomination of April Catherine Glaspie To Be United States Ambassador to Iraq

November 4, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate April Catherine Glaspie, of California, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, as Ambassador to the Republic of Iraq. She would succeed David George Newton.

Since 1985 Ms. Glaspie has been Director of the Office of Jordan, Lebanon, and Syrian Affairs in the Department of State. From 1983 to 1985, she served as political officer and deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Damascus, Syria. Ms. Glaspie has been Director of the language institute at the U.S. Embassy in Tunis, Tunisia, 1981–1983; political officer at the U.S. Mis-

sion to the United Nations in New York, 1980–1981; political officer at the U.S. Embassy in London, England, 1978–1980; staff assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, 1977–1978; and political officer at the U.S. Embassy in Cairo, Egypt, 1973–1977. Ms. Glaspie has been a member of the Foreign Service since 1966.

Ms. Glaspie graduated from Mills College (B.A., 1963) and Johns Hopkins University (M.A., 1965). She is articulate in Arabic and French. Ms. Glaspie was born April 26, 1942, in Vancouver, Canada, and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Nomination of David C. Miller, Jr., To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the African Development Foundation

November 4, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate David C. Miller, Jr. to be a member of the Board of Directors of the African Development Foundation for a term expiring September 22, 1993. He would succeed Patsy Baker Blackshear.

Since 1982 Mr. Miller has been president of American Equity Investor, Inc., in Washington, DC. From 1984 to 1986, he was United States Ambassador to Zimbabwe. Mr. Miller also served as United States Ambassador to Tanzania, 1981-1984. In 1981

he served as special assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in the Department of State. Previously Mr. Miller was with Westinghouse Electric Corp. in Pittsburgh, PA, 1971-1981.

Mr. Miller graduated from Harvard College (B.A., 1964) and the University of Michigan Law School (J.D., 1967). He was born July 15, 1942, in Cleveland, OH. Mr. Miller is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Remarks to Business Leaders at a White House Briefing on the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

November 4, 1987

Well, welcome to the Old Executive Office Building. It's even older than I am. [Laughter] I know you've already been briefed by Ambassador Yeutter and Secretary Verity, so I'll try to keep my remarks concise. Whenever I do go on over-long, however, I remember what Dwight Eisenhower used to say: that one of the best things about being President is that no one can ever tell you when to sit down. [Laughter]

In this world there are many conflicting visions of man's economic life. You know the old saying: Ask three economists a question—you get seven different answers. But beyond the fine-tuning of experts, there's a more fundamental division of world views. One sees the resources and potential of this world as finite, and most likely insufficient for the needs of a growing humanity. It posits a world of limits and describes not only a present of insufficiency but a future of increasing scarcity, and insists on cruel but, in its view, necessary choices.

That's the life raft view of humanity. We're adrift here, at the mercy of natural forces, our food is running low and not much hope of rescue. In the meantime, we

don't have room for the luxuries of the past. In fact, to keep from sinking, we may have to throw them overboard. And it's our freedom that is always the first luxury to be jettisoned.

Thankfully, that deeply pessimistic view that I have just cited here has never really taken hold in North America. Maybe it has to do with the type of people who came here, immigrants and refugees all, fleeing from various forms of unfreedom. Maybe it was the object lesson of a vast and mostly unexplored continent that instilled in our souls a basic disbelief in limits and impatience with those who insist on trying to impose them—whether it's bureaucrats telling us what we can and can't do or academics talking of limits to growth.

It's like the story of the New Hampshire farmer who had just been to a meeting down in the town hall of the local Communist Party. He comes back all excited and tells his friend about how wonderful communism is because, in that system, everyone shares everything they own. "Does that mean, Fred," asks his friend, "that if you had two houses you'd give me one?"

"That's right, John," he says, "I'd give you one." "And does that mean, Fred, that if you had two tractors you'd give me—" "That's right, John, if I had two tractors, yes, I'd give you one." "Does that mean, Fred, that if you had two hogs you'd give me one?" "Now, that ain't fair, John. You know I got two hogs." [Laughter]

Well, whether we're skeptical Yankees, or recent immigrants to the Sunbelt, we know too much about America to believe in limits, to believe that the future isn't ours for the making. There's too much hope, too much possibility on this continent of ours for us to believe in the zero-sum philosophies of the Old World. Whether it's communism or socialism or what used to be called social Darwinism, we know that one person's achievement doesn't subtract from another, but adds each to the other in an expanding cycle of prosperity. Of all the zero-sum philosophies that have gripped the Old World, one of the most destructive has been mercantilism—that's a 17th-century version of protectionism. It saw trade as a form of economic warfare—usually bloodless, but not always—with powerful nations preying upon the weaker, drawing off their wealth and then hoarding it within their own boundaries.

In this, the bicentennial year of our Constitution, we look back in wonder at the feat of imagination that designed our democratic institutions, so responsive and flexible, yet enduring. But perhaps as great an intellectual break with the past, as great a leap of progress, was the rejection of the mercantilist philosophies—or hostilities, I should say—that had been tearing our young nation apart, and the establishment of free and unfettered trade among these newly united States.

Today, we're poised to make another great leap of progress by creating free trade anew between our country and Canada. Already, our two nations generate the world's largest volume of trade. Canada is by far our largest trading partner. The United States exports more to the Province of Ontario alone than to the entire country of Japan.

United States citizens are by far the principal foreign investors in Canada. And Canadians, on a per capita basis, are even

greater investors in this country. And this two-way traffic in trade has helped to create jobs by the millions, expand opportunity for both our peoples, and augment the prosperity of both nations. With this agreement, we'll be the largest free trade area on Earth. As Prime Minister Mulroney has said, "It will bring us to a new decade and a new century, on the leading edge of the world's trade and commerce."

We're tearing down the walls, the tariffs, that block the flow of trade and eliminating the tangle of restrictions and regulations that bind our commerce and inhibit economic cooperation. As this agreement takes effect, Americans and Canadians will conduct business, invest, and trade where they like. Two proud, independent, and sovereign nations—Canada and the United States—will pull together as partners toward a future of economic growth and prosperity. Rejecting beggar-thy-neighbor policies in order to build with our neighbors—putting aside special interests in favor of the common interest, this agreement will be a win-win situation, not only for the United States and Canada but for the world.

We have broken new territory by covering areas, such as investment and services, traditionally beyond the scope of trade agreements. What better model could there be for the Uruguay Round, which is currently underway in Geneva. But success will depend in large part on people like you who are willing to operate in a truly free environment for trade and investment. And I'll be looking for your support in obtaining congressional approval for this historic, pathbreaking agreement.

Last spring, I visited Prime Minister Mulroney in Canada and was honored to speak before the Canadian Parliament. There I spoke of this visionary agreement as an example to all nations. To those still tempted by protectionism—who would retreat into economic isolationism—we'll show there is a better and a more expansive way. To those who think this world is a zero-sum equation, who view their neighbors with worry and distrust, we'll show the path of cooperation. And we'll show how freedom is the most valuable resource, free economies and free trade—that the wider our embrace of

freedom, the greater will be our prosperity.

You know, some time ago—way back in those prehistoric times known as the seventies—I called for what I named a North American accord that would embrace our whole continent—the United States, Canada, and Mexico, as well. I said then that it's time we stopped thinking of our nearest neighbors as foreigners. Let us instead think of them as partners, independent and sovereign, but united in a common purpose. Unity, I need hardly say, does not imply homogeneity. In a true alliance of friendship, the differences—the unique characters and national identities of our northern and southern neighbors—would only broaden our understanding and strengthen the mandate of freedom.

Now, I know it's bad manners to quote oneself, so please forgive me if I read you a few lines from that speech—the speech I delivered in November 1979, announcing my candidacy for President: “A developing closeness between the United States, Canada, and Mexico would serve notice on friend and foe alike that we were prepared for a long haul, looking outward again and confident of our future; that together we are going to create jobs, to generate new fortunes of wealth for many and provide a legacy for the children of each of our countries. Two hundred years ago, we taught the world that a new form of government, created out of the genius of man to cope with his circumstances, could succeed in bringing a measure of quality to human life previously thought impossible.”

Let us dare to dream, I said, of some future date, when the map of the world shows a North American Continent united in commerce and committed to freedom. I say now it is time to dream even bigger dreams—dreams of an entire hemisphere, from the Arctic Circle to Tierra del Fuego, united by the bonds of democracy and free trade; an entire hemisphere in which all the borders become what the U.S.-Canadian border is today—a meeting place rather than a dividing line.

When we look at the news, when we read history, it sometimes seems that wars and cataclysms dominate man's life. But, in fact, that is a misperception. It is in the peaceful, everyday business of work and trade that

the real story of human progress unfolds. I am confident that when people look back on this pact it will stand out as one of the premier achievements of the 20th century, not just a free trade agreement between two nations but the catalyst of a hemispheric, perhaps world, revolution—a peaceful revolution of expanding freedom and growing friendship between nations. That's why I pledge to you that this achievement, great as it is, will be only the beginning. We will, together with our new partner in peace and freedom, Canada, carry the banner of free trade to Mexico, to the Caribbean, and all of Latin America—and from there on around the world.

You know, I can't help but think of a story, a few years ago, when I was connected with a place called Hollywood, and Hollywood-made motion pictures played 90 percent of the playing time of all the theaters of the world. And so, when Mr. Johnston, the head of the Motion Picture Producers Association, made one of his visits abroad, he went to Poland. And he took along a few movies, and he showed them to the Minister of Education.

Now, one of them was a movie that I escaped being in, and Dennis Morgan did the part I was going to do. [*Laughter*] But it was with Ann Sheridan, and they played two workers at Lockheed aircraft plant, which was only a few blocks from Warner Brothers Studio. And one of the scenes in the picture called for them to be at the lunch hour out in the parking lot, playing a scene together, talking together.

And at that point, the Minister of Education of Poland grabbed Johnston's arm, and he says, “There, there—that's what we won't stand for.” He said, “That kind of propaganda.” And Johnston said, “What are you talking about?” He says, “All those automobiles in the background. Are you trying to tell us poor Poles that the Americans who work in that factory drive those cars to work?” Well, that wasn't part of the set at all, that just happened to be there. That was the Lockheed parking lot—[*laughter*]—and those were the cars of the Lockheed workers.

And, you know, it's just increasingly struck me that we're trying to build a world

of undeveloped nations and make them believe that their only progress, economic progress, must be in exporting. Well, what would happen today if all the countries of the world could be like ours and the people who made all these wonderful products were also the customers who bought them and could afford to buy them?

There aren't too many countries where that's true. Ours is, yes, we're the biggest exporter in the world. And yet, we have a trade imbalance because we also buy more than anyone else, into the country. But again, our biggest market happens to be our own people. And when that becomes more worldwide, we're going to find that a lot of the economic problems of the world go away.

I don't know why I brought that up, except that I just came from a meeting talking about the present situation here with the deficit. [Laughter] But anyway, I just want to thank you all here, and God bless you all, and hope that we can make this

particular agreement go and show the way. If 200 years ago the Constitution came into being, in large part, because the 13 Colonies that had become States of the United States still thought of each other as a foreign country and, therefore, had tariffs and all kinds of obstructions to trade across the borders, and now we've eliminated all of that with our Constitution, and here we are with 50 States trading freely with each other, why wouldn't that fit with other countries, too? Particularly here, the neighbors on our own continent—and why wouldn't it work?

Well, I think we've made a start with this agreement. And I hope we all have your help in making it come to be a reality. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:11 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to the United States Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter, and Secretary of Commerce C. William Verity, Jr.

Statement on Japan-United States Semiconductor Trade November 4, 1987

In response to improved Japanese compliance with the 1986 U.S.-Japan semiconductor agreement, I am today announcing my intention to suspend a portion of the sanctions I placed on Japanese products last April, when we determined that Japan was not fully implementing the agreement.

I imposed these sanctions to demonstrate that we are serious about fair trade and to make clear that we insist on the full implementation of all our agreements. I also made clear, however, that we would remove the sanctions as soon as we had firm and continuing evidence that the dumping of Japanese semiconductors in third-country markets had stopped and that access to the Japanese market had improved. Japan is an important trading partner and a close ally, and we want to make every effort to resolve our differences as soon as possible.

This case serves as a reminder that the judicious and proper use of section 301 can bring results. Retaliation ought to be used only as a last resort and only when it is likely to lead to a positive result. In this case, we used the threat of retaliation to achieve a sound agreement on fair trade in semiconductors. When that agreement was not complied with, retaliation was used to bring about compliance. I hope Congress will remember that section 301 has been used effectively before making any changes in the law that would attempt to force the President to retaliate at times when it would be counterproductive.

Last June, when a review of the data showed that Japanese third-country dumping was declining on one semiconductor product, I ordered a proportional response and lifted sanctions on \$51 million of the full \$300 million in sanctions. Because the

most recent review of the data shows that third-country dumping has ceased for both DRAM's and EPROM's—the two semiconductor products covered under this portion of the agreement—I am directing an additional suspension of sanctions amounting to \$84 million. The remaining \$165 million in sanctions will remain in effect because of the lack of sufficient progress to date on access to the Japanese market for foreign-based semiconductor makers.

U.S. semiconductor producers and users were closely consulted during our discussions with the Japanese Government. Based on these discussions, they recommended the action I am taking today. The Japanese Government has given me assurances that

this positive pattern with respect to third-country dumping will continue.

If these assurances prove not to be the case, I will not hesitate to reimpose the partial sanctions that have been suspended. I have also been assured by the Government of Japan that no quantitative or other kinds of restrictions exist on the production, supply, or shipment of semiconductors and that it is not engaged in allocation schemes that might disadvantage foreign purchasers of semiconductors from Japanese producers. In addition, the Japanese Government has reaffirmed its commitment to monitor company-by-company costs and export prices for certain semiconductors to prevent dumping.

Appointment of Frederick J. Ryan, Jr., as Assistant to the President *November 4, 1987*

The President today announced the appointment of Frederick J. Ryan, Jr., to be Assistant to the President.

Since February 1985 Mr. Ryan has been responsible for the White House Office of Private Sector Initiatives as well as serving as Director of Presidential Appointments and Scheduling. Mr. Ryan began serving at the White House in February 1982 as Deputy Director of Presidential Appointments and Scheduling. In February 1983 he was appointed Special Assistant to the Presi-

dent and Director of Presidential Appointments and Scheduling. Mr. Ryan was previously an attorney with the Los Angeles law firm of Hill, Farrer and Burrill. While engaged in his practice, he published several articles on various aspects of the law.

Mr. Ryan graduated from the University of Southern California (B.A., 1977) and the University of Southern California Law Center (J.D., 1980). He was born April 12, 1955, in Tampa, FL. Mr. Ryan is married and resides in Washington, DC.

Proclamation 5735—National Tourette Syndrome Awareness Week, 1987

November 4, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Tourette syndrome is a little-understood neurological disorder characterized by compulsive repetitive behaviors. Tic-like grimacing, shoulder-shrugging, sniffing, grunting, and coughing are common symptoms

of the disorder; less frequent but perhaps more alarming symptoms include uncontrollable vocalizations, head-banging, and other involuntary self-destructive actions.

An estimated 100,000 Americans have Tourette syndrome to a noticeable degree. Those with tic disorders may number as high as 3.5 million. Symptoms appear in childhood, between the ages of 2 and 16

years, and wax and wane over time but do not seem to become progressively worse. Males are three times more likely to have the disorder than females.

Within the Federal government, the search for answers to why people get Tourette syndrome and what is behind its puzzling symptoms is led by the National Institute of Neurological and Communicative Disorders and Stroke (NINCDS). Research teams at NINCDS and grantee institutions, together with scientific colleagues in the private sector, are tracing and analyzing the suspected genetic basis for the syndrome. Aided by increasingly sophisticated techniques of brain imaging, they are determining the significance in Tourette patients of unusually low amounts of certain brain chemicals, called neurotransmitters, and investigating anatomical structures within the brain that may be affected. They are testing new drugs to control symptoms without causing depression and other serious side effects.

Crucial to the national research effort is the cooperation of patients with Tourette syndrome and their families, especially those allied with the Tourette Syndrome Association, Inc. This voluntary health agency provides advice and encouragement to patients coping not only with exhausting and painful physical problems, but also with the attendant damaging social and emotional problems. Because they cannot predict or control the vocalizations or movements that periodically overtake them, people with Tourette can be easy targets of misunder-

standing and rejection. The Tourette Syndrome Association plays an essential role in educating the public about the disorder and about building acceptance and respect for those who refuse to allow the disorder to diminish their lives or restrict their contributions to society.

To further enhance public awareness of Tourette syndrome, the Congress, by Public Law 100-145, has designated the week of November 2 through November 8, 1987, as "National Tourette Syndrome Awareness Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of November 2 through November 8, 1987, as National Tourette Syndrome Awareness Week. I call upon the people of the United States to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:26 a.m., November 5, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 5.

Letter Accepting the Resignation of Caspar W. Weinberger as Secretary of Defense

November 5, 1987

Dear Cap:

It is with the deepest regret that I accept your resignation as Secretary of Defense, effective upon the appointment and qualification of your successor.

Nearly 20 years ago, I had the good fortune to have you serve as my Director of Finance for the State of California. Your

exceptional performance in that post as well as in subsequent positions with the Federal Government—among them, Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare—left me no doubt that you would make an outstanding Secretary of Defense.

Not only was I correct in my judgment, but I am confident that you will be remembered as the most distinguished and effective Secretary of Defense in our Nation's history.

For the past seven years, you have worked tirelessly to help restore both America's military strength and its self-confidence. You have always recognized that the mantle of liberty carries with it responsibility and leadership. You've been indispensable in upgrading our military preparedness by promoting the B-1 bomber, overseeing expansion of our Navy to 600 ships, and eloquently advocating the Strategic Defense Initiative—the most important technological breakthrough in defense strategy in our lifetime. You have successfully enhanced the quality of our military personnel and improved morale, so that today the percentage of high school graduates among enlistees in our armed services is the highest in our Nation's history. You have also set an example in cracking down on waste and abuse in Pentagon spending, ensuring American taxpayers that their hard-earned monies are being properly and efficiently utilized.

I know well that you are an ardent admirer of Winston Churchill and an astute observer of history. As Secretary of Defense, you have demonstrated time and again the vision, the passion, the sound judgment, and the ability to inspire which Churchill possessed in such full measure. You recognize, as he did, that we live in a dangerous time when the survival and triumph of freedom are not self-evident. If freedom is to endure and expand, it will only be because we understand the lessons of history and the nature of the implacable enemy that confronts us globally. Having immersed yourself in these issues, you have helped this Nation apply these lessons to the many crises that we have faced together. As a result, the United States has been able to conduct itself in the 1980s in a way befitting a great Nation and the leader of the free world. Cap, you have my heartfelt gratitude for your incomparable service to our Nation. I know that as you return to the private sector, you will continue to champion the public policies that have kept our Nation strong, prosperous, and free.

Nancy joins me in offering you and Jane, and your loved ones, our warm best wishes for every future happiness. May God bless and keep you.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

November 2, 1987

Dear Mr. President:

With profound regret, but with unbounded admiration for all that you have accomplished for our country, I must now, because of personal family health problems with which you are familiar, ask that you relieve me of the responsibilities of this great office you entrusted to me nearly seven years ago.

It is a source of great gratification to me to reflect on how much you have changed for the better, the policies and indeed the whole agenda of the State and the Nation you have served so extraordinarily well for the nearly 20 years I have had the great privilege of working with you.

So many of the ideas and programs which, when you first presented them, were dismissed without serious consideration, are now fully accepted, and it is only the details of those new ideas and concepts that are debated.

Virtually alone, you reversed the idea that only government could solve problems, and that government could only solve problems by spending more money. You first proposed not only that taxes should be cut, but that the government's taxing power itself be limited, as a way to reduce the scope of government's power, and thus to increase the freedom of all. Also, virtually alone, you have challenged the incongruous and dangerous strategic concept that we are only safe when we are completely vulnerable to Soviet missiles. You have steadfastly kept us to the goal of deployment of your Strategic Defense Initiative, toward which we are making great progress, and you have refused all temptations, Soviet or otherwise, to be diverted from that deployment.

You never hesitated to take unpopular paths, nor to violate the conventional

wisdom—because you recognized that principle must come ahead of what is popular, and that the conventional wisdom is not always wise.

Your leadership and vision have restored America's military strength, and thus secured for us all the benefits of the freedom and the peace that can only be ours when we are strong. Our NATO Alliance and our other Allies are united and strong, and America is greatly respected again, and this too is part of the inspiration and leadership you have provided.

Most of all, it has been a continuing delight to serve with you all these years, to be buoyed by your unquenchable optimism, and to have shared in the fun of working with you as you changed the course of history.

I leave with great regret, but content in the knowledge that the nation under your leadership is far more secure, happier, and

better than if you had not served us so well. I am grateful too, as I know the nation will be, that in Frank Carlucci as Secretary, and Will Taft continuing as the Deputy Secretary, you have chosen such a wise and capable Defense team, and together with Colin Powell as your Security Adviser, for whom I also have the greatest respect and admiration, you will have the benefit of one of the very best teams America can provide.

This letter will serve as my resignation as Secretary of Defense, effective on the qualification and taking office of my successor.

Jane joins me in sending our very best wishes and warmest regards to you and Nancy.

Sincerely,

CAP

Note: The originals of the letters were not available for verification of their contents.

Remarks Announcing Appointments Upon the Resignation of Caspar W. Weinberger as Secretary of Defense November 5, 1987

The President. We're here today to say Godspeed to an old friend, the finest Secretary of Defense in the history of our nation, Cap Weinberger. And now, Cap, I'm going to take a few minutes to say exactly what I think about you. [Laughter] I know you don't go in for this sort of thing, but I'm still your Commander in Chief, so you'll just have to grin and bear it.

Courage, constancy, loyalty, together with uncommon brilliance, decisiveness, and determination—these are the qualities that Cap Weinberger has brought not only to the Defense Department but to all the positions that he's held in service to our nation. That service didn't begin in the high halls of government here in Washington nor in the executive chambers in Sacramento. No, it began about as humbly as you can imagine: as a buck private in the Army.

Today just about any enlisted man or woman will tell you that Cap is a Defense Secretary who cares about the troops. Well,

maybe that's because Cap had seen firsthand that the backbone and the sinew, the soul and spirit, of our Armed Forces are the men and women who dig the trenches and swab the decks, fix the engines, drive the tanks, fly the planes, and face the enemy for all of us. He knows the truth of what his old commander, General Douglas MacArthur, once said: that "In the field, morale will quickly wither and die if soldiers come to believe themselves the victims of indifference or injustice on the part of their government."

Well, these past 6½ years Cap has chiselled into the tablets of history a story of concern for those who defend peace and freedom. When I picked Cap for the job, America's military had gone through years of indifference. And his budget was only one sign of this, and yet a true one. During a decade in which our principal adversary had built up its armed forces as never before, America had cut defense spending.

The year Cap and I took office, for every dollar the Soviet Union invested in its military, the United States invested only 65 cents; by 1984 it was 92 cents. And, no, we haven't made up for the years of neglect even today, but the dollar gap is a lot smaller than it used to be, and there's no longer an indifference gap.

Some of you may have heard me tell about when I went to one of our military bases a couple of years ago and sat next to the base commander. He told me that the young men and women coming into the military were the best he'd ever seen—the smartest, best educated, most motivated. Well, I've also been told that more reenlist than ever before in our history. We used to hear that all this was because of a weak economy, but it's kept up right through the longest and most widely shared peacetime economic expansion on record. I believe that the new enthusiasm of our soldiers, sailors, and marines has a lot to do with Cap's leadership. Once again the government treats those who defend America with respect. And, yes, once again our men and women in uniform know that America is proud of them and thankful for the work they do.

High morale won't be Cap's only legacy to our Armed Forces. When he was sworn in, not only was the government spending too little for America's defense, but too often what it did spend, it wasted. Four hundred dollar hammers, \$9,000 wrenches were the kinds of longstanding abuses that Cap's tightfisted management uncovered and stopped. And I know Cap has taken heat for that very unjustly. If it hadn't been for his audits and his reviews, none of these abuses would have come to light.

Not only that, but in 1980 the annual rate of growth in the cost for major weapons systems was about 14 percent a year—a sure sign that when it came to buying sophisticated hardware the lights may have been on at the Pentagon, but no one was home. And by 1984 that was down to less than 1 percent. And some major weapons are cheaper than ever before. Others may have forgotten—I never did—the guy I put in charge was also called Cap, the Knife.

The mission of those weapons makes more sense, as well. Cap has overseen a

reevaluation and reformulation of American strategy. And one result has been that today we're embarked on a Strategic Defense Initiative that holds the promise of shifting deterrence increasingly to defenses, which threatens no one.

It took a remarkable man to do all this. And from our first days together in California, I've always found Cap to be an outstanding thinker, leader, and adviser. Yes, I've been listening to his advice for more than two decades now. But then, I'm in good company. Cap first gave opinions as an occupation during the Second World War. After enlisting, as I said, as a private, he rose to captain and became an intelligence officer for General MacArthur. One night he was sent to wake the General—and that's not an easy job to begin with—and tell him that an enemy destroyer group had been spotted steaming toward an American invasion fleet. MacArthur asked the young captain for his assessment. Cap didn't hedge. He didn't play it safe. He said his judgment was that the enemy movement was a coincidence, that he didn't believe they'd detected our fleet, and that the invasion should go forward. MacArthur approved, and Cap proved right.

Well, that's the kind of cool and sure judgment I've always prized in Cap, and he's never let me down. Something else I've prized in him: moral courage. He's not afraid to take chances when the ideals and principles he cherishes are at stake. When others hide in their foxholes, he rises to the battle. You may remember a few years ago that the Oxford Union invited him to debate the proposition that "There is no moral difference between the policies of the United States and the U.S.S.R." Well, many told him to forget it. The audience could be stacked against him, and a loss would be embarrassing. But he went ahead anyway, and he won. I've noticed that many people have rued the day they debated Cap.

I've occasionally called Cap my Disraeli. But as I think of him and the service he's given the Nation in the cause of freedom and peace, more than anyone else it's Churchill who comes to mind. After all, it was Churchill who said: "When great causes

are on the move in the world, we learn that something is going on in space and time and beyond space and time, which, whether we like it or not, spells duty.”

Duty brought Cap to Washington. I know he didn't want to come when I called him 6½ years ago. But today American peace and freedom are stronger and safer, because, as always, he answered the call and he served. Cap, thank you. And Jane, a very, very special thanks to you.

Now, before going, let me say a word about the job still before us: to preserve and build upon all that's been accomplished here in these last 6½ years. We're about to conclude the first agreement to eliminate an entire class of nuclear missiles, because America is once again strong. And all around the world, the causes of freedom and peace are more secure today, because America is once again strong. We've come so far. We must not turn back now. I will name as the next Secretary of Defense, the best qualified man in America to carry on Cap's work: Frank Carlucci.

Now Frank, of course, served under Cap as Deputy Secretary of Defense during our first term. Before that, in over 30 years of government service, his assignments included Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, Ambassador to Portugal, as well as a number of senior domestic policy positions. This year he has served with unusual distinction as my national security adviser. And, Frank, congratulations.

And to replace Frank, I've chosen a seasoned professional and Frank's right-hand man here at the White House: Lieutenant General Colin Powell. General Powell has had a distinguished career in the field and at the highest levels of our government. Together with Frank, he helped design and direct the overhaul of the NSC staff. With him taking the helm, the NSC won't even break stride, and the team will remain intact. Colin, congratulations.

You know, this is quite a chore for me, standing up here as an ex-second lieutenant of horse cavalry. [Laughter] Before going to final goodbye, I want to extend my personal best wishes and congratulations to a great gentleman of the Senate who has played a leading role for many decades in keeping America strong and free. Today is the 40th

anniversary of John Stennis' swearing-in as a Member of Congress. And as you know, Senator Stennis is retiring from the Senate. And America will miss him, but America is also grateful.

So, this is a day of mixed feelings for me. Two good men are taking new jobs, and I'm looking forward to continuing to work with them. But a great Senator will be retiring, and Cap is saddling up to head home. And, Cap, I close most of my speeches with the same words for the audience. Today, for America, I say them to you and to Jane: Thank you, and God bless you.

Secretary Weinberger. Thank you, Mr. President, Senator Stennis, and very distinguished ladies and gentlemen in the audience, and Frank and Colin, and all my friends. Normally, as you know, I think, I don't share my correspondence or recommendations to the President with anyone. But I thought I would, with your permission, sir, read a few excerpts from my letter to you today, because this is a pretty overwhelming day, and rather than making just a few short, unthought-through statements, I thought I would prefer to do this.

And so I would just say that with profound regret, but with unbounded admiration for all that you've accomplished for the country, I ask that you relieve me of the responsibilities of this great office that you entrusted to me nearly 7 years ago. And it's a source of great gratification to me to reflect on how much you have changed for the better the policies and, indeed, the whole agenda of the State and the Nation you've served so extraordinarily well for nearly 20 years.

So many of the ideas and programs that you first presented were dismissed without serious consideration, but they're now fully accepted, and it's only the details of those new ideas and those concepts that are debated. And virtually alone you reversed the idea that only government could solve problems and that you first proposed not only that taxes should be cut, but that the government's taxing power itself should be limited as a way to reduce the scope of government's power and thus increase the freedom of us all.

Also, virtually alone, you've challenged

the incongruous and dangerous strategic concept that we're only safe when we're completely vulnerable to Soviet missiles. You've steadfastly kept us to the goal of deployment of your Strategic Defense Initiative, toward which we are making very great progress very rapidly. And you've refused all temptations, Soviet or otherwise, to be diverted from that deployment.

You've never hesitated to take unpopular paths nor to violate the conventional wisdom, because you recognize that principle must come ahead of what's popular and that the conventional wisdom is not always wise. Your leadership and vision have restored America's military strength and secured for all of us the benefits of freedom and the peace that could only be ours when we're strong.

Our NATO alliance and other allies are united and strong, and America is greatly respected again. And this, too, is part of the inspiration and the leadership you have provided. Most of all, it's been a continuing delight to serve with you all these years and to be buoyed by your unquenchable optimism and to have shared in the fun of working with you as you change the course of history.

So, I leave with great regret, but content in the knowledge that the Nation under your leadership is far more secure and happier and better than had you not served us. And I'm grateful, too, as I know the Nation will be, that in Frank Carlucci as Secretary and Will Taft continuing as the Deputy Secretary, you've chosen such a wise and capable defense team. And together with Colin Powell as your security advisor, for whom I have the very greatest respect and admiration, you will have the benefit of one of the very best teams America can provide.

I'm deeply grateful to you, sir, not only for all the very kind things you said today but for the privilege of working with you all these years.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Carlucci. Mr. President, Cap, Colin, friends, and guests. This is Cap's and Jane's day. And I'm just proud to be a part of it. You know, Mr. President, to you, Cap has been a loyal subordinate, a confidant, and a friend. To me, he's been an inspirational supervisor, colleague, confidant, and friend.

You may lose a subordinate today, and I may lose a colleague, but we keep a confidant and a friend. I will continue to look to Cap for advice and guidance, and I want to express to Cap and Jane my heartfelt thanks for all the great support they have given me through the, I guess, 17 years that we have been associated.

Large shoes, hard act to follow—however you want to describe it—it's a big job. And Mr. President, I'm comfortable in my relationship with you, and I know you will continue to give the Defense Department the same stalwart support you've always given it, comfortable in the relationship with your security team. And assuming I am confirmed, I know that, with many of the people assembled out here, the Defense Department will continue to provide you and America that same great service it has provided under Cap's leadership.

Let me just say a word of thanks to the NSC people here today. You've been absolutely great, and particularly to Colin Powell who has been a superb deputy. You have chosen well your national security adviser, Mr. President, and I look forward to working with him and you and all my colleagues in my new capacity.

Thank you very much.

General Powell. Mr. President, Secretary Weinberger, Secretary-designate Carlucci, ladies and gentlemen—Mr. President, I want to thank you for the confidence you have placed in me to succeed my distinguished boss and great friend Frank Carlucci, but at the same time, I share the sense of loss over the departure of Secretary Weinberger. At close hand for a number of years, I watched him use every ounce of energy everyday to push forward your defense program and the Nation's defense program. And as a field commander, I saw the results of those efforts in improved morale in soldiers and sailors and airmen and marines, who were well-trained, well-equipped, and ready for whatever they might face in the future. He will be greatly, greatly missed by those of us in uniform. But at the same time, I know that his work is being passed on to the very best hands in the land to carry on that work: Frank Carlucci.

So, Mr. President, I am honored at this appointment, and I look forward to playing my part in aggressively moving forward your national security agenda over the next 14 months.

Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:20 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Jane Weinberger.

Nomination of Frank C. Carlucci To Be Secretary of Defense *November 5, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frank C. Carlucci to be Secretary of Defense. He would succeed Caspar W. Weinberger.

Mr. Carlucci has been Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs since January 1987. Prior to this he was chairman and chief executive officer, 1984–1986, and president and chief operating officer, 1983–1984, of Sears World Trade, Inc., in Washington, DC. Mr. Carlucci has been Deputy Secretary of Defense, 1981–1982; Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, 1978–1981; United States Ambassador to Portugal, 1974–1978; Under Secretary of the Department of Health, Educa-

tion and Welfare, 1973–1974; Associate Director and then Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget, 1971–1973; and Assistant Director and then Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, 1969–1971. Mr. Carlucci became a career Foreign Service officer in 1956, where he held positions in South Africa, the Congo, Zanzibar, and Brazil.

Mr. Carlucci graduated from Princeton University (A.B., 1952) and did postgraduate studies at the Harvard School of Business. He was born October 18, 1930, in Scranton, PA. Mr. Carlucci is married, has three children, and resides in McLean, VA.

Designation of Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs *November 5, 1987*

The President today announced the designation of Lt. Gen. Colin L. Powell as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. He will succeed Frank C. Carlucci.

General Powell has been Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs since January 1987. Prior to this he was Commanding General, V Corps, Frankfurt, Federal Republic of Germany, 1986–1987. From 1983 to 1986, he served as senior military assistant to Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger. From 1982 to 1983, he was Deputy Commanding General of the United States Army Combined Arms Combat Development Activity at Fort

Leavenworth, KS. He was Assistant Division Commander for Operations and Training, 4th Infantry Division (Mech) at Fort Carson, CO, 1981–1982. From January through May of 1981, he served as senior military assistant to then Deputy Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci.

General Powell graduated from the City College of New York (B.S., 1958) and George Washington University (M.B.A., 1971). His many military decorations include the Distinguished Service Medal, the Soldiers Medal, Bronze Star, the Air Medal, and a Purple Heart. General Powell was born April 5, 1937, in New York, NY. He is married and has three children.

Remarks on Receiving the Report of the President's Child Safety Partnership

November 5, 1987

Thank you very much. And I appreciate this opportunity to receive the report of the partnership and to thank all of you who've contributed to this study. It was 2 years ago when I first appointed 26 of you, distinguished citizens who would not take this issue lightly, to examine the status of child safety in America. This effort was launched during a time of anxiety and frustration over an escalating number of reports about the abuse, molestation, and abduction of children.

What I asked for was more than just a reaffirmation that a problem exists. I'm looking forward, then, to reading your recommendations on how America should approach this issue and how all Americans can work together to prevent the victimization of children. Much care was taken to ensure that results-oriented, no-nonsense people were brought into this effort. Certainly, the last thing needed is a report predicated on the idea that government can solve this and every other problem, simply by spending more tax dollars or increasing the number of Federal bureaucrats whose official assignment is solving the problem.

Child safety is a broad and complex issue, as you have heard, and does not lend itself to easy answers and quick fixes. It's more than just abuse and neglect. It's also the exploitation of children through pornography and prostitution, the abduction of children, and the assault, robbery, and murder of children. It involves kids who run away from home or are turned out of their homes and youths who abuse drugs and alcohol.

You'll be glad to know that this month I'll be proposing legislation to Congress that will give law enforcement officials the help they need to crack down on child pornography and the exploitation of our children. The answer is not federalizing and bureaucratizing the problem. The answer is to bring into play the greatest force for good on this planet, and that is the active commitment of the American people. Your report will be another important step

toward informing and mobilizing the citizenry.

First and foremost, we must be aggressive advocates of a simple, yet profound idea: It's a preeminent responsibility for the family to care for and raise its children and a preeminent responsibility of society to nurture and protect the institution of the family. We cannot make progress in this area without first admitting that many of the problems we face concerning the victimization of children stem from a breakdown of the family and the decline of certain moral values in America. These are problems that will require all of us to take a stand and to get involved.

In September I issued an Executive order requiring all Federal departments and agencies to review existing and proposed legislation and regulations to make sure they don't undermine family values. From this end, you can count on me and the other leaders of our administration to consider seriously what impact the decisions we're making will have on the institution of the family, and that includes our decisions as to who will be appointed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "The fortune of our lives depends on employing well the short period of our youth." Well, that's what this report and the effort we're making is all about. We want all of America's children to reach their fullest potential, to reach adulthood capable of living life to its fullest and taking advantage of the tremendous freedom of our country. As I said earlier, this is not just government's job; it's up to all of us.

I want to take this opportunity to thank all the individuals and companies who have been involved in private sector initiatives that attack the problem of child victimization in America. And I'd like to offer congratulations to those winners of the Child Safety Partnership Award: Parental Stress Services, KOMO-TV, Paulina Home, Texize Division of Dow Consumer Products,

Housewise Streetwise, Robert L. Bearden, National Children's Advocacy Center, and the American Gas Association.

These are, of course, but just a few of the many wonderful examples of what Americans are voluntarily doing to better this country. Recently, it caught my attention that the Annie E. Casey Foundation will be giving \$100 million to help America's children. One program being financed is specifically aimed at helping those kids at risk: teenagers who drop out of school and cannot find jobs, and pregnant young women.

Let me just note that this grant is coming from a foundation that was funded by one of America's great entrepreneurs, Jim Casey. The Foundation is named after his mother, who raised her children alone. Jim, in fact, had to quit school at the age of 11 to earn money to contribute to the family. He started delivering messages with a friend and eventually set up an office for his American Messenger Service in the basement of a saloon. With hard work and a commitment to excellence, Jim, starting from that humblest of beginnings, built one

of this country's most successful business enterprises, United Parcel Service. He proved through his life that free enterprise is not only more efficient but that it fosters those human values which make this a good and a free land.

In his lifetime Jim Casey and his brothers and a sister, through the Casey family program, have helped a countless number of society's forgotten children. Jim died 5 years ago, and now a foundation that he endowed with hundreds of millions of dollars is a lasting tribute to this great American. He cared for kids he will never know. Jim is often quoted as saying, "Determined people, working together, can do anything." Well, that is our challenge. So, thank you all for what you're doing to protect America's greatest national treasure, our children. And now Mario Machado will introduce the winners, and we'll present them with their awards.

Note: The President spoke at 11:41 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. Mario J. Machado was a member of the Partnership.

Appointment of Kathleen Osborne as Deputy Assistant to the President

November 5, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Kathleen Osborne to be Deputy Assistant to the President. Ms. Osborne will remain in the personal office of the President, where she has served as Special Assistant to the President since November 1985. Previously Ms. Osborne served for 4 years as Personal Secretary to the President. As Deputy Assistant, she will continue her duties in that capacity.

While President Reagan was Governor of California, Ms. Osborne was assistant personal secretary to the Governor for approximately 2 years and was also personal secre-

tary to the First Lady of California, Mrs. Ronald Reagan, for approximately 2 years. In 1975 she opened her own business, a ladies apparel store, in Sacramento, CA, and managed it until she was appointed in October 1981 to be Personal Secretary to the President. Ms. Osborne closed her business in December 1984.

A native of Sacramento, CA, Ms. Osborne currently resides in Arlington, VA with her 13-year-old daughter, Shelley. Her 20-year-old son, Scott, is a junior in college in Sacramento, CA.

**Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on the Release of Govan Mbeki in South Africa
*November 5, 1987***

The President welcomes the release from prison in South Africa of Govan Mbeki, one of the leaders of the African National Congress sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964. The South African Government is to be congratulated for this gesture of conciliation toward the majority black population. The President hopes this action leads to a rapid process of negotiation designed to give all South Africans equal political and

constitutional rights.

In welcoming Mr. Mbeki's release, the President renews our concern for the remaining political prisoners in South Africa such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and others who should be released so that the process of political change can be pursued with confidence and in a nonviolent manner.

**Appointment of James F. Kuhn as Deputy Assistant to the President
*November 5, 1987***

The President today announced the appointment of James F. Kuhn to be Deputy Assistant to the President. Mr. Kuhn will continue to serve as the President's personal aide, where he has served as Special Assistant to the President since 1985.

From 1981 to 1985, Mr. Kuhn served as a staff assistant in the Presidential Advance Office. In that capacity, he coordinated the development and execution of Presidential events at and away from the White House. Prior to joining the White House staff, Mr. Kuhn served on the staff of President-elect Reagan, establishing the transition office in Los Angeles and coordinating the Presi-

dent-elect's schedule from election day 1980 to inauguration day 1981. During the 1980 Presidential campaign, he served as an advance representative of candidate Reagan. Before joining the campaign, Mr. Kuhn served as assistant to the vice president and group manager at IPS Industries, an industrial manufacturers' representative firm, in Canton, OH.

Mr. Kuhn graduated from Kent State University (B.A., 1974). He is married to the former Carole McClone. They have two children, Caitlin Marie and Gregory James, and reside in Alexandria, VA. Mr. Kuhn was born February 26, 1952, in Tiffin, OH.

**Proclamation 5736—To Establish a Special Limited Global Import
Quota for Upland Cotton
*November 5, 1987***

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

1. Section 103A(o)(1) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as added by section 501 of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1444-1(o)(1)), provides that whenever the Secre-

tary of Agriculture determines that the average price of Strict Low Middling one and one-sixteenth inch cotton (micronaire 3.5 through 4.9), hereinafter referred to as "Strict Low Middling cotton," in the designated spot markets for a month exceeded 130 percent of the average price of such quality of cotton in such markets for the

preceding 36 months, notwithstanding any other provision of law, the President shall immediately establish and proclaim a special limited global import quota for upland cotton. The amount of such quota, if no special quota has been established under that section during the previous 12 months, is to be equal to 21 days of domestic mill consumption of upland cotton at the seasonally adjusted average rate of the most recent 3 months for which data are available and is to remain in effect for a 90-day period.

2. The Secretary of Agriculture has informed me that he has determined that the average price of Strict Low Middling cotton in the designated spot markets for the month of August 1987 has exceeded 130 percent of the average price of such cotton in such markets for the preceding 36 months. The Secretary's determination was based upon the following data:

(a) The average price of Strict Low Middling cotton in the designated spot markets for the month of August 1987 was 75.89 cents per pound.

(b) The average price of Strict Low Middling cotton in the designated spot markets for the 36 months preceding the month of August 1987 was 57.89 cents per pound.

3. Twenty-one days of domestic mill consumption of upland cotton, which is any variety of the *Gossypium hirsutum* species of cotton, at the seasonally adjusted rate of the most recent 3 months for which data are available is 303,894,717 pounds.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, by the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States of America, including section 103A(o)(1) of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as added by section 501 of the Food Security Act of 1985, and in order to establish a special 90-day limited global import quota for 303,894,717 pounds of upland cotton, do hereby proclaim as follows:

Part 3 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States is hereby modified by inserting in numerical sequence the following temporary provision:

"Item	Article	Quota quantity (in pounds)
955.07	Notwithstanding any other quantitative limitations on the importation of cotton, upland cotton, if accompanied by an original certificate of an official of a government agency of the country in which the cotton was produced attesting to the fact that cotton is a variety of <i>Gossypium hirsutum</i> species of cotton, may be entered during the 90-day period November 6, 1987, through February 3, 1988.....	303,894,717 pounds."

The provisions of this Proclamation shall become effective on the day following the date of signature. The amendment made by this Proclamation to the Tariff Schedules of the United States shall expire on February 28, 1988.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 5th day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and

eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:25 a.m., November 6, 1987]

Proclamation 5737—National Community Education Day, 1987 November 5, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

National Community Education Day reminds us that schools and colleges are institutions strongly woven into the fabric of our cities and towns and that they should command the sustained interest of the citizenry. Public education is a community project, and the lifelong mission of education involves everyone in the community.

Many areas do use community resources in education. Parents and other citizens examine their schools and determine how they can contribute to learning. Businesses and industries become aware of what local educational institutions are offering students and consider how they can contribute their own resources and practical skills to enhance learning and provide educational opportunities for learners of all ages and educational backgrounds. Through outreach, receptiveness, and cooperation, our communities can and do become more firmly interwoven with our schools in a commitment to better education for all gen-

erations.

The Congress, by Public Law 100-103, has designated November 17, 1987, as "National Community Education Day" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim November 17, 1987, as National Community Education Day. I invite parents, educators, students, State and local officials, and all Americans to take part in activities that recognize and show appreciation for the role of community resources in education.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fifth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:26 a.m., November 6, 1987]

Executive Order 12614—Presidential Task Force on Market Mechanisms November 5, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Establishment of Task Force. (a) There is hereby established the Presidential Task Force on Market Mechanisms. The Task Force shall be composed of five persons appointed by the President.

(b) The President shall designate a chairman from among the members of the Task Force.

Sec. 2. Purpose and Functions. (a) The Task Force shall review relevant analyses of

the current and long-term financial condition of the Nation's securities markets; identify problems that may threaten the short-term liquidity or long-term solvency of such markets; analyze potential solutions to such problems that will both assure the continued smooth functioning of free, fair, and competitive securities markets and maintain investor confidence in such markets; and provide appropriate recommendations to the President, to the Secretary of the Treasury, and to the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

(b) The Task Force shall submit its rec-

ommendations within 60 days from the date hereof.

Sec. 3. Administration. (a) The heads of Executive departments, agencies, and independent instrumentalities shall, to the extent permitted by law, provide the Task Force such information as it may require for the purpose of carrying out its functions.

(b) Members of the Task Force shall serve without any additional compensation for their work on the Task Force. However, members appointed from among private citizens of the United States may be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the government service, to the extent funds are available therefor.

(c) The Task Force shall have a staff

headed by an Executive Director. To the extent permitted by law and subject to the availability of funds therefor, the Executive Office of the President and the Department of the Treasury shall provide the Task Force with such administrative services, funds, facilities, staff, and other support service as may be necessary for the performance of its functions.

Sec. 4. Termination of Task Force. The Task Force shall terminate 30 days after submitting its report.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 5, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:27 a.m., November 6, 1987]

Informal Exchange With Reporters on the Supreme Court Nomination of Douglas H. Ginsburg November 6, 1987

Q. Mr. President, are you going to withdraw the nomination of Judge Ginsburg?

The President. I am not. I accept his statement. I believe that that's enough said.

Q. Do you think he should have "Just said no?" [Laughter]

Q. Mr. President, why aren't you more concerned about a Supreme Court nominee's use of marijuana?

The President. Because I'm old enough to have seen that era in which his generation and the generations earlier than that—how it was taken and all. And how many of us would like to have everything we did when we were younger put on the book?

Q. Got a confession?

The President. What?

Q. Have you got a confession to make? [Laughter]

The President. Only if you will all agree that you have confessions. [Laughter]

Q. We're not running for anything. And we decided that you have to be 7 years old and aspire to government office. [Laughter] Are you really satisfied with the nomination?

The President. Yes, and I'm satisfied with his statement. He was not an addict, and he was nothing of that kind, and—few experimentations—I'm sure there were a great many people who did that—that particular period.

Q. You're not concerned about the message it sends to the Nation's young people?

The President. Well, I think the message it sends is that he says he regrets and shouldn't have done it. I think it's a helpful message.

Q. Do you think he can survive? Can he survive, Mr. President?

The President. If there's any justice in Washington, he can.

Q. Do you think there's no conflict with your calling him a law and order candidate, sir?

The President. No, converts are sometimes the most devoted.

Note: The exchange began at 9:17 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. The questions referred to Mr. Ginsburg's past use of marijuana.

Nomination of Henry Anatole Grunwald To Be United States Ambassador to Austria

November 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Henry Anatole Grunwald, of New York, as Ambassador to the Republic of Austria. He would succeed Ronald S. Lauder.

Since 1979 Mr. Grunwald has been editor-in-chief of Time magazine in New York City. Previously, he was Time Inc., corporate editor, 1977-1979; managing editor, 1968-1977; assistant managing editor, 1966-1968; foreign news editor,

1961-1966; senior editor, 1951-1961; and staff writer, 1945-1951. He began his career in 1944 as a reporter for the Trade Union Courier.

Mr. Grunwald graduated from New York University (A.B., 1944). He is articulate in French and German. Mr. Grunwald was born December 3, 1922, in Vienna, Austria. He is married, has three children, and resides in New York, NY.

Nomination of Richard Huntington Melton To Be United States Ambassador to Nicaragua

November 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard Huntington Melton, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Nicaragua. He would succeed Harry E. Bergold, Jr.

Since 1985 Mr. Melton has been Director of the Office of Central American and Panamanian Affairs at the Department of State, Washington, DC. Prior to this Mr. Melton served as the deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Montevideo, Uruguay, 1982-1985. From 1979 to 1982, he was political officer for the U.S. Embassy in

London, England and the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon, Portugal, 1975-1978. Mr. Melton was an international relations officer in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, 1971-1972, and then became special assistant in the Bureau, 1973-1975. He joined the Foreign Service in 1961.

Mr. Melton graduated from Cornell University (B.A., 1958) and the University of Wisconsin (M.A., 1971). He attended the National War College, 1978-1979, and served in the United States Army 1958-1961. He was born August 8, 1935, in Rockville, MD. Mr. Melton is married, has three children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of Linda J. Fisher To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

November 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Linda J. Fisher to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (Policy and Evaluation). She would succeed Milton Russell.

Since 1985 Ms. Fisher has been Executive Assistant to the Administrator at the Environmental Protection Agency in Washington, DC. Previously she was Special Assistant to the Assistant Administrator of the

EPA (Solid Waste and Emergency Response), 1983–1984. From 1982 to 1983, she was a law clerk with Chester, Hoffman & Wilcox in Washington, DC.

Ms. Fisher graduated from Miami Univer-

sity (B.A., 1974), George Washington University (M.B.A., 1978), and Ohio State University (J.D., 1982). She was born June 26, 1952, in Saginaw, MI, and currently resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of Bradley P. Holmes To Be a Member of the Federal Communications Commission

November 6, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Bradley P. Holmes to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission for the term expiring June 30, 1990. He would succeed Mark S. Fowler.

Since 1986 Mr. Holmes has been Chief, Policy and Rules Division, Mass Media Bureau, at the Federal Communications Commission. From 1984 to 1986, he was legal adviser to Commissioner Dennis R.

Patrick at the Federal Communications Commission. Mr. Holmes was an associate with the law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom in New York, NY, 1981–1984.

Mr. Holmes graduated from Dartmouth College (B.A., 1975) and Georgetown University (J.D., 1978). He was born September 14, 1953, in Boston, MA, and he currently resides in Falls Church, VA.

Remarks to Ethnic and Minority Administration Supporters on the Supreme Court Nomination of Douglas H. Ginsburg

November 6, 1987

Thank you very much. You're forgetting my previous profession. With a hand like that for entering—[laughter]—I might just turn around and exit. [Laughter]

Well, 8 days ago I announced my intention to nominate Judge Douglas Ginsburg to the United States Supreme Court. Judge Ginsburg's qualifications were obvious: valedictorian of his class at Cornell University; a brilliant student at the University of Chicago Law School; 8 years as a professor at the Harvard Law School, where he taught and wrote about the pressing legal and policy issues of the day concerning various areas of economic regulation, such as broadcasting and banking as well as antitrust law; 3 years in high government posts, including service as Assistant Attorney General to the United States; then nomination and unanimous Senate confirmation last year to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia circuit, one of the most important

and prestigious of the Federal Courts of Appeal—and all this by the age of 40.

Obviously, remarkable credentials, but in the last day or so we've learned something else about Judge Ginsburg, something that tells us about the times we live in, about the reality of youthful error, and something that will—according to how we react to this news—tell us about the kind of people we are ourselves. You know, since the Republic began, the American people and those in public life have had to deal with the issue raised by this recent news.

Many of our most prominent public servants—throughout our history and in recent times—have had to acknowledge errors they made in their youth or even more serious errors committed when they were older. And yet if that public servant showed a sincere sense of regret and a firm purpose of amendment, the American people have

always answered unhesitatingly: Continue to serve us. Well, get on with your life; we understand and forgive. And we expect great things of you. In the case of Judge Ginsburg, I think the American people will be no less compassionate and no less wise. Judge Ginsburg erred in his youth. He has acknowledged it. He has expressed his regrets. So, yes, sometimes youth can have its drawbacks, but let us remember that throughout the history of our Republic it has also shown itself to great advantage.

You know, at a Cabinet meeting earlier this week, I was remarking that Judge Ginsburg will be joining the list of remarkable Supreme Court Justices nominated at a relatively early age: Chief Justice John Marshall, nominated at the age of 45; Justice John Marshall Harlan, author of the dissent in *Plessy versus Ferguson* that laid the basis for the landmark decision in *Brown versus the Board of Education*, nominated at the age of 44; Justice William O. Douglas, a judge we conservatives often disagreed with, but whose intelligence we respected, nominated at the age of 40; and Justice Byron White, one of the finest minds on the Court today and quite a backfield man also—[laughter]—nominated at the age of 44. Well, as I say, I was going through this list when Education Secretary Bennett spoke up. Leave it to Bill Bennett, the former teacher. “Mr. President,” he said, “never mind these Justices who started to interpret the Constitution in their early forties. James Madison helped to write the document at the age of 36.”

But I nominated Judge Ginsburg, and we’re all here today not just because of his professional qualifications but, most important, there is his legal philosophy of judicial restraint. Judge Ginsburg believes—as I do and as do you, as do all those who have a proper and balanced understanding of the American system of government—that it is the role of the courts to interpret the law, not to make it. And this goes to the very root of what we Americans believe. For to the extent that judges make the law—no matter how high or fine their intentions—to that extent, we cease to be a democracy governed by the people and become governed instead by the very few. This is not what the Founders like Madison intended.

To keep faith with their noble experiment in democracy, to keep faith with the generations of Americans who for two centuries have labored and sacrificed to keep this nation free, American judges must submit themselves to the Constitution and the original intent of those who founded it. Judge Ginsburg believes in keeping that faith.

Then there is a second matter. I have mentioned Judge Ginsburg’s academic credentials, but there is also his dedication to the cause of justice best evidenced by his record as Assistant Attorney General. As head of the Department of Justice’s Antitrust Division, Assistant Attorney General Ginsburg made criminal enforcement the Division’s first priority. Under his leadership, the Antitrust Division filed criminal charges against 87 corporations and 80 individuals. And by the time I nominated Assistant Attorney General Ginsburg to the Court of Appeals, the Antitrust Division was conducting a record number of grand jury investigations of antitrust felonies.

Assistant Attorney General Ginsburg also initiated a special effort to uncover bid-rigging in connection with Federal procurement, in particular, on procurements for the Department of Defense. This effort led to more than 30 grand jury investigations into possible bid-rigging and price-fixing on contracts at military installations across the country, and in time it’s certain to save the American taxpayers millions, if not billions, of dollars. The Wall Street Journal said this about Assistant Attorney General Ginsburg, and I’ll quote: “When it comes to pursuing price-fixing, bid-rigging, and other blatantly criminal activities, the scholarly former law professor acts more like an aggressive, hard-nosed prosecutor, and he goes out of his way to demand stiffer jail sentences for executives convicted of such crimes.”

Judge Ginsburg has thus put into actual practice his belief in the fair and firm administration of justice; in justice that respects the rights of criminals, but that respects as well the rights of victims of crime and of society itself. Dedication to the cause of justice, a brilliant mind, remarkable and extensive experience in the legal profession—in short, Judge Ginsburg can become

a great member of the Court.

When I nominated Judge Ginsburg to the Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit just a year ago, one Democratic Senator called Judge Ginsburg—and again I'll quote: “an openminded nominee with a sense of compassion—I think we're fortunate to have this nominee, and I would hope that we would act expeditiously to assure that he can join his colleagues on the Circuit Court.” And the name of the Senator who made that statement: Edward Kennedy.

That's the type of dedication we've seen in Judge Ginsburg: a complete commitment to his profession and to those judicial principles that have guided this country for over 200 years. In its place, of course, the struggle between political parties and political points of view is important, even vital, to the health of the Nation. But the Federal judiciary is not that place.

On the contrary, the Federal judiciary must remain impartial in order to command the respect of the Nation and to ensure that we remain governed by laws properly enacted, not by the views of whatever group happens to hold temporary power. Our Founders understood and intended this from the first. In the words of Alexander Hamilton: “The complete independence of the courts of justice is essential in our Constitution.” This places upon the Senate an obligation of the utmost importance. For in confirming a nominee to a seat on the Supreme Court, the Senate must set politics aside, apprising a nominee in an atmosphere of reason and calm.

And as I said in announcing my selection of Judge Ginsburg, the confirmation hearings should begin promptly. The integrity of the nomination process and the independence of the judiciary demand that hearings be held within the next few weeks. Moreover, it's critical that the Supreme Court, with its increasingly burdensome caseload, be put back to full strength. Justice Powell's seat has now been vacant for over 4 months—one of the longest vacancies ever. Certainly, there is no more pressing business before Congress than filling Justice Powell's vacant seat on the Court. And I urge the Senate to exercise its consti-

tutional responsibility to vote on this nomination before it adjourns for the year.

There is a vital lesson to be learned in what the Nation has just been through. In the words of Judge Bork himself: “Federal judges are not appointed to decide cases according to the latest opinion polls . . . but when judicial nominees are assessed and treated like political candidates, the effect will be to chill the climate in which judicial deliberations take place, to erode public confidence in the impartiality of courts, and to endanger the independence of the judiciary. This should not and, indeed, must not be permitted to occur again.”

What it comes down to is this: It is my duty, according to my oath of office, to ensure the integrity of the nomination process and the independence of the judiciary. With Judge Ginsburg soon to be before the Senate, I am determined to use all the powers at my disposal as President to do just that. One other thing that repeatedly is being said over and over again about Judge Bork and now about this judge already: that somehow this single new Justice would just totally undo everything that has ever been done that's right and would take positions that would just turn around our country. And we've heard that same Senator that I quoted speak about all the things that would happen to the people of America.

Did anyone ever stop to think that no one judge can do that. What they're saying is they think there are already four judges on the Supreme Court who would do those things if they had a fifth vote to make them a majority. Well, I feel that we've got a Supreme Court that's been doing pretty well by us for quite some time. And I wonder if we shouldn't just start thinking about—can one man do all those horrible things that they suggest unless he's got four more horrible men on the Court with him?

Well, I want to thank all of you for being here and for being willing to listen to us. And God bless all of you. [*Applause*] I'll just bashfully leave.

Note: The President spoke at 1:43 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Proclamation 5738—National Women Veterans Recognition Week, 1987

November 6, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

During wartime and peacetime American women in every branch of the Armed Forces have defended our country and our ideals with devotion and distinction. Such service, of course, is neither easy nor without risk. As veterans, these women continue to contribute to our Nation in civilian life. The week in which Veterans Day falls is a most appropriate time to offer women veterans our heartfelt respect and thanks for their part in preserving our freedom and security.

This week we also remember that our gratitude as a Nation must include meeting women veterans' special needs and concerns. With the help of its Advisory Committee on Women Veterans, the Veterans' Administration has sought creative, effective ways to do this. National Women Veterans Recognition Week is a fine time to both redouble our efforts and express our appreciation.

To create greater public awareness and

recognition of the many achievements of women veterans, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 171, has designated the week beginning November 8, 1987, as "National Women Veterans Recognition Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning November 8, 1987, as National Women Veterans Recognition Week. I encourage all Americans and government officials at every level to celebrate this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 6th day of Nov., in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:33 a.m., November 9, 1987]

Accordance of the Personal Rank of Ambassador to Morris D. Busby While Serving as Special Negotiator for Central America

November 6, 1987

The President today accorded the personal rank of Ambassador to Morris D. Busby, of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, in his capacity as Special Negotiator for Central America.

Since early 1987 Mr. Busby has been the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs at the Department of State. Previously he was deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Mexico City, 1984-1987. From 1982 to 1983, Mr. Busby was alternate representative to the Confer-

ence on Disarmament in Geneva, Switzerland. From 1976 to 1980, he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Ocean Affairs and served with the rank of Ambassador during the periods he represented the United States at international conferences and meetings on fish and wildlife matters. In 1975 Mr. Busby joined the Department of State as an international relations officer in the Office of the Coordinator of Ocean Affairs.

Mr. Busby graduated from Marshall University (A.B., 1960) and George Washington

University (M.S., 1971). he served in the United States Navy, 1960–1975. Mr. Busby was born March 15, 1938, in Memphis, TN.

He is articulate in Spanish and French. Mr. Busby is married, has two children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Proclamation 5739—National Family Bread Baking Month, 1987 *November 6, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Bread, the staff of life, both gives and symbolizes sustenance. Until recent decades the American people baked their bread at home, and today many families enjoy this tradition, not simply for its wholesome nutrition but also for its rich association with the well-being and security of family life.

Baking bread at home provides a nutritious and delicious food and uses many products of American agriculture, such as wheat, rye, corn, dairy products, sugar, eggs, and other ingredients. Beside contributing to the physical needs of the family, baking bread at home can nourish its strength and unity as well, and teach and tell much about American traditions and values.

In recognition of the value of baking bread in the home, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 163, has designated No-

vember 1987 as “National Family Bread Baking Month” and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this month.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the month of November 1987 as National Family Bread Baking Month. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this month with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:32 a.m., November 9, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 7.

Radio Address to the Nation on Philippine-United States Relations and the Situation in Central America

November 7, 1987

My fellow Americans:

Last week, news from the Philippines reminded us all of both the friendship of the Filipino people and their struggles. The gesture of friendship came when Philippine President Corazon Aquino paid a visit to Clark Air Base outside of Manila to attend a memorial service for American airmen slain by terrorists. I have told President Aquino how much all Americans appreciate her

thoughtfulness. These murders bring home to all of us the troubles and threats that the new Philippine democracy faces.

Twenty months ago, we applauded as President Corazon Aquino’s peaceful revolution began moving the Philippines back toward popular rule. Since then, President Aquino has been more successful than many believed was possible. Within this last year-and-a-half, she has led a successful cam-

paigned to ratify a new, more democratic constitution, and she has overseen the first free congressional elections in 15 years—elections in which an overwhelming majority of the people participated. Now she's working with the newly elected Congress to solve that nation's serious economic problems.

President Aquino believes, as I do, that free enterprise is the most powerful engine of economic progress known to humanity. She has inaugurated an ambitious reform program that has ended a sharp recession and boosted annual economic growth to 5 percent. She has begun to reform the tax system, dismantle monopolies, privatize or eliminate inefficient government-owned industries, and reduce barriers to international trade and investment. These are all reasons for optimism, but there are reasons for concern as well.

The single most serious threat to the survival of democratic government in the Philippines remains the Communist insurgency. As a result of the restoration of democracy, that insurgency has lost political momentum; still it continues, becoming more violent as it becomes more desperate. But even as she confronts the threat of Communist guerrillas, President Aquino must also rebuild the Philippine Armed Forces. She has had to reassert the principle of civilian supremacy over the military, while at the same time resolve honest differences over how best to defeat the Communist insurgency. Not everyone in the military has been happy about the new civilian role. President Aquino has faced five attempted coups since taking office.

I've made it clear to all concerned that Filipino democracy and President Aquino have America's full support. We hope all elements in the Philippine Government, both civilian and military, will work together to find common ground. Division between government and its armed forces can only help the Communist insurgents, who are bent on destruction of freedom and democracy in the Philippines.

Few countries are as strategically important to the United States as the Philippines, and we have a moral obligation to help all democracies succeed. That's why I have re-

cently underscored to American business leaders that the United States is committed to Philippine economic recovery. I told them that we believe there are great opportunities for American investors in the Philippines, and I reminded them that, while building the economy, our men and women of enterprise will also be helping to build a stable and democratic future for that nation.

I've also asked Congress to help. I've requested substantial economic and military assistance for the Philippines. While we'd like to do more, budgetary constraints may limit what we can do, but this is one area where we can't afford to cut corners. The people of the Philippines are counting on us. One way Congress could do a lot is to reform our sugar program, as I proposed earlier this year. We will work with President Aquino to build a safer home for democracy in the Philippines. Most of the responsibility belongs to the people of the Philippines, but we can and will lend a hand.

Now, let me turn for a moment to another area of the world where brave men and women are working for democracy. I mean Central America. This week the Guatemala peace accord went into effect. The world is waiting to see if the Sandinistas in Nicaragua keep the promises they made to the other Central American Governments when they signed that agreement. Will they fulfill both the letter and spirit of the agreement? In particular, will they institute the steps necessary for the democratization of Nicaragua? Will they allow freedom to prosper as the agreements demand? Will they begin the process of national reconciliation? And will they take full steps, not partial steps? The United States will be watching to see if the Sandinistas were sincere when they signed the Guatemala accord or if their signature was just one more propaganda ploy.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Statement on the Withdrawal of the Supreme Court Nomination of Douglas H. Ginsburg

November 7, 1987

It was with regret that I received today Judge Douglas Ginsburg's decision to withdraw his name from further consideration for the United States Supreme Court. Judge Ginsburg believes that a prolonged confirmation process will not benefit the Nation

or the Court. I commended Judge Ginsburg for his record and qualifications when I announced his selection, and I commend his selflessness and clear thinking now. I will move promptly to name another nominee to fill the vacancy on the Supreme Court.

Remarks to the Volunteers and Staff of the United Way of America in Alexandria, Virginia

November 9, 1987

Well, thank you, Jim. That report on the United Way is very encouraging. More than that, it's just spectacular. And thanks to you, Cheryle and Bill. I want you to know that I no longer can say I never got an Academy Award. [Laughter] Wait till I get home and tell Nancy. This beats anything we've seen on the "Late Late Show." [Laughter]

Well, I'm delighted to meet with all of you who give so much of your time for so many worthy causes. With the success of your accomplishments to date, I can't help but feel we can meet the needs of the future. It's also a great pleasure to join you on this, the 100th anniversary year of the United Way. I always get a particular pleasure out of celebrating the birthday of anything that's older than I am. [Laughter]

But seriously, in the front atrium stands a bust of one of the most perceptive foreigners to visit this country: Alexis de Tocqueville. When young de Tocqueville traveled here in the 1800's, he identified a spirit in America that set us apart from those in other countries. Today de Tocqueville's words have come to symbolize what is uniquely right about our nation. He wrote: "In a local community in America, a citizen may conceive of some need which is not being met. What does he do? Well, he goes across the street, discusses it with his neighbor. And then what happens? A committee comes into existence, and the committee begins functioning in behalf of the need."

And he added a line there, in that book that he was writing about democracy in America, in which he said: "And you won't believe it, but there was never a bureaucrat involved."

Well, as you may know, I grew up in a small town in northern Illinois, where every day you saw a neighbor helping neighbor. It was an accepted part of the running of a successful community. And, yes, from our earliest days in Hollywood to our current jobs, Nancy and I have tried to carry this spirit with us. Through our administration's private sector initiatives program, we've been able to see how—when free of the restricting hand of government—the private sector can respond enthusiastically to the needs of the community. Of course, I don't need to tell any of you how successful Nancy's programs with foster grandparents and Just Say No have been. And believe me, Nancy and I know that this is due in large part to your own heartfelt contributions.

One of the most rewarding things about having the job I have is that I get to see the dynamic spirit of neighbor helping neighbor at work in our country. I see hope in the faces of the Americans—through volunteer tutors, they've learned to read. I see the eyes shining bright with expectation of those young people graduating from high school who, through the care of those like

you, may have the opportunity for a better future. But most of all, I see it in the renewed spirit of those Americans who are doing the giving and helping, the ones who've chosen to get involved, to take action, to make a contribution.

For example, in the tornado-ravaged community of Saragosa, Texas, the citizens there had lost hope. Then hundreds of volunteers poured into the town to rebuild not just homes but lives. This same spirit was also obvious in the now-celebrated rescue of little Jessica McClure, whose one precious life commanded the attention of not only an entire community of volunteers but also a nation anxiously awaiting her return to safety.

Nothing makes me prouder as I travel abroad than when leaders of other nations ask me to share our formula for success in encouraging private sector initiatives. I believe that formula is summed up most adequately by the plaque hanging near the front entrance to this building. It reads: "To increase the organized capacity of people to care for one another." Well, together in America we have continued to foster an economic and social environment that encourages giving. And I'm very proud to say that this includes not only individual giving but corporate giving, voluntarism, and the development of public-private partnerships.

Of course, it's a growing American economy that helps to make all this possible—that's right, I said a growing economy. For despite the adjustments in the stock market, the economic basis in our country remains strong. Consider, for example, that during the third quarter, which ended in September, the gross national product in constant dollars rose at a 3.8 percent annual rate, spurred by business-fixed investment, which was soaring at an extraordinary 24 percent. And just last week, we found that inflation, as measured by the GNP implicit price deflator, rose only 2.4 percent. The unemployment rate was falling to its lowest level since 1979. Manufacturing jobs had risen by over a quarter million during the past 12 months, adding to the astonishing 14.2 million jobs created during the past 59 months of economic expansion. Exports were actually up at more than a 16 percent annual rate. And the Federal budget deficit

for the fiscal year 1987 had fallen by a full third from one year earlier, to its lowest levels since 1982.

This is a record to build on, because there is still much more to be done. Your spirit of cooperation is the same spirit America wants from those of us in government. Yes, the stock market has tossed and turned the past several weeks. After more than 5 years of a roaring bull market, some adjustments were to be expected. And while the financial markets have recovered somewhat. The lingering uncertainty and volatility are cause for concern. Now is not the time to reverse course; however, some adjustments can and should be made.

I have stated all my political life that deficit spending must be controlled. And that's why I have consented to negotiate with Congress to see if we can jointly produce a credible package that will further cut, and I hope eliminate our deficits. But with our administration's economic program in place—perhaps most important of all, our tax reform and reduction in marginal rates—America is still a very good place to do business, still a land of jobs and opportunity, making possible record levels of charitable contributions.

United Way of America is demonstrating to the world how a caring nation can unite to help the less fortunate among us. Through your agencies and volunteers, you've met the challenge I set forth to you one year ago magnificently. I urge you to continue to build on this momentum. We must set our sights even higher as we look forward to the future. After all, it's our nature to set higher and higher goals; we're Americans.

It's been a privilege for me to come here today to share the encouraging news of your progress. And as we've seen today, since 1981 that overall funding for the United Way has risen—as you've been told by Jim—45 percent, while certain key services have shown much greater growth. For example, funding for services to women is up 500 percent. Child welfare programs are up 198 percent. Services for the elderly up 100 percent. And funds going to substance abuse have increased 89 percent for this period. Thanks to you, it does work.

You know, I have to tell you—in hearing your very eloquent presentation here—sometime ago, earlier in my term as President, at a dinner at the White House, the wife of an Ambassador to a European country was hearing a conversation going on at our table about such things as this, on private giving and so forth. And quietly she spoke to me, and she said: “Yes, in your country you’re unique.” And I said, “Well, what do you mean?” Well, she said, “Yes, in your country people do things that way voluntarily, but not in any other country.” She said, “In all our other countries, if the government doesn’t do it, it doesn’t get done. It’s always a government program.”

Well, that stuck with me, and so that a little more than a year ago we had been hearing for some time from our friends and allies around the world. And then a meeting was held in Paris, France, of nations that had invited our people to come there and tell them how to institute programs such as this, programs of private giving. And now it is going on and spreading throughout the world.

I went to the economic summit in Italy last summer and did a little sideline visit at an invitation to address a group that was meeting. Yes, there were Americans

present, but it was the new Italian society to now bring about private sector initiatives and do things by private giving of the people.

And you know how successful you are? There is not a government program in America to help the people in any way that has as low an overhead as you do. I was horrified once when I was Governor of California to discover that one program at least of the government spent \$2 to deliver \$1 to a needy person. Well, not you. Ninety percent or more of every dollar raised goes directly to help the people for which that money was raised.

So, thank you all. God bless you all. And my goodness, for all of us, it’s a real happy anniversary. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:50 a.m. in the film studio at United Way headquarters. In his opening remarks, he referred to James D. Robinson III, chairman of the United Way board of governors; Cheryl A. Wills, chairman of the United Way executive committee; and William Aramony, president of the United Way of America. He also referred to a multimedia salute acknowledging his contributions to past United Way campaigns.

Statement on Nuclear Testing Limitations

November 9, 1987

Today in Geneva the United States and the Soviet Union will begin formal, stage-by-stage negotiations on nuclear testing. I have long advocated a logical approach to nuclear testing limitations which preserves our national security interests while achieving verifiable agreements with the Soviet Union. I am gratified that we have now agreed on this step-by-step approach.

As a first step, the United States and the Soviet Union will negotiate improved verification measures for two existing but unratified nuclear testing treaties, the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. Once our verification concerns have been satisfied and the trea-

ties ratified, we will propose that the United States and the Soviet Union immediately enter into negotiations on ways to implement a step-by-step program—in association with a program to reduce and ultimately eliminate all nuclear weapons—of limiting and ultimately ending nuclear testing.

It is important to recall at this time that our nuclear deterrent has for over 40 years kept the peace. As successful as this policy has been, I believe we cannot be content for the indefinite future with a deterrence relationship based exclusively on the threat of offensive retaliation. We must continue our search through our Strategic Defense

Initiative for a means of deterring aggression through increased reliance on defenses that threaten no one.

For as long as we must continue to rely on nuclear weapons for our security, however, we must ensure that those weapons are safe, secure, reliable, effective, and survivable—in other words, that our nuclear deterrent remains credible. This requires

nuclear testing, as permitted by existing treaties. It is only within the context of decreasing reliance on nuclear weapons that we can look forward to a time when our needs for nuclear testing would also decrease. That is my objective and one the United States is prepared to work energetically toward.

Remarks to Representatives of the Organization of American States *November 9, 1987*

Well, I realize that I'm holding up dessert, but I won't promise to sit down right away. On behalf of the American people, I want to welcome you all to our Nation's Capital. It's a great pleasure to have this opportunity to meet with you today.

I think it's sometimes true that we don't recognize the great historical moments until they're passed. When released from the daily struggles, we can look back and assess the full magnitude of what we have accomplished. I believe that this last decade is one such time—a time that will be recorded in history as a great democratic awakening in the Americas, when the nations of this hemisphere advanced together toward a new era of freedom.

A new era of freedom: We see it developing in the free trade agreement between this nation and our great neighbor to the north—an agreement, it's my fervent hope, that will not be an end in itself, but the beginning of a revolution in free trade that will embrace not just the United States and Canada but the entire hemisphere.

A new era of freedom: We see it stoutly defended by the Caribbean democracies, small in land size, perhaps, but big in heart and will, who, with courage and idealism, stood fast and stood together when one of their number, Grenada, was threatened by an alien, hostile tyranny.

A new era of freedom: We see it throughout Central and South America—the great democratic awakening that in the last 10 years has brought 90 percent of the people of Latin America into the family of democratic nations.

Last month at the OAS, I spoke of what a great honor it was to address so many colleagues, in the democratic enterprise. That's no less true today. And one of the great privileges of my office is that I have been able, in the last several years, to meet with the leaders of practically every democratic nation in the hemisphere. When they've visited me in the White House, the talk was of the usual business transacted between heads of state. But when all that was done, there was one personal note that I had to add, something as important as anything else we discussed, something that comes directly from the heart.

The history of the hemisphere and the relations between our country and Latin America—they've not always been easy. But the days of the Colossus of the North, I have said on those occasions: Those days are over they're gone forever. The dominance of democracy in Latin America has fundamentally altered the hemisphere. The precedent we must look to today is the one I'm reminded of by your own leaders, stories of men such as Francisco de Miranda of Venezuela, who fought in the Battle of Pensacola in our nation's war of Independence, the battle that paved the way for Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown; or the story of General Artigas, supported by our new democracy in his independent battle against colonial Portugal. These men shared a single faith—faith in the democratic destiny in the Americas, faith in the—well, they knew all the American wars of independence were really one and the same—the

struggle of mankind to fulfill his destiny of freedom.

Today those independence struggles still continue. Brave men still fight to throw off an alien tyranny imposed from outside our hemisphere. As [President of El Salvador] José Napoleón Duarte said, there are two revolutionary processes underway in Central America. One is a democratic revolution to replace the dictatorships of the past with freedom and human rights. The other, he said, is a revolution that looks to substitute traditional dictatorships with a new dictatorship, that looks to substitute the traditional *caudillos* with the new *caudillos* of the totalitarian left.

This week, as we all know, is the week that the Guatemala accord goes into effect in Central America. I've spoken at length of the Sandinistas and their failure to live up to the promises of democracy and human rights they made to the OAS in 1979. There's no need to repeat that record of broken promises today. The business at hand is to determine compliance with the Guatemala accord, to examine, with clear-eyed realism, the progress of peace and democracy in Central America.

As we look at how the Guatemala accord has been implemented to date, one can't help but conclude that the differences between the democracies and the Communists in Central America have never been so apparent. Basic to the Central American peace plan is an understanding that peace will only emerge in Central America when genuine steps are taken by all sides toward reconciliation and democracy.

Reconciliation—none could have pursued that with greater nobility and strength of heart than the President of El Salvador. When President Duarte visited me last month, he told me of his negotiations with the Communist guerrillas—the FMLN—how he sat in the same room with the men who'd kidnaped his daughter and said to them: There will be a complete amnesty in El Salvador. All prisoners will be released. All will be forgiven, just as I, Napoleón Duarte, forgive you.

That's the democratic temperament, the true spirit of reconciliation. Contrast that to the partial and grudging release of prisoners in Nicaragua. Thousands of political pris-

oners still remain in their jails. Many of them have languished there for as long as 8 years, and the Sandinistas have said there are thousands who will never be released. Well, that's the voice of totalitarianism.

The contrast is just as stark on the question of negotiations. The Nicaraguan freedom fighters ask no more than the democratic guarantees contained in the peace plan. All they want is a chance to compete peacefully for power in Nicaragua, in a democratic way. But the Communist guerrillas—the FMLN in El Salvador and the URNG in Guatemala—want no part of democracy. They were offered a chance to compete for power within the democratic process, but they refused it. They broke off negotiations, demanding power without elections. Well, I'm sorry, that's just not the democratic way.

We see the contrast between democracy and communism in another area, too. Despite the clear requirements of the Guatemala accord, the Sandinistas still refuse to lift their state of emergency. President Duarte and President Cerezo [of Guatemala], whose countries are also torn by violence, make no excuses. They have no state of emergency. Only in Nicaragua is the state of emergency still in effect.

There is, however, one hopeful sign. I welcome the designation of Cardinal Obando y Bravo as the mediator between the Sandinista regime and the Nicaraguan resistance. I have repeatedly said that the struggle in Nicaragua is fundamentally a contest among Nicaraguans over their own future, and that can only be resolved by negotiations between Nicaraguans. The indirect talks the Sandinistas have now agreed to are a way to start that process. It remains clear that the next step must be direct negotiations, of precisely the sort that President Cerezo and President Duarte have already conducted.

The United States has a role to play, as a neighbor of Central America and an ally of the region's four democracies and of the Nicaraguan people. Our goals are simple to state: democracy in Nicaragua and peace in the region. And clearly, there can be no peace in the region until there is democracy in Nicaragua.

When serious negotiations between the Sandinistas and the freedom fighters, under the mediation of Cardinal Obando, are underway, Secretary [of State] Shultz will be ready to meet jointly with the foreign ministers of all five Central American nations, including the Sandinistas' representative. Before such a meeting and throughout this period, we will consult closely with the freedom fighters, for the key to democracy and peace in the region is freedom and national reconciliation in Nicaragua.

Regional negotiations including the United States can be a helpful adjunct to negotiations among the Central American nations and between the Sandinistas and the freedom fighters. They cannot be a substitute. The Central American democracies will speak for themselves about their national interests, and the Sandinistas must negotiate directly with the freedom fighters and the internal opposition to bring about true democracy and national reconciliation in Nicaragua.

There is a consensus among the Central American democracies—and it's a point often stressed by President Azcona [of Honduras]—that, in this peace process, democracy comes first. Essential steps toward establishing true and secure democratic guarantees must be taken before the other conditions for peace can be met. As President Arias [of Costa Rica] said: "If democracy doesn't take hold in Nicaragua, the armed struggle will continue. The day the Sandinistas or another political movement are chosen freely in elections accepted by all Nicaraguans, there will be no more reason for violence."

Well, democracy is the key—and one of the best indications of democratic reform is a free press. The Guatemala accord is clear on this point: It doesn't call for opening only one opposition paper. It calls for complete freedom of the press, radio, and television. The Central American democracies are in compliance with the accord—Nicaragua is nowhere near. So far, only *La Prensa* is allowed to operate and even it is restricted in reporting military and economic news. *Radio Catolica* has been forbidden to broadcast news. There is still no independent television broadcasting in Nicaragua, and the many other news outlets remain

closed.

Let me just say here: We have all been very patient in giving the peace process time to work. The Wright-Reagan plan was scheduled to take effect on September 30th. The original deadline for compliance with the Guatemala accord was this week. Now we're told the deadline has been pushed off until mid-January. It's in no one's interest to let this peace process become another round of endless and fruitless negotiations.

Recently, President Arias was honored with the Nobel Peace Prize for his central role in putting together the Guatemala accord. And I am certain that President Arias saw this as a symbol and inspiration to all those working for peace in this hemisphere. But this noble beginning must have a noble end. In that, the OAS has a special responsibility. For, as I said when I addressed your Ambassadors last month, the OAS has already made a negotiated settlement with the Sandinistas, one that we are duty-bound to keep. In 1979, in an unprecedented action, we helped remove a sitting government and bring the Sandinistas to power.

As part of that settlement, we promised the people of Nicaragua that we would see to it that their hope of freedom would not be disappointed. We can not walk away from that promise now. As President Arias has said: We can accept no substitute for democracy in Nicaragua. Only democracy will fulfill our promises to the Nicaraguan people. Only democracy, and nothing less, will bring peace to Central America.

Now, as all of you are aware, there's a summit meeting coming up between myself and General Secretary Gorbachev. We hope at that time to sign an historic agreement that would wipe out an entire class of nuclear missiles. But as we always do in our talks with the Soviets, we will continue to insist on progress in the other three critical areas: expanded contacts between our peoples, human rights, and most importantly, a negotiated end to regional conflicts around the world.

Today, even as their economy flags at home, the Soviets spend billions to maintain or impose Communist rule abroad, project-

ing Soviet power by largely military means. Eastern Europe, Cuba, Vietnam, South Yemen, Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan—the burden must be enormous. But Soviet leaders, who live vastly better than their people, are willing to make that sacrifice because it is only their military might, they know, that gives them superpower status.

Numbers vary, but one study by the Rand Corporation estimated that in 1983 between 3.56 and 4.44 percent of the Soviet gross national product went to subsidize states supporting Soviet aims. It's estimated that the Soviet war on Afghanistan costs them between \$5 billion and \$6 billion a year. The Soviet bloc has supplied some \$2 billion in military hardware to the Sandinistas alone.

When I meet with General Secretary Gorbachev, I will ask him: Isn't it time to reconsider this adventurism abroad? In the spirit of *glasnost*, isn't it time that the Soviet Union put an end to these destructive, wasteful conflicts around the world? Without an end to Soviet efforts to impose totalitarian regimes through force of arms, there will never be a true *glasnost*, true openness, between this nation and ours.

Well, I thank you for your attention. The next few months will be among the most crucial in the history of our hemisphere. As the peace process unfolds, we must be vigilant and, at the same time, we must be honest with ourselves and with the world. We shall be holding all parties to one single and true standard, the standard of democracy. As free peoples of the Americas, we have earned the right to proclaim that standard and hold others to it. And as free people of the Americas, we can do no less.

Shortly after I took office, I made a trip to Latin America and visited some of the countries represented here today. Couldn't get to all of them, of course, but I went with one message. I knew the image of the Great Colossus of the North that we held. And I knew that there had been many plans introduced by previous administrations of how to bring about better relations in the Americas. But always, it was the big Colossus that had the plan and came down

and said, "Here, everybody sign on."

And on my trip, I wasn't there to say that. I said I didn't have any plan; that I came down to see what ideas you might have, because my idea was that it is high time that in this—two continents and that connecting bridge of Central America—here, unique in all the world, we had the opportunity to literally make our borders meeting places where all of us together as allies, from the tip of Tierra del Fuego to the North Pole, we are all Americans; we occupy the American continents and Central America. And if we could come together, as we should, with our common heritage of pioneering that brought us here—people with a dream of freedom that left their homelands all over the world to come to these continents that the Lord had left here between the oceans to be found by that kind of people—if we could be the neighbors and the allies that we should be, we would be a force for good in the world beyond anything that had ever seen.

And I was only asking for suggestions and help that maybe we could bring that about. And here I am, in the midst of the representatives of the Organization of American States. And that's why I think this one issue is so important to all of us—because it literally can block that dream of an American alliance from pole to pole.

Thank you all. And I'm sorry I kept you from dessert so long. I want to thank you all, and God bless you all. And maybe I haven't had an opportunity to tell you while I kept you from your dessert, about in ancient Rome, when the lions were turned loose upon the Christians and the one Christian stood up and said a few quiet words, and the lions all laid down. The crowd was mad, and Caesar sent for the man that had spoken. He said, "What did you say to them that made them act like that?" He said, "I just told them that after they ate there'd be speeches." [Laughter]

Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:39 p.m. at a luncheon in the Jefferson Room at the Department of State.

Statement on Signing the Arizona Lands Transfer Bill

November 9, 1987

I am reluctantly signing H.R. 1366, an act to provide for the transfer of certain lands in the State of Arizona and for other purposes. Because of the special conditions in Payson, I am signing this bill. I wish to make it clear that this is an exception and should not be considered a precedent for

other cases. The people of this country are entitled to receive full value for the disposal of their Federal lands, and I intend to do what I can to achieve this result.

Note: H.R. 1366, approved November 9, was assigned Public Law No. 100-157.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Japan-United States Nuclear Energy Cooperation Agreement

November 9, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit to the Congress, pursuant to sections 123 b. and 123 d. of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended (42 U.S.C. 2153 (b), (d)), the text of a proposed Agreement for Cooperation Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Japan Concerning Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy, including an implementing agreement pursuant to Article 11 of the proposed agreement. I am also pleased to transmit my written approval, authorization and determination concerning the agreement, and the Nuclear Proliferation Assessment Statement by the Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency concerning the agreement. The joint memorandum submitted to me by the Departments of State and Energy, which includes a summary of the provisions of the agreement, the views of the Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and an analysis of the approvals and consents contained in the agreement, including the implementing agreement, and associated subsequent arrangements are also enclosed.

I also enclose for your information the texts of a proposed subsequent arrangement under the United States-Norway Revised Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy and a proposed subsequent arrangement under the

United States-EURATOM Additional Agreement for Cooperation Concerning Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. These subsequent arrangements are designed to give effect to certain provisions of the United States-Japan implementing agreement and will enter into force only after the agreement enters into force. They are being processed by the Department of Energy in accordance with the applicable provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended.

The proposed agreement with Japan, including the implementing agreement, has been negotiated in accordance with the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act of 1978 (NNPA). In my judgment it meets all statutory requirements. It will supersede our 1968 agreement with Japan and, given the magnitude of our long-standing cooperation with Japan in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, will represent the most significant achievement to date in our program initiated pursuant to section 404 (a) of the NNPA to update all existing agreements for peaceful nuclear cooperation to include the more stringent standards established by that Act.

I believe that the new agreement will strengthen the basis for continued close cooperation between the United States and Japan in the peaceful nuclear area and that it will further the non-proliferation and other foreign policy interests of the United States. The implementing agreement provides Japan advance, long-term consent for

reprocessing, transfers, alteration, and storage of nuclear material subject to the agreement, provided that the reprocessing and subsequent use of the recovered plutonium meet and continue to meet the criteria set out in U.S. law, including criteria relating to safeguards and physical protection. These arrangements should enable Japan to plan for its long-term energy needs on a more assured, predictable basis, while at the same time embodying the most advanced concepts of physical security and safeguards of any agreement. This step forward in our cooperative relations with Japan will be consistent with the NNPA's injunction to take such actions as are required to confirm the reliability of the United States as a nuclear supplier consistent with non-proliferation goals.

Japan is not only a close ally of the United States but is also a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and has long been one of the strongest supporters of the international non-proliferation regime. Moreover, the United States and Japan have a substantial identity of views and intentions with regard to preventing nuclear proliferation and are prepared to work together on measures that will contribute to the prevention of proliferation consistent with the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. An exchange of letters between the United States and Japan, the text of which is included in the agreement package, sets forth in detail our shared views on

non-proliferation.

I have considered the views and recommendations of the interested agencies in reviewing the proposed agreement and have determined that its performance will promote, and will not constitute an unreasonable risk to, the common defense and security. Accordingly, I have approved the agreement and authorized its execution and urge that the Congress give it favorable consideration.

I have also found that this agreement meets all applicable requirements of the Atomic Energy Act, as amended, for agreements for peaceful nuclear cooperation, and therefore, I am transmitting it to the Congress without exempting it from any requirement contained in section 123 a. of that Act. This transmission shall constitute a submittal for purposes of both sections 123 b. and 123 d. of the Atomic Energy Act. The Administration is prepared to begin immediately the consultations with the Senate Foreign Relations and House Foreign Affairs Committees as provided in section 123 b. Upon completion of the 30-day continuous session period provided in section 123 b., the 60-day continuous session period provided for in section 123 d. shall commence.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 9, 1987.

White House Statement on the Monetary Exchange Rate *November 10, 1987*

The unnamed White House and administration officials quoted in today's New York Times article on the dollar were not speaking for the administration. The United

States continues to cooperate closely with its G-7 [economic summit participants] allies to promote exchange rate stability.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for President Chaim Herzog of Israel

November 10, 1987

President Reagan. Mr. President, Mrs. Herzog, distinguished guests, *shalom* [hello]. I am very pleased and honored to extend a warm welcome to you, Mr. President, and to Mrs. Herzog on this historic occasion: the first state visit ever by a President of the State of Israel to the White House. Your visit is also a special event, because it takes place during the 40th anniversary year of the independence of the State of Israel. Americans are proud, indeed, that on May 15, 1948, the United States was the first country to extend diplomatic recognition to the State of Israel. Your visit emphasizes the close and special relationship between our two countries.

Mr. President, modern Israel was born in the aftermath of the tragedy of the holocaust and the calamity of the Second World War. It was created to fulfill the longstanding dream of the Jewish people to return to the home of their biblical origins. This dream came true because of the courage and determination of the Jewish people, both those already resident in Palestine and those who survived the Nazi death camps in Europe. The hopes for freedom, for independence, for an end to centuries of persecution were instilled in the State of Israel.

Mr. President, Israel and the United States have been partners for 40 years. We are brought together by a shared commitment to democracy, to an open society, to individual achievement and economic progress, and to dignity and worth of each and every individual. And we stand together in the defense of these values against those who would destroy them. Our strategic cooperation is proof of that.

Today these values are reflected in the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. We share the conviction that Israel can be secure and realize its full promise and genius only when security and lasting peace are achieved. The United States remains undeterred in the quest for such a peace, a negotiated settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict that would assure the

security and well-being of the people of Israel and its Arab neighbors. That goal will be realized when people of good will from all sides find a way to bridge a crevasse of hatred and distrust. The United States is ready, as ever, to help build that bridge.

We're encouraged by the progress that has been made in this noble endeavor. It was 10 years ago this month that President Sadat visited Jerusalem. Peace between Israel and Egypt created a new reality, proving that reconciliation between former enemies is possible. The past decade has shown the benefits of this peace to the peoples of Egypt and Israel. We want to work with Israel and its other neighbors to expand the horizon of peace and find a just solution for the Palestinian people. We want to see an end to the scourge of international terrorism. We want to see an end to the conflict in the Persian Gulf, and to the war between Iran and Iraq.

Mr. President, we know that the people of Israel share these desires with the people of the United States. Together we also share a commitment to create better lives for all peoples of the world. Israel has provided leadership in harnessing science and technology to human needs, as is reflected in the great strides you've made in agriculture and industry.

We're united by a common commitment to the universality of human rights. This is why America has championed the cause of Soviet Jews in their struggle for religious freedom and right, if they wish, to emigrate. We have rejoiced with you in the release of Natan Scharanskiy, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Slepak, and others. Yet we know that many others, less well-known but equally entitled to enjoy these basic liberties, remain behind, still constrained by the Soviet system. I pledge to you that we will persevere in our efforts to persuade the Soviet Union to meet its international obligations under the Helsinki accords not just to Soviet Jews but to all the citizens of the Soviet Union.

Mr. President, we cannot meet on this day without noting the special significance it has for the Jewish people. On November 10th, 1938, a half-century ago—1938, I should say, a half century ago, the Nazis let loose a reign of terror against the German Jewry that is remembered as the infamous “crystal night.” And on November 10th, 1975, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed an obscene resolution equating Zionism and racism. Both of these ugly actions share a common denominator: anti-Semitism; but there is a major difference between them. In 1938 the State of Israel did not yet exist. In 1975 a proud and resolute Israeli Ambassador rose up in the United Nations to uphold the honor of Israel and the high principles on which the United Nations is founded.

The Ambassador, of course, was you, sir, and it will always be a source of pride for all Americans that on that day our own Ambassador to the United Nations stood squarely at your side. That’s how it was, Mr. President, and that’s how it will be. For the people of Israel and America are historic partners in the global quest for human dignity and freedom. We will always remain at each other’s side.

Mr. President, it is a special honor and privilege to welcome you to the White House.

President Herzog. Mr. President, as I stand here on this momentous occasion, I can sense the movement of the wings of history. I arrive here on the occasion of the 40th anniversary year of our establishment as a free and independent state, an event which righted an historic wrong to our people over the centuries.

Surely, Mr. President, at moments such as these, words are inadequate in which to express the sense of gratitude which the citizens of Israel feel towards this great country for its ongoing support in our struggle.

Like the United States, our small country, too, acquired its independence in bloody battle and gained its strength by providing a haven for the poor, the downtrodden, and the homeless. Despite the enormous differences in size and population, we are bound together in a partnership of such profound significance, a partnership which transcends the normal friendship existing between

friendly nations. For ours is an alliance born of an identity of purpose and the principles of democracy, which are the cornerstones of our two societies.

I stand here and see the work of the hand of providence. For this year, as you have mentioned, sir, marks the anniversary—49 years ago—of the Nazi onslaught on the Jewish people in Germany in “*kristallnacht*,” the “night of the crystals,” in which synagogues throughout Germany were put to fire. The Holy Bible and the scrolls of our Holy Torah, recording the five books of Moses, bearing the message of civilization and humanity, were burned in bonfires, ignited by barbarians outside the burning synagogues. The streets of Germany were covered in a film of crystals, created by the broken glass of Jewish synagogues, schools, homes, and stores, marking the headlong rush of Europe toward the abyss which led to the darkest years of the eclipse of civilization. In those nightmare years, one third of the Jewish people were destroyed in the most terrifying holocaust ever seen in the history of mankind.

I stood moments ago and received the honors accorded me as the head of the State of Israel and thought of the day of infamy at the United Nations 12 years ago today. I had the privilege then, as you mentioned, sir, of defending my people against the scurrilous and despicable attack on Zionism, which was mounted by a contemptible coalition of totalitarian states not only against our small country but against all that the Jewish people and their traditions stand for in human dignity and experience.

As one recalls these events which occurred on this very day, on this solemn and moving occasion marking the first State visit from an Israeli head of state to the United States of America, with all that it implies, the significance of the reemergence of Israel must surely be in the forefront of our consciousness.

Mr. President, at this moment, as I stand here as the President of a country born of the prayers of a nation over the centuries and a 2,000-year-old struggle against adversity, and view this event in its true perspective against the background of our long history, I cannot but give expression to the

age-old Jewish prayer: "Thanks to the Almighty for having kept us alive and maintained us to reach this time."

Mr. President, Israel has been devoted to the cause of peace since we held out our hand to our Arab neighbors in our declaration of independence, and has over the years exerted every effort to achieve it. Under your inspired leadership and with the active support of your administration, we continue these efforts to achieve the peace for which we, and I believe all the peoples in the Middle East, yearn.

Ten years ago next week, we crossed a major watershed with the historic arrival of President Sadat in Jerusalem and the enthusiastic and warm welcome accorded him by the then Government of Israel, by the Knesset, and by the people of Israel. That visit led, thanks to the active involvement in subsequent negotiations of the President and the administration of the United States, to the first peace treaty signed by Israel with an Arab State—indeed, a leading State in the Arab world. That treaty, which concluded the first phase of the peace-making process in the Middle East, was signed here on this very site. Israel is prepared, as you are well aware, Mr. President, to move forward with your involvement to a further phase of this process.

I thank you, Mr. President, for your invitation and your welcome. I come to you representing a friend and an ally. Our two peoples are committed to the same princi-

ples and values which our Bible gave to the world. We acknowledge and appreciate the generous support of the American people extended to us in the mutual interest of our two countries to ensure the advancement of the cause of peace and stability in our area and, indeed, the peace of the world.

Your aid maintains the strength of a close ally which is committed to the defense of the cause of freedom and democracy in an area in which the longest war in this century is taking place, a brutal, bloody war fired by the fanatic extremism of religious fundamentalism which threatens the stability of so many countries in our area. A glance at the map of our area and a realization of the implications of the waves of fanaticism which are sweeping across it must surely give added emphasis to the significance of your alliance with Israel, with all that it implies.

Mr. President, on behalf of the people of Israel, I salute you, the leader of the free world, and Mrs. Reagan, and I extend to the people of the United States of America our prayers and profound wishes for the welfare of this great people and this unique country.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Note: President Reagan spoke at 10:08 a.m. in the East Room at the White House, where President Herzog was accorded a formal welcome. Following the ceremony, the two Presidents met in the Oval Office.

Informal Exchange With Reporters

November 10, 1987

Department of Veterans Affairs

Q. Mr. President, are you going to have a Supreme Court nominee today? You sort of hinted at it earlier. We wondered.

The President. Not that part of it, but right now I have an announcement to make: that tomorrow our nation will pause and remember those veterans who've served in the Armed Forces, both at home and abroad. And we'll remember those who gave their last measure fighting for what

our country represents: freedom. There's not a better time or better way to salute those valiant men and women than to announce today my decision to support the creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Veterans Affairs.

This is a personal decision that I've thought about for some time. There are six times as many veterans alive today as there were in 1930, when the agency was first created. And veterans have always had a

strong voice in our government, but it's time to give them the recognition that they so rightly deserve. So, I'm joining with those here today in support of this effort.

Q. Thank you.

Q. Are you sure the Congress will go along with this? [*Laughter*]

The President. Yes.

Q. You bet they will.

Q. You can count on it. You can count on it.

Attorney General Edwin Meese III

Q. Mr. President, a Washington Post col-

umnist said today that Ed Meese is an embarrassment to the administration and should resign. What are your feelings?

The President. I don't know where they get that idea. He's no embarrassment to me. I've known him for 20 years, and I've found him of sound mind and great loyalty and capability in all that time.

Note: The exchange began at 11:53 a.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House, prior to a meeting with leaders of veterans organizations.

Proclamation 5740—National Food Bank Week, 1987

November 10, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

This harvest season, as Thanksgiving approaches, we are grateful that our country is rich in caring citizens who establish and maintain food banks to serve people in time of need. These devoted Americans daily offer their talents and material resources to help their neighbors.

Individuals, the food industry, other businesses, churches, government agencies, schools, and other groups combine to make food banks work. Social service agencies often refer clients to food banks pending the processing of the clients' benefit applications; this ensures that families' temporary needs are met while long-term assistance is being arranged. The food industry donates surplus food to regional food banks that help supply local pantries and private local food programs. Private businesses provide support services ranging from transportation and cold storage to accounting and legal help.

Our Nation's food banks and those who staff them truly deserve the thanks and the

cooperation of all Americans.

In recognition of food banks and of the many Americans who help organize and operate them, the Congress, by House Joint Resolution 368, has designated the week of November 8 through November 14, 1987, as "National Food Bank Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of November 8 through November 14, 1987, as National Food Bank Week. I call upon all Americans to observe this week with appropriate activities to learn about food banks and how they are helping or could help people in their communities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:16 p.m., November 10, 1987]

Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation on Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement

November 10, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit today for your immediate consideration and enactment the "Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act of 1987." This bill is a direct outgrowth of a deep concern this Administration has had about the effects of obscenity and child pornography in our Nation. In 1984 I signed legislation isolating child pornography as a uniquely tragic and distinct criminal offense. The bill I now present expands on these concerns, addressing both child pornography and adult obscenity. The goals of this proposed legislation are twofold: first, to update the law to take into account technologies newly utilized by the pornography industry; and second, to remove the loopholes and weaknesses in existing Federal law, which have given criminals in this area the upper hand for far too long.

A little over 3 years ago, I announced the creation of a national commission to study the scope and nature of pornography in the United States. After 14 long months of careful and objective study, including the taking of hundreds of hours of testimony from citizens on all sides of the issue, the Attorney General's Commission on Pornography released its Final Report in July 1986. In that report were numerous recommendations for changes in Federal law, many of which are reflected in the bill I am proposing today. This bill represents one point of a seven-point plan created by Attorney General Edwin Meese to crack down heavily on the producers, distributors, and retailers of obscene material.

In the last several years, distributors of obscenity and child pornography have expanded into new areas. They are employing new technologies and reaching new audiences. This is how any business grows and develops, except that this business is illegal. Neither our Constitution, our courts, our people, nor our respect for common decency and human suffering should allow the trafficking in obscene material—which ex-

ploits women, children, and men alike—to continue. With this bill, and the implementation of the Attorney General's seven-point plan—in which the creation of the National Obscenity Enforcement Unit is the centerpiece—this Administration is putting the purveyors of illegal obscenity and child pornography on notice: your industry's days are numbered.

The "Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act of 1987" proposes changes in 11 basic areas. A brief overview of these proposals will demonstrate the loopholes and weaknesses in existing law that this bill so admirably addresses.

Sexual Exploitation of Children Through Child Pornography

Use of computers in child pornography. Child molesters, pedophiles, and collectors of child pornography have developed a complex, computerized, nationwide network to traffic in child pornography. This bill would clarify the existing sexual exploitation of children statutes to prohibit the use of computers for such deviant purposes.

Buying or selling of children to produce child pornography. Sadly, current Federal law does not forbid a parent or other adult with custody of a minor from selling that child for use in the production of pornography. When this bill is passed, a grievous situation will have thus been corrected.

Record-keeping requirements. Many of the individuals addicted to pornography are attracted to obscene depictions of children. To meet this demand, pornographers have often used minors to produce sexually explicit materials. This violates Federal laws that protect all persons under 18 years of age from exploitation. But because pornographers have not been required to keep appropriate records, proof of age has often been impossible. This bill will mandate the keeping of verifiable records as to the actual age and identity of each performer. If a producer fails to keep such records, or if a distributor sells the material without it

containing a statement as to where such records may be found, the burden in any subsequent criminal prosecution will be on him or her to prove the performer was not a minor.

Child pornography and organized crime. There is a growing commercial market for child pornography in this country. Much of it is produced and distributed by networks of pedophiles and child molesters who are well organized. It is therefore appropriate for this bill to amend the RICO statute to include child pornography offenses. The RICO (Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations) statute, which was amended in 1985 to include obscenity, is a tool long needed by prosecutors of the highly organized, multi-billion dollar pornography industry. It provides strong criminal penalties and fines and brings forfeiture provisions into play, allowing the seizure and sale of all assets used in or obtained through organized criminal activity.

Obscenity

Receipt or possession of obscene matter for sale or distribution. Another loophole that has long needed closing is the fact that, while it is currently illegal under Federal law to transport obscene material over State lines, it is not illegal to receive or possess that same material with intent to sell it or transfer it, or to offer to do so. This bill will close that loophole tight.

"Syndicate buster" amendments. Organized crime controls the majority of the obscenity market. According to law enforcement estimates, organized crime's revenues in these areas exceed seven to ten billion dollars per year. A set of three "Syndicate Buster" amendments will block these illicit enterprises from taking advantage of additional inconsistencies in existing Federal law. When passed, the first of these amendments will prohibit the use of Federal roads, interstate railroads, motor vehicles, boats, airplanes, or other methods for obscenity trafficking across State lines. The second will inject a little common sense into the law by allowing a jury to presume, without the prosecutors having to prove it, that obscenity produced in one State and now located in another State has in fact travelled in interstate commerce. This will

apply in similar fashion to material produced in a foreign country. The third of these amendments will make illegal *in and of itself* any interstate or international activity or communication regarding the furtherance of acts that are illegal under State or Federal obscenity and child pornography laws. This means, for example, that an interstate phone call from a retailer to a distributor regarding an interstate shipment of obscenity would itself be a criminal offense, as would be the use of the mails to pay for such a shipment.

Obscenity forfeitures. Civil and criminal forfeiture provisions for Federal obscenity violations are also provided for in the bill. It has been proven time and again that the best way to dismantle any organized criminal operation is to confiscate its ill-gotten gains. Prosecution of national and international drug cartels has underscored this point on numerous occasions. Forfeiture also provides much-needed funds and equipment to the Federal efforts and, as in drug forfeiture, allows for sharing of forfeited assets with State and local law enforcement organizations involved in joint investigations.

Possession and sale of obscene material and child pornography on Federal properties. Today, there are seven States that have no obscenity laws whatsoever (Alaska, Maine, New Mexico, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, and Wisconsin). Of these, several contain major military bases or other large tracts of Federal land. Obscenity and child pornography are all too common on Federal lands in general. This bill will make the sale of such material on any Federal lands a felony; and the mere possession of child pornography or obscene visual depictions on these lands will itself become a misdemeanor.

Adding obscenity to the wiretap statute. When it comes to court orders for such things as wiretaps, the government can get them in cases involving drug trafficking, extortion, and many other crimes, but it cannot do so for felony obscenity offenses. This bill will rectify that needless deficiency.

Child Protection Amendments

Cable porn. In the interest of protecting those most vulnerable and impressionable members of our society, our children, this bill will prohibit transmission of obscenity over cable or subscription television.

Dial-a-porn. Finally, this bill will give prosecutors a powerful new weapon to attack “Dial-A-Porn” businesses that profit from obscenity. I have read statistics that just one company in just one city has received up to 800,000 calls per day—180 million calls in a single year. Moreover, law enforcement officials have estimated that a great number of these calls are made by children. A child who calls one of these numbers hears an explicit sexual message. The bill would make it a felony for these companies to transmit obscene messages.

Conclusion

At a dark hour in British history, Winston Churchill said, “Give us the tools and we will finish the job.” Federal prosecutors and law enforcement officials are saying the same thing today. The Commission has recommended it. The public is demanding it. Yet, as I have described to you, under current Federal law some very basic tools are being withheld. The legislation I propose today will give these men and women the tools they need to get the job done efficiently, fairly, and thoroughly. The producers and distributors of this material—the heartless victimizers of women and children—have had a huge legal advantage, and they have used it to the fullest. They have also employed the latest technologies, while Federal law has failed to keep pace.

It is high time these inequities are corrected.

When the “Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act of 1987” is passed we will all be able to go about the business of cleaning up some of the filth that floods our Nation. Right now, in the Department of Justice, this task is already well under way. The newly created National Obscenity Enforcement Unit is coordinating and spearheading nationwide prosecutions of a scope never before attempted in our Nation’s history. They have my full support, but they need more. They need strong, loophole-free Federal laws, and they need the assistance of the American people. The industry they seek to shut down is very large, very powerful, and very harmful. The Federal Government alone just does not have the resources to do the whole job. We will need all the help we can get from decent-minded citizens across the country who know when it is time to stand up and be counted. And I am confident we will get that help. I look also to State and local law enforcement authorities to join with us in a total effort to rid our communities of this criminal element among us.

But the first step in this critical task is the legislation I set before you today. I look forward to you, the elected representatives of the American people, assisting me in this effort to help protect all Americans from the corruption, the disease, the violence, degradation, and victimization that flows from this despicable industry.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 10, 1987.

Appointment of Two Members of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic

November 10, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic:

Beny J. Primm, of New York. He would succeed W. Eugene Mayberry. Since 1983, Mr. Primm has been president of the Urban Resource Institute and, since 1969, president and executive director of the Addiction Research and Treatment Corp. in Brooklyn, NY. Mr. Primm grad-

uated from West Virginia State College (B.S., 1950) and the University of Geneva (M.D., 1959). He served in the United States Army. Mr. Primm was born May 21, 1928, in Williamson, WV. He has three children and resides in New Rochelle, NY.

Kristine M. Gebbie, of Oregon. She would succeed Woodrow A. Myers, Jr. Mrs. Gebbie is currently assistant director for health at the Department of Human Resources, and administrator of the Oregon State Health Division in

Portland. She is also, since 1980, an adjunct associate professor with the Department of Psychiatric/Mental Health Nursing, School of Nursing, at Oregon Health Science University. Mrs. Gebbie graduated from St. Olaf College (R.N., 1965) and the University of California School of Nursing (M.N., 1968). She was born June 26, 1943, in Sioux City, IA. Mrs. Gebbie is married, has three children, and resides in Portland, OR.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Supporters of Proposed Legislation on Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement *November 10, 1987*

Today I am submitting to Congress for its immediate consideration and enactment the Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act of 1987. This act is a direct outgrowth of the deep concern this administration has had with the effects of obscenity and child pornography in our nation.

In 1984 I signed legislation isolating child pornography as a distinct criminal offense. The bill I'm now presenting expands on these concerns, addressing both child pornography and adult obscenity. The goal of this proposed legislation is two-fold: first, to update the law to take into account technologies newly utilized by the pornography industry; second, to remove the loopholes and weaknesses in existing Federal law, which have given criminals in this area the upper hand for far too long.

In the last several years, distributors of obscenity and child pornography have expanded into new areas, employing new technologies, and reaching new audiences. Neither our Constitution, our courts, our people, nor our respect for common decency and human suffering will allow this trafficking in obscene material—which exploits women, children, and men alike—to continue.

With this act, and the implementation of the seven-point plan of the Attorney General's Pornography Commission—in which the creation of the National Obscenity Enforcement Unit is the centerpiece—this administration is putting the purveyors of illegal

obscenity and child pornography on notice: Your industry's days are numbered. Just this year, there's been a dramatic increase in the Federal prosecution effort against child pornography and obscenity. This is evidenced by the recent announcements of more than 100 indictments across the Nation against child pornographers and traffickers of obscene material.

The Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act of 1987 proposes changes in three basic areas. First, protection of children from sexual exploitation. Our bill will amend the racketeer-influenced and corrupt organizations statute to include child pornography offenses, thereby permitting law enforcement officials to go after the child pornography industry.

Our bill would amend Federal law to prevent parents and guardians from contracting the use of their children in pornography, virtually a form of child slavery. And it would target the high-tech aspects of child pornography, making illegal the computerized, nationwide network that child molesters and collectors of child pornography have developed.

The second basic area is obscenity. Organized crime controls the vast majority of the multibillion-dollar obscenity market. According to law enforcement estimates, revenues from the obscenity industry, most of which will go into the coffers of organized crime, are estimated to be between 7 and 10 billion dollars a year. A set of three "syn-

dicade buster” amendments will block these illicit enterprises from taking advantage of inconsistencies in existing Federal law.

One of these amendments will prohibit the use of Federal roads, interstate railroads, motor vehicles, boats, airplanes, or other methods for obscenity trafficking across State lines. Another will inject a little common sense into the law by allowing a jury to presume, without the prosecutors having to prove it, that obscenity produced in one State and now located in another State has in fact traveled in interstate commerce. This will apply in a similar fashion to material produced in a foreign country.

Still another of these amendments will outlaw interstate or international activity or communication to further acts that are themselves illegal under obscenity and child pornography laws. This means, for example, that an interstate phone call from a retailer to a distributor regarding an interstate shipment of obscenity would itself be a criminal offense, as would be the use of the mails to pay for such a shipment.

Civil and criminal forfeiture provisions for those convicted of Federal obscenity violations are also provided for in the act. It's been proven time and again that the best way to dismantle any organized criminal operation is to confiscate its ill-gotten gains. Isn't it about time we removed the profit motive from activities that are sick and obscene? When it comes to court orders for such things as wiretaps, the Government can get them in cases involving drug trafficking, extortion, and many other crimes, but it cannot do so for felony obscenity offenses. This bill will rectify that needless deficiency.

The third major area involves child protection amendments. In the interest of protecting those most vulnerable and impressionable members of our society, our children, this act will prohibit transmission of obscenity over cable or subscription television. And it will provide prosecutors with a powerful weapon to attack the so-called dial-a-porn business that profits from obscenity. And here, I would just like to thank

Congressman Tom Bliley and Senator Jesse Helms for all the work that they've been doing in leading the crusade in Congress against dial-a-porn.

I've read statistics that, in a single city, one company has received up to 800,000 calls per day—180 million calls in a single year—and law enforcement officials have estimated that a great number of these calls are made by children. Every time a child calls one of these numbers, he or she hears an explicit sexual dramatization. And the time has come for this to stop.

At a dark hour in British history, Winston Churchill said, “Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.” Federal prosecutors and law enforcement officials are saying the same thing today. The Attorney General's Commission on Pornography has recommended it. The public is demanding it. And the legislation I am proposing today will give our prosecutors just that—the tools they need to get the job done.

I might add that this legislation is not only a wholesome and balanced response to the Attorney General's Commission but to the grassroots movement of concerned parents and grandparents rising up in cities all across America. Cities such as Cincinnati, Oklahoma City, Kansas City, Dallas, and others, where Americans like you have stood up and said: We want laws against child pornography and hardcore, illegal obscenity, and we want them enforced.

Well, I look to the American people to support this legislation and to the Congress to enact it with all due speed. If this nation can send men to the Moon, then we can certainly do some cleaning up here at home and give our sons and daughters the simplicity and beauty that an American childhood should entail.

Well, I have a little writing to do, signing to do, and I shall say, at the same time, thank you all, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 2:18 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Message to the Congress on the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iran *November 10, 1987*

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the attached notice, stating that the Iran emergency is to continue in effect beyond November 14, 1987, to the *Federal Register* for publication. Similar notices were sent to the Congress and the *Federal Register* on November 12, 1980, November 12, 1981, November 8, 1982, November 4, 1983, November 7, 1984, November 1, 1985, and November 12, 1986.

The crisis between the United States and Iran that began in 1979 has not been fully resolved. Although the international tribunal established to adjudicate claims of U.S. nationals against Iran and of Iranian nationals against the United States continues to function, normalization of commercial and diplomatic relations between the United States and Iran has not been achieved. In these circumstances, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities that may be needed in the process of implementing the January 1981 agreements with Iran and in the eventual normalization of relations with that country.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 10, 1987.

Notice of the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iran *November 10, 1987*

On November 14, 1979, by Executive Order No. 12170, the President declared a national emergency to deal with the threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States constituted by the situation in Iran. Notices of the continuation of this national emergency were transmitted by the President to the Congress and the *Federal Register* on November 12, 1980, November 12, 1981, November 8, 1982, November 4, 1983, November 7, 1984, November 1, 1985, and November 12, 1986. Because our relations with Iran have not yet returned to normal, and the process of implementing the January 19, 1981, agreements with Iran is still underway, the national emergency declared on

November 14, 1979, must continue in effect beyond November 14, 1987. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to Iran. This shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 10, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:17 p.m., November 10, 1987]

Note: The notice was printed in the "Federal Register" of November 13.

Nomination of Richard Salisbury Williamson To Be an Assistant Secretary of State

November 10, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Richard Salisbury Williamson to be an Assistant Secretary of State (International Organization Affairs). He would succeed Alan Lee Keyes.

Mr. Williamson is currently a partner with Mayer, Brown & Platt in Chicago, IL. Prior to this he was senior vice president for corporate and international affairs with Beatrice Companies, 1984–1986. He served as Representative to the Vienna Office of the United Nations and Deputy Representative to the International Atomic Energy

Agency in Vienna, Austria, 1983–1984. Mr. Williamson was Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs, the White House, 1981–1983; and Special Assistant to the President and Deputy to the Chief of Staff, the White House, 1981.

Mr. Williamson graduated from Princeton University (A.B., 1971) and University of Virginia (J.D., 1974). He was born May 9, 1949, in Evanston, IL. Mr. Williamson is married, has three children, and resides in Chicago, IL.

Toasts at the State Dinner For President Chaim Herzog of Israel

November 10, 1987

President Reagan. Well, what a pleasure it is for Nancy and me and all our distinguished guests to have the President of Israel and his lovely wife with us at this festive dinner. It's a special occasion for us to have you with us, Mr. President, because of your personal distinction and because you represent Israel, one of our closest friends and partners.

Moreover, Mr. President, your visit has special significance for yet another reason: It's a great day for the Irish! [*Laughter*] I can't help but note that Ireland is so successful at producing national leaders and that an Irish brogue carries as much influence in Jerusalem as it does here. [*Laughter*]

That you were born in Ireland and that my ancestors came from there may seem accidental, but it speaks to the history of both Israel and the United States. Ours are nations of immigrants and nations of opportunity. Israel was established with an open door to the Jewish people from around the globe. The epic drama of the ingathering of those who came to Israel to find freedom, escape persecution, and rebuild their lives has captured the imagination of all Ameri-

cans. We, too, come from distant shores, and in different circumstances struggled for our own freedom.

Israel has never lost sight of its destiny to be a nation of free people living by the principles of democracy. Israel's vibrant democracy offers the best and strongest rejoinder to those who denigrate its achievements or who try to equate Zionism with racism, as the U.N. General Assembly did in 1975. In that connection, I welcome recent action by the Congress calling for the overturning of the U.N. General Assembly's misguided and reprehensible resolution.

Over the last four decades, Israel has grown and prospered. Your farmers and pioneers have made the land green. Your universities and research institutes have created miracles of technology and science that have added to human welfare. And your people have set the world an example in courage and fortitude.

In these 40 years, we Americans have been proud of our friendship and partnership with Israel. Few nations enjoy richer or stronger ties. Support for Israel is not limited to one group or region; it is felt and expressed throughout the United States. It

reflects genuine affection, admiration, and mutual respect.

Since Harry Truman extended diplomatic recognition to Israel, every American President has cared deeply about Israel's security and its quest for peace. I carry on that tradition, and I renew tonight the pledge I've made before: The United States will always ensure Israel's security and work with her in partnership for peace.

Mr. President, Nancy and I extend our best wishes to you and Mrs. Herzog and the people of Israel, for health and prosperity and for the continued close friendship between our two great countries and peoples: *L'Chaim!* [To life.]

President Herzog. Mr. President, Mrs. Reagan, I rise to thank Mrs. Reagan and yourself for the kind hospitality extended by you to Aura and myself on this historic occasion, the first state visit of the President of Israel to the United States of America.

It is very difficult, well nigh impossible, to give adequate expression to what one feels on such a moving occasion. Not even something you and I have in common can help to overcome this difficulty. I'm referring, of course, to the fact that somewhere in our personalities we have a common advantage over many others: that of the gift acquired from the Blarney Stone. [*Laughter*]

Despite the enormous differences between our two countries, as we celebrate our 40th anniversary, one cannot but remark on many similarities. When the director of our railroads first visited the United States, he was asked by his hosts how many miles of railroad we had. Too embarrassed to tell the truth, he replied that he could not recall the distance, but he knew that we had the same width as in the United States. [*Laughter*]

The common foundations which both our countries have based on the teachings of the Hebrew Bible have been used to build a superstructure of relationships which is really quite special. I do not know whether history has another example of a great, free democracy extending so broad a hand of friendship to a young, although also very old, state so far from its borders and so different from it in size of population and area. Indeed, our partnership led to the fact

that in this building was signed the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt. It was a truly unique occasion in the history of peace. It signified the first great achievement of the peace process, which we and, I believe, the vast majority of the peoples in the adjacent Arab States pray will lead to a lasting peace to the Middle East.

America's support for Israel, a free, open, democratic society in which the dignity of man is enshrined as a supreme value, has been a pillar of American policy, a commitment of all American Presidents, a consensus uniting the American political spectrum, and a reflection of the will of the American people. You, Mr. President, have brought our relationship to unprecedented heights, to a closeness that is symbolized by this evening. Mark Twain once said: "Always do right. This will gratify some people, and astonish the rest." [*Laughter*] Indeed, the main thing is to continue to do what we believe to be right, as you, Mr. President, are doing with your resolve and leadership in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf.

It is always important to remember what it is that we represent: two peoples with a rich heritage and a message that the destiny of mankind is freedom, that the greatness of a nation is determined by its commitment to freedom, and that peace and international cooperation are the only parts to a secure future.

Mr. President, on behalf of the people of Israel, I thank you for your friendship and unfailing support. Your name is inscribed indelibly in our history as a dear and close friend who appreciates the importance for the free world of a strong and stable Israel, as an outpost committed to the defense of democracy in a region swept by the winds of fanaticism and fundamentalistic bigotry.

I ask you, Mr. President, to give us, the people of Israel, the opportunity to express to yourself and to Mrs. Reagan, who has a special place in the hearts of our people, our profoundest feelings for you both by coming to Israel and meeting a grateful nation and by seeing for yourselves the realization of an ancient peoples' dream. I would ask your excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, please rise so that I may drink to

the health of the President of the United States and Mrs. Reagan.

Note: The President spoke at 9:47 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House.

Remarks Announcing the Nomination of Anthony M. Kennedy To Be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States *November 11, 1987*

The President. It's not just in fulfillment of my constitutional duty but with great pride and respect for his many years of public service, that I am today announcing my intention to nominate United States Circuit Judge Anthony Kennedy to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Judge Kennedy represents the best tradition of America's judiciary.

His career in the law, which has now spanned the better part of three decades, began following his graduation from Stanford University and Harvard Law School when he joined a prominent San Francisco law firm. Later, after the death of his father, who was himself a well-respected attorney in Sacramento, Tony Kennedy took over his father's law practice. He devoted himself to a wide range of matters including tax law, estate planning and probate, real estate law, international law, and litigation.

In 1965 he began a teaching career on the faculty of the McGeorge School of Law at the University of the Pacific. He has been teaching continuously since that time as a professor of constitutional law. In 1975 President Ford appointed him to the United States Court of Appeals, where he has established himself as a fair but tough judge who respects the law. During his 12 years on the Nation's second highest court, Judge Kennedy has participated in over 1400 decisions and authored over 400 opinions. He's a hard worker and, like Justice Powell, whom he will replace, he is known as a gentleman. He's popular with colleagues of all political persuasions. And I know that he seems to be popular with many Senators of varying political persuasions as well.

I guess by now it's no secret that Judge Kennedy has been on the very shortest of my short lists for some time now. I've inter-

viewed him personally and, at my direction, the FBI, the Department of Justice, and the Counsel to the President have concluded very extensive preliminary interviews with him. Judge Kennedy's record and qualifications have been thoroughly examined. And before I submit his formal nomination to the Senate, a full update of his FBI background investigation will have been completed.

Judge Kennedy is what many in recent weeks have referred to as a true conservative—one who believes that our constitutional system is one of enumerated powers—that it is we, the people who have granted certain rights to the Government, not the other way around. And that unless the Constitution grants a power to the Federal Government, or restricts a State's exercise of that power, it remains with the States or the people.

Those three words, "We the People," are an all important reminder of the only legitimate source of the Government's authority over its citizens. The preamble of the Constitution, which begins with these three powerful words, serves also as a reminder that one of the basic purposes underlying our national charter was to ensure domestic tranquility. And that's why the Constitution established a system of criminal justice that not only protects the individual defendants but that will protect all Americans from crime as well.

Judge Kennedy has participated in hundreds of criminal law decisions during his tenure on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. In that time he's earned a reputation as a courageous, tough, but fair jurist. He's known to his colleagues and to the lawyers who practiced before him as diligent, perceptive, and polite. The hallmark of Judge Kennedy's career has been devotion—devotion to his family, devotion to his communi-

ty and his civic responsibility, and devotion to the law. He's played a major role in keeping our cities and neighborhoods safe from crime. He's that special kind of American who's always been there when we needed leadership. I'm certain he will be a leader on the Supreme Court.

The experience of the last several months has made all of us a bit wiser. I believe the mood and the time is now right for all Americans in this bicentennial year of the Constitution to join together in a bipartisan effort to fulfill our constitutional obligation of restoring the United States Supreme Court to full strength. By selecting Anthony M. Kennedy, a superbly qualified judge whose fitness for the high court has been remarked upon by leaders of the Senate in both parties, I have sought to ensure the success of that effort.

I look forward, and I know Judge Kennedy is looking forward, to prompt hearings conducted in the spirit of cooperation and bipartisanship. I'll do everything in my power as President to assist in that process. And now I believe that Judge Kennedy has a few words to say.

Judge Kennedy. Thank you, Mr. President. By announcing your intention to nominate me to the Supreme Court of the United States, you confer a singular honor, the highest honor to which any person devoted to the law might aspire. I am most grateful to you. My family, Mary and the children, also express their deep appreciation for your reposing this trust upon us.

When the Senate of the United States receives the nomination, I shall endeavor to the best of my ability to answer all of its questions and to otherwise assist it in the discharge of its constitutional obligation to determine whether to give its advice and full consent to the appointment. I share with you, Mr. President, and with each Member of the Senate an abiding respect for the Supreme Court, for the confirmation process, and for the Constitution of the United States, which we are all sworn to preserve and to protect.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Mr. President—

The President. No, it's limited, and I think you know that, to two questions—Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International]

first and then Terry [Terry Hunt, Associated Press].

Q. Mr. President, throughout this whole process, Senator Hatch says there have been a lot of gutless wonders in the White House. Do you know who they are, who he is referring to, why he would say such a thing since he is such a devoted conservative?

The President. Helen, when these ceremonies here this morning are over, I'm going to try to find out where he gets his information because, you know something, I haven't been able to find a gutless wonder in the whole place.

Q. Do you know why he was so upset?

The President. I don't know. I don't know, unless he's been reading the paper too much.

Q. Mr. President, you said that Judge Kennedy is popular with people of all political persuasions. What happened to your plan to give the Senate the nominee that they would object to just as much as Judge Bork?

The President. Maybe it's time that I did answer on that, where that was said and why—and it was humorously said. I was at a straight party organization affair, a dinner. And when I finished my remarks, which were partisan, a woman, down in front, member there, just called out above all the noise of the room, "What about Judge Bork?" And she got great applause for saying that. And then the questions came. Was I going to give in and try to please certain elements in the Senate? And I made that—intended to be facetious answer to her. And so, as I say, it was—sometimes you make a facetious remark and somebody takes it seriously and you wish you'd never said it, and that's one for me.

Q. Mr. President—

The President. I said only two questions now. And I want Judge Kennedy's family to come up here.

Q. Can't you take some more questions, sir?

The President. What?

Q. Can't you take some more questions?

Q. Can't you take one or two more, Mr. President?

Q. Just one or two?

The President. No, because there would be no such thing as just one or two.

Q. Judge Kennedy, can we ask you, are you concerned about this intense scrutiny that seems to go to a Supreme Court nominee now?

Judge Kennedy. I'm looking forward to the scrutiny that the Senate should give any nominee in its discharge of its constitutional duty.

Q. And you're not concerned about how you'd stand up, sir?

Q. Judge Kennedy, are you worried or upset that you are, in effect, the third choice for this seat?

Judge Kennedy. I'm delighted with this nomination. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President, why didn't you nominate Judge Kennedy the first time?

Mr. Fitzwater. Thank you very much.

Q. Well, Marlin—

Q. Would you like to answer that, sir?

Q. —to preselected reporters.

Q. That's a good question, Marlin.

Q. Can't the President answer for himself?

Q. Do you like where the dollar is?

The President. I—all three. We came down to a final three and that all three were so close and so well-qualified, you could have almost thrown a dart going by that decision.

Q. Mr. President, do you believe that the Senate Democrats may try to stall this nomination in order to prevent you from being able to fill that seat?

The President. I'm counting on Pete Wilson to see that doesn't happen.

Q. Mr. President—

Q. Did you cave into the liberals, Mr. President? Some conservatives are saying you caved into the liberals, appointing someone who can be confirmed, but not appointing someone who is going to turn

the Court around.

The President. When the day comes that I cave in to the liberals, I will be long gone from here. [*Laughter*]

Q. Judge Kennedy, did they ask you if you'd ever smoked marijuana?

Q. Did you ever smoke marijuana?

Q. Did they ask you?

Judge Kennedy. They asked me that question, and the answer was no, firmly, no.

Q. Mr. President, do you think conservatives, sir, will back this nominee? You know, Senator Helms, at one point, is alleged to have said, "No way, Jose," to Judge Kennedy.

The President. We'll find out about that in the coming days ahead.

Q. How can you be confident of the background check by Attorney General Edwin Meese's Justice Department when he blew the last one? [*Laughter*]

The President. He didn't blow the last one. We were talking the last time about a man who had been confirmed and who had been investigated four times for positions in government.

Q. Are you going to fire the FBI?

Q. Who did blow it?

Q. Do you blame Ginsburg for not telling—

Q. Mr. President, who do you blame?

The President. I can't, Andrea. [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News]

Q. Mr. Meese or Mr. Baker?

Q. Do you think the Russians are stalling on an INF agreement, sir? There's a story that—[*laughter*]—there's a story that—

The President. Bye. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. Marlin Fitzwater was Assistant to the President for Press Relations.

Nomination of Anthony M. Kennedy To Be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States *November 11, 1987*

President Reagan announced today that he would nominate Judge Anthony M. Kennedy to be an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. The President believes that Judge Kennedy's distinguished legal career, which includes over a decade of service as a Federal appellate judge, makes him eminently qualified to sit on our nation's highest court.

Judge Kennedy, who is 51 years old, was born in Sacramento, CA. He received his undergraduate degree at Stanford University in 1958, attending the London School of Economics during his senior year. He received his law degree from Harvard University in 1961. He has also served in the California Army National Guard.

From 1961 to 1963, Judge Kennedy was an associate at the firm of Thelen, Marrin, Johnson & Bridges in San Francisco, CA. He then returned to Sacramento to pursue a general litigation, legislative, and business practice, first as sole practitioner and then, from 1967 to 1975, as a partner with the

firm of Evans, Jackson & Kennedy. Since 1965 he has taught constitutional law part-time at the McGeorge School of Law at the University of the Pacific.

In 1975 President Ford appointed Judge Kennedy to sit on the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, where he now ranks among the most senior active judges on the bench. Judge Kennedy has participated in over 1,400 decisions and authored over 400 opinions, earning a reputation for fairness, openmindedness, and scholarship. He has been an active participant in matters of judicial administration. Judge Kennedy has earned the respect of colleagues of all political persuasions.

Judge Kennedy and his wife Mary reside in his hometown of Sacramento. They have three children, Justin, Gregory, and Kristin.

Judge Kennedy represents the best traditions of America's judiciary. The President urges the Senate to accept this nomination in the spirit in which it is being made, and fill the vacancy that continues to handicap the vital work of the Supreme Court.

Remarks Following a Meeting With Afghan Resistance Leaders and Members of Congress *November 12, 1987*

Well, we've just held a very useful and, I might say, brief but also, I'll add, a very moving discussion with Chairman Yunis Khalis of the Islamic Union of Mujahidin of Afghanistan and other members of his distinguished delegation. I expressed our nation's continued strong support for the resistance and our satisfaction with the large step the Afghan resistance took toward unity in choosing a chairman for the first time. This new political milestone demonstrates that the people of Afghanistan speak with one voice in their opposition to the Soviet invasion and occupation of their homeland.

This increasing unity has already made itself felt on the battlefield. During the past 18 months, the Mujahidin fighting inside the country have improved their weapons, tactics, and coordination. The result has been a string of serious defeats for the Soviet elite units as well as many divisions from the Kabul army.

Chairman Khalis and his delegation are visiting Washington, following the November 10th U.N. General Assembly vote, which with a record vote, once again, called overwhelmingly for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan. This is the

eightth time since the December 1979 invasion that the General Assembly has decisively called upon the Soviet Union to pull its forces out of Afghanistan. And let there be no mistake about it: The withdrawal of Soviet forces is the key to resolving the Afghan crisis. Other issues that have been raised to divert attention from this fact only extend the combat and prolong the suffering of the Afghan people.

General Secretary Gorbachev has publicly stated a Soviet readiness to withdraw. Both in April and September of 1987, I asked the Soviet Union to set a date this year when that withdrawal would begin. I also stated that when the Soviet Union showed convincingly that it was ready for a genuine political settlement the United States would be helpful. After all, the Soviet presence in Afghanistan is a major impediment to improved U.S.-Soviet relations, and we would like to remove it. The Soviets should want to do so, as well.

Unfortunately, the Soviet answer on a date for rapid withdrawal has been silence. Instead we've seen the Kabul regime announce a phantom cease-fire and propose a transitional government, one that would leave this discredited and doomed group in

control. These gambits have been rejected by the only voice that really counts: that of the Afghan people, speaking through their resistance representatives. Any proposal unacceptable to the resistance is destined to fail.

And as the resistance continues the fight, we and other responsible governments will stand by it. The support that the United States has been providing the resistance will be strengthened, rather than diminished, so that it can continue to fight effectively for freedom. The just struggle against foreign tyranny can count upon worldwide support, both political and material.

The goal of the United States remains a genuinely independent Afghanistan, free from external interference, an Afghanistan whose people choose the type of government they wish, an Afghanistan to which the four million refugees from Soviet aggression may return in safety and, yes, in honor.

On behalf of the American people, I salute Chairman Khalis, his delegation, and the people of Afghanistan themselves. You are a nation of heroes. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:16 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

Proclamation 5741—National Arts Week, 1987 *November 12, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The arts lie at the heart of our Nation and of the heritage we cherish. The freedom we enjoy allows our arts to breathe the spirit of liberty and to ennoble, inspire, and nourish us. During National Arts Week, when we celebrate the arts and thank the artists, patrons, and audiences who give them life, we salute a precious dimension of America.

From our early days as a Nation, countless public-minded citizens have considered support of culture and the arts their joy and their responsibility. Their efforts have

brought about an American partnership among individuals, corporations, foundations, and taxpayers that sustains the arts and makes them accessible throughout our land.

Across America the arts are flourishing. Everywhere, individual artists are at work, and symphony orchestras, museums, theaters, dance and opera companies, and folk arts groups are busy in cities and towns alike. As we express our gratitude to these Americans we also renew our commitment to the partnership that supports them and brings their work, and that of the rest of the world, to American audiences—and we reaffirm our devotion to the life of the

mind and the soul.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 154, has designated the period of November 15 through November 22, 1987, as "National Arts Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the period of November 15 through November 22, 1987, as National Arts Week. I encourage the people of the United States to observe this period with

appropriate ceremonies, programs, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 12th day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:30 a.m., November 13, 1987]

Appointment of Marion C. Blakey as Special Assistant to the President and Director of Public Affairs

November 12, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Marion C. Blakey to be Special Assistant to the President and Director of Public Affairs. She would succeed Thomas F. Gibson III.

Since 1985 Ms. Blakey has been a Director of Public Affairs and Special Assistant to the Secretary at the U.S. Department of Education. From 1982 to 1984, she was Director of Public Affairs at the National Endowment for the Humanities. Previously

Ms. Blakey served as Director of that agency's youth programs and in its Office of Planning and Policy Assessment.

Ms. Blakey holds a bachelor's degree from Mary Washington College of the University of Virginia (1970), where she majored in international affairs. She attended the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies for graduate work in Middle East affairs. Ms. Blakey is married, has one child, and resides in Washington, DC.

Statement on Trade Sanctions Against Brazil

November 13, 1987

I am today announcing my intention to raise tariffs on Brazilian exports to the United States and to prohibit imports from Brazil of certain computer products in response to the maintenance by Brazil of unfair trade practices in the area of computer products.

Brazil's national informatics policies, in place since the 1970's, severely restrict foreign participation in Brazil's computer and computer-related market. The United States has unsuccessfully raised its concerns with Brazil in bilateral and multilateral consultations since 1983. In September 1985 I

initiated an investigation of these practices under section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974 and in October 1986 determined that Brazil's informatics policies were unreasonable and a burden and restriction on U.S. commerce. I suspended parts of this investigation after Brazil made commitments to implement its informatics law in a more flexible, reasonable, and just manner.

Recent developments in Brazil make it clear that these commitments are not being kept. In particular, the Brazilian Government has rejected efforts by an American software company to license its product in

Brazil, asserting that a domestic company makes a product that is functionally equivalent. This decision establishes a precedent which effectively bans U.S. companies from the Brazilian software market. It is also likely to increase piracy of foreign software, since demand for the prohibited product will continue.

In response to these developments, I intend to raise tariffs to offset the lost sales opportunities for U.S. companies, estimated at \$105 million, and to prohibit imports of Brazilian informatics products covered

under Brazil's market reserve policy. Should Brazil reverse its action and live up to its commitments to the United States, I will be prepared to lift these sanctions.

Brazil is a good friend of the United States, and we support the steps it is taking to restore its democratic institutions. But Brazil is also a major beneficiary of the global trading system, the openness of which cannot be maintained if markets are deliberately closed and policies incompatible with a more free and open trading system are established.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Young American Medals for Bravery and Service *November 13, 1987*

Attorney General Meese, Director Sessions, distinguished guests: Welcome to the White House. We're here today to honor some very special young Americans: the winners of the 1985 and 1986 Young American Medals for Bravery and Service.

A few years ago, it was fashionable in the media and the universities to say that America had no more heroes. Heroism was a thing of the past, we were told, as old and dry as a fossil in Death Valley. Fashions often run together, and this one galloped side by side with the death-of-God vogue. I seem to remember that the argument was that if God was dead nothing anyone could do was important enough to be called heroic. Well, I've never believed that either God or American heroism was dead.

This land of freedom was built, and is still being built, by men and women who, without chroniclers, without heralds, have brought a warrior's courage to the challenges of everyday life. America is a land of heroes.

Today we honor six young Americans who have shown the physical, moral, or intellectual courage, yes, the selflessness and concern for others that we call heroism. I thought I'd tell you something about each one of them.

I mentioned moral courage—taking a stand out of the ordinary because that's

what you believe is right. Linda Warsaw has that kind of courage. When Linda was 11, she began volunteering with her mother at the San Bernardino County Victim-Witness Advocacy Program. Files that passed through her hands were like a window for her into the criminal justice system. Soon she was attending trials. Much of what she saw—child abuse cases, criminals going unpunished—she didn't like. She conceived of an anticrime organization that would be run by and for children. Started 2 years ago when Linda was 13, Kids Against Crime now teaches hundreds of children and adults in southern California communities how to protect themselves against molesters and others who may prey on them.

Moral courage—that's also why Carla Swanson has been asked here today. Carla organized the Just Say No club at her high school in Warwick, Rhode Island. She also directs a program to promote the idea that it's okay not to drink. These haven't always been popular causes at school. One of Carla's advisers has said, "She is a fish going upstream, and everyone says she's going the wrong way." Her adviser adds, Carla's "direction and intention are clear, and she is succeeding."

Angel Rafael Guerra-Torres has another kind of courage—intellectual courage—the courage to pursue a new idea, to think in

new ways, not to be bound by conventional wisdom. Angel developed, as a science fair project, an experiment to demonstrate how the growth of a type of cancer cell could be inhibited by broccoli. This experiment won him first place in the medical health category of the 37th International Science and Engineering Fair. Angel's prizes include an invitation to represent Puerto Rican youth at the Nobel Prize ceremonies in Sweden.

Linda and Angel are the winners of the 1986 Young American Medal for Service. Carla is the winner of the 1985 Medal. Linda, Angel, Carla, congratulations!

Three of those with us today have displayed great personal courage. At moments when life and death hung in the balance, they were ready to risk their lives that others might live.

Just over a year ago, Denise Shattuck and four friends were driving home from a field hockey game when their car hit a tree. Denise was thrown from the car and hurt her head. The car's driver was alive but trapped behind the wheel with a smashed hip, and the car was on fire. Denise ignored her own injuries, ran back to the burning car, pulled the driver out through a broken window, and dragged and carried her to safety.

In March of 1986, Kimberlee Rush, then 17, was babysitting for two toddlers when a truck with a 20-ton load lost its brakes, sped downhill, and crashed into the house she was in. As the floor collapsed beneath the truck, gas lines ruptured, and a huge hole was left between the room Kimberlee had been in and the room the children were in. Kimberlee could have left the house. Instead, she crawled into the hole, through the gas fumes, and back up to the frightened children. Then she broke through a window to lead them out of the house.

Finally, on a February night 2 years ago, Mindy Clark was in bed when she heard her two-year-old brother, Justin, crying as

he climbed the stairs. As Mindy got out of bed, she noticed the floor was hot. The house was on fire. Mindy gathered Justin, her other brother, and sister together. After a struggle, she opened her window and led them out onto the plastic porch roof, only to realize that Justin hadn't followed. Back into the heat and smoke of the burning house Mindy went and finally found Justin hiding in fear under her own bed. She carried him out to the roof, which was beginning to melt, and led her brothers and sister to safety.

Kimberlee and Denise are the winners of the 1986 Young American Medal for Bravery. Mindy is the winner of the 1985 Medal. You are young women of extraordinary courage, and it's an honor to have you here today at the White House.

I've heard talk from some in the press who ought to know better that this is the "me" age: everyone out to get his or hers. These young people and others like them are my reply to those commentators. There is a heart in America—a good, deep, loving, and true heart. It's always been part of our land, from the time the pilgrims first bowed their heads to thank the Lord for His bounty to this day. You only need eyes to see and ears to hear, for there are signs of the love, the courage, the hope, and the generosity of the American heart at every bend in every road, and there is the music of its song in every community throughout our land. To all of you awardees here today, let me say thank you for helping us see those signs and hear that music.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:20 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Attorney General Edwin Meese III and William S. Sessions, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Memorandum Promoting Adoption November 13, 1987

Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies

More than 140,000 children are adopted each year, but thousands of childless families are still waiting for children to adopt. Unfortunately, many thousands of children with special needs, such as those with physical, mental, or legal handicaps, are not adopted. On August 24, 1987, I established the Interagency Task Force on Adoption, and the Task Force will be submitting recommendations to me that are designed to encourage and support adoption, in particular infant adoptions, as an alternative for pregnant women, and the adoption of "special needs" children who are waiting for a permanent, loving family.

I will be signing a proclamation soon designating November 22 through November 28, 1987, as National Adoption Week. Each

department and agency head should encourage National Adoption Week activities designed to increase Federal employee awareness about the benefits of adoption.

Last year, for example, the Office of Personnel Management conducted a number of activities to promote adoption during National Adoption Week. Six children were adopted as a result of the OPM's efforts, and many OPM employees have become involved in community efforts to foster adoption.

We must expand and broaden our efforts to make sure that America's familyless children are adopted. We must do all we can to remove obstacles that prevent qualified adoptive parents from accepting these children into their homes.

RONALD REAGAN

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on Senate Action on the Housing Bill November 13, 1987

The President commends the Senate's vote for fiscal restraint by its refusal to waive the budget act for the housing bill. This measure is clearly at odds with efforts to reduce the deficit.

At this juncture in the budget negotiations, it is encouraging to see 40 Members

of the Senate willing to vote against increasing the deficit, despite pressures from special interests. Should this legislation reach the President's desk in its current form, it will be vetoed because of the impact its provisions will have on deficit spending for years to come.

Radio Address to the Nation on the Supreme Court Nomination of Anthony M. Kennedy, Central America, and Deficit Reduction November 14, 1987

My fellow Americans:

This week has been a busy and important one here in Washington. And in reporting to you about it, there are three topics in particular that I'd like to discuss—first, my

announcement on Wednesday that I intend to nominate United States Circuit Court Judge Anthony Kennedy to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

Judge Kennedy's background includes

many years as a practicing lawyer, first with a major firm, then in practice on his own; more than two decades of teaching law; and service since 1975 on the United States Court of Appeals, the second highest court in the land. Judge Kennedy shares my fundamental legal philosophy of judicial restraint—the conviction that judges should interpret the law, not make it—that, in other words, judges should be umpires, not players.

It happens that this is not the first time I've called on Judge Kennedy for an important government job. As Governor of California back in 1973, I asked Judge Kennedy, then a lawyer in private practice, to take the lead in drafting a complex constitutional amendment and to have the work completed in less than 8 weeks. Thanks to Judge Kennedy's remarkable skill and determination, 8 weeks later, the job was done.

In choosing to nominate Judge Kennedy to the Supreme Court, I've kept in mind the fact that criminal cases make up the largest category of cases the Supreme Court must decide. These cases are especially important to the poor, inner-city residents, and minority groups, since these Americans are victimized by crime to a disproportionate extent. Judge Kennedy's record on criminal law is clear; indeed, he has participated in hundreds of criminal law decisions. He has earned a reputation as a jurist who is tough, but fair. His decisions have helped, rather than hindered, the search for truth in the courtroom. And he's been sensitive to the needs of law enforcement professionals, who each day risk their lives in the real world of street crime and violence.

Judge Kennedy has already won bipartisan praise from the Senate, and I know you join me in looking forward to prompt Senate hearings, conducted in a spirit of cooperation. Every day that passes with the Supreme Court below full strength impairs the people's business in that crucially important body.

The second topic I want to discuss with you is Central America, for it was this week that the Guatemala accord went into effect. As I said Monday in a speech to foreign ministers from Central America, as we look at how the Guatemala accord has been im-

plemented to date, we have to conclude that the differences between the democracies and the Communists in Central America have never been so apparent. The Communists in Nicaragua refuse to lift their state of emergency, but the democracies of El Salvador and Guatemala—countries that are also torn by violence—make no excuses and have no states of emergency.

In Nicaragua, too, the Communists' release of political prisoners has been partial and grudging. Thousands of political prisoners remain in their jails. Yet there has been one good sign. I welcome the designation of Cardinal Obando y Bravo—a man who himself has suffered much at the hands of the Nicaraguan Communists—as the mediator in Nicaragua between the Communist regime and the democratic resistance, or freedom fighters. This is a Nicaraguan conflict that should be resolved between Nicaraguans. And as I said Monday: When serious negotiations between the Communists and the resistance have begun under Cardinal Obando's mediation, then Secretary Shultz will be ready to meet jointly with the foreign ministers of all five Central American nations, including the Sandinistas' representative.

But whatever the specific developments in Central America in the coming days, the United States will continue to stress that democracy must come first. As Nobel Prize winner President Arias has said: "The day the Sandinistas or another political movement are chosen freely in elections accepted by all Nicaraguans, there will be no more reason for violence."

Finally, I want you to know that throughout the week, administration representatives and Members of the House and Senate continued negotiations aimed at cutting the Federal deficit. The negotiators are seeking to strike a bargain that would cut some \$30 billion from the Federal deficit during 1988 and as much as \$50 billion in 1989. As Senator Domenici put it: "We made headway on everything; we just didn't reach closure yet." The bipartisan cooperation that has been evident in these negotiations is encouraging. I'm confident that this coming week the negotiators will agree to a deficit-

cutting package that is fair and enforceable.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD. Oscar Arias Sánchez was the President of Costa Rica.

Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the American Council of Life Insurance

November 16, 1987

Thank you all very much, and thank you, John Creedon. As many of you know, John is giving the Nation outstanding service on the AIDS Commission. Thank you also, Carey Hanlin, and a special thank you to someone I miss seeing at the Cabinet table, a man of courage and principle, one of the best Secretaries of Health and Human Services our nation has ever had: Dick Schweiker.

I've come here today in what I'm sure we would all agree is a time of unusual worry and unusual promise. Today we Americans have it within our power to lead the entire world into a new age of prosperity and peace or to return it to the stagnation, drift, and uncertainties of the late seventies. History records few moments when an entire people arrive at a place of turning and either choose the right or the wrong path. We Americans have come to such a place, but as we've seen in the markets these last few weeks, many wonder if we'll pick the right course.

I believe we will if we recognize our opportunities. The problem of recognizing opportunities—it reminds me of a story about Moses. He had led the children of Israel out of Egypt. He got to the Red Sea. God parted the waters. Moses looked around and said, "Oh, Lord, just as I was going in for a swim." [Laughter]

Now, I know you've heard a lot of whys and wherefores about the volatility in the market these last few weeks—some of it not all that helpful. After 4 years of amnesia, our critics—God bless them—have all of a sudden remembered the word Reaganomics. When I hear them talk about stock prices, I can't help thinking of the judge who was questioning a prospective juror. And the judge asked the juror if he had any

opinion about the guilt or innocence of the defendant. And the juror said, "No, your honor." The judge asked, "Do you have any reservations in your conscience about the death penalty." The juror said, "No, sir, not in this case." [Laughter]

You in the life insurance industry make a profession of keeping a cool head when others panic and of fixing your eye on the promises as well as the dangers of the future. Well, that's how you make the right decisions. In the last 7 years, I've found that's how to make the right decisions on national economic policy, too. Look at opportunities. Look at dangers, too. Look at reality. Yes, financial market gyrations are a reality, but this is reality, too: Our underlying economy is strong and getting stronger. Two weeks ago it became official: America had achieved 59 months of uninterrupted economic growth. That is the longest peacetime expansion on record in our entire history.

Within 2 weeks of the stock market plunge, we learned that gross national product was rising at a healthy 3.8-percent annual rate. Much of this growth was because of new business investment, which is soaring at an almost unbelievable annual pace of 24 percent. And after a brief spurt earlier this year, inflation has fallen back to less than 3 percent. We also learned that manufacturing productivity was rising at a nearly 5-percent annual rate. Manufacturing exports are an important reason why our total real exports have been growing at a nearly 17-percent annual rate. Why, just the other day, I learned that Americans are even about to export chopsticks to Japan.

Yes, in the last 2 years, our manufacturing output has been rising sharply. Take just one industry, steel, which had been said

to be dying. Now the talk is about its re-birth. As a recent *Business Week* headline said: "Cancel the Funeral—Steel is on the Mend." In our expansion, the biggest stories have been new businesses, rising family income, and jobs. They're stories that each of you knows about. After all, the life insurance industry's venture capital investments have helped finance America's entrepreneurial boom. And in working with your policyholders, you've seen firsthand how, after a decade on a falling roller coaster, the average American family's income has once again risen strongly since 1982.

You've also seen your markets expand, as America created more jobs in the last 5 years than Europe and Japan combined. And as for the critics who talk about how bad are the millions of jobs America has created in service industries—"hamburger flipping" is how critics characterize them—well, those critics ought to talk to you, because many new service jobs are in life insurance.

Just the other week, figures came out showing that we continue to create jobs at a record pace—more than half-a-million new jobs in October. They came from both manufacturing and service. And as one private economist said: "The strength was across the board." Another summed up: "The economy was gathering momentum."

The potential employment pool in America, as maybe some of you don't know—I didn't know for a time—is everyone, male and female, from age 16 up. It includes all retired people. It includes kids in school and so forth. That is the potential pool against which we match our employment record. Well, this year more than 60 percent of that group has been employed. That is more than ever before in our history. This is the strength and promise in our economy today. There are dangers, too, of course. But as *Fortune* magazine warned last week: "The most immediate danger is that in a rush to do something to calm the frenzied international markets, Washington will do the wrong thing."

Well, trade is one area where we're in danger of doing the wrong thing. Forgive me for saying, but some in Congress have been playing with economic dynamite this year. More than 10 million American jobs

are tied to imports, exports, or both. From the day George Washington took office to the present, when international trade has grown, the number of jobs has grown. When trade has dwindled, so have the number of jobs. Yet a bill with some of the most protectionist provisions we've seen since Smoot-Hawley is working its way through Congress. Now, that's just what we don't need right now—to declare a trade war, to become a casualty ourselves.

I spoke at the beginning of places of turning, and here's one: Congress can either turn towards a protectionist trade bill or it can enact responsible legislation and ratify the free trade agreement we recently concluded with Canada, and make that agreement a model for our policy toward all nations. Under this agreement, trade barriers between the world's two largest trading partners will, for the most part, vanish by the year 2000.

In the last 7 years, we have used our trade laws as never before to open world markets to American exports. For the first time, an administration has started unfair trade practice cases on its own, not waited for industry. Korea recently responded to one of these cases and agreed to end its ban against foreign firms underwriting insurance, including life insurance. This will guarantee American firms access to Korea's insurance market, and that's good for everyone, Koreans and Americans.

Not long ago, I ran across a startling example of what ending trade restrictions can mean. In January New York State put an end to a domestic trade barrier. They let in milk from New Jersey. You couldn't buy New Jersey milk in New York before that. The result: The average price of a gallon of milk on the Lower East Side of New York City dropped by 40 cents. That was just one product traded—not between two nations but between two States. Put that on a world scale, and you see how much protectionism costs America's families. It's just this simple: America needs more trade, not less.

Last week I emphasized that it was not our policy to drive down the dollar. Exchange rates that whip around with every shift in the wind make business reluctant to sail the seas of international commerce.

That hurts all trading nations. But enduring calmness on the currency markets must come from better coordination of economic policies among the major industrial countries. And that's why I was pleased by the recent action taken by Germany and other countries to lower interest rates. Coordination of policies that produce growth—that's good for everyone and something the United States continues to support.

Here in Washington, I'm working with Congress to take another American step toward less deficit spending. But as in trade, there are right steps and wrong steps, and hiking tax rates is the wrong step. As a front page story in the *New York Times* 2 weeks ago warned, higher tax rates could, as the article said, "chill the economy, reduce personal and business incomes, and thus lower tax receipts." Last year we cut the deficit by \$73 billion—nearly one-third of what it was in 1986. We're determined to achieve at least a \$23 billion reduction this fiscal year and stay on the path to a balanced budget.

I'm confident we'll get there one way or another. But let me repeat something here I've been saying for some time now: Deficit spending is in large part an institutional problem, and a comparatively recent one to boot. In the mid-seventies, Congress, in effect, shoved the President to the side in the budget process. It legislated a major shift in the checks and balances of budget-making power, and the results came immediately. Before that, Federal debt with inflation taken out had been steady or falling for a quarter of a century. Since then it's been in a steep climb.

In my years in the White House, I've seen one Member of Congress after another call for lower deficits and less spending and then go out and vote for more spending. Some, of course, just want more spending, period, but many are sincere. They're prisoners of a dilemma. If nearby districts or States get so many Federal dollars, they must bring at least as much home or look bad. So they swap increases for increases, and deficit spending goes up.

A perfect example is the housing bill being considered in the Senate. Now is not the time to add to the deficit, and this bill could add as much as \$7 billion more in

spending than I requested for this year. What's more, it costs at least \$3 billion more than they say it costs, because they mandate things they don't pay for. That's budget gimmickry, pure and simple. Federal housing programs should be designed to help those who cannot help themselves. But under this bill, even though it's a budget-buster, aid to poor and needy Americans could actually be cut. You see, the bill diverts enormous amounts of money to subsidies for those who don't need subsidies at all. That is morally wrong. If this bill arrives at my desk, I will veto it.

What we do need right now is an extension of FHA authorities. That issue has been hanging fire for too long. I call on Congress, by the end of the month, to provide a permanent extension of those authorities, but not with so much else attached. We can't have it both ways. We can't make speeches calling for cuts in the budget deficit and then vote for bills like this that bust the budget. If Congress is serious about joining with me to cut the budget, they should show it by starting with this housing bill.

The sad fact is there's only one way, once and for all, to stop them before they spend again, to free these prisoners from their dilemma. And that's to restore the role in the budget process of the only elected official who speaks not for local interests but for the interest of the entire Nation: the President. And that's why I've said over and over that it's time for the President to have what 43 Governors have, what I had as Governor of California: a line-item veto. Saving Congress from itself and America from Congress' compulsive spending is also why I've said that we need for the United States something that 32 States have: a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution. A favorite person of mine, Prime Minister Thatcher recently said: "Early and decisive action" on cutting U.S. deficit spending is "the most important single thing of all" to restore the world financial markets. Nothing could be more decisive and convincing than these reforms.

Now, I've spoken to you today about our economic future and the world's. But that's not the only area in which America will soon make choices for the future. Next

month I will meet here in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev of the Soviet Union. If all goes well, we'll sign an agreement that will, for the first time in history, eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. It's a good bargain. For every nuclear warhead of our own that we remove, they will be giving up four. Recently, all seven living former Secretaries of Defense were asked, if they were still in office, would they recommend this agreement to the President? All seven said, yes, it's a good agreement.

Some details remain to be worked out. The most important is verification. I cherish no illusions about the Soviets. It's said: For them, past arms control treaties were like diets: The second day was always the best, because that's when they broke them. [Laughter] Any treaty I agree to must provide for effective verification, including onsite inspection of facilities before and during reductions and short-notice inspections afterward. The verification regime that we've put forward in Geneva is the most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations. I will not settle for anything less.

We're also pressing now for an agreement on reducing our two nations' strategic arsenals by one-half. Our Geneva negotiators have made progress. The Soviets must, however, stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our investigation of a strategic defense against ballistic missiles, the SDI. From the Krasnoyarsk radar facility, whose very construction violated the 1972 ABM treaty that the Soviets so vocally claim they want to preserve, to their modernized deployments around Moscow of the world's only ABM defenses, the Soviet Union's own SDI projects have become big news throughout the world in recent months. The Soviets have put billions into their program. They have more than 10,000 scientists working on military lasers alone. We know this, and they know that we know, and we know that they know we know. [Laughter] It's time for them to stop the charade and admit their own deep involvement in strategic defense work.

For us, SDI is a vital insurance policy, a necessary part of any national security strat-

egy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. It will help protect our allies, too. In decades to come, it will underwrite all of us against Soviet cheating on both strategic and intermediate-range missile agreements. It goes hand in hand with arms reductions. We cannot—we will not—bargain it away to get strategic arms reductions.

SDI will also protect us against accidental missile launches and ballistic missile threats—whether with nuclear, conventional, or chemical warheads—from outlaw regimes. In the decades ahead, missile technology will proliferate, just as nuclear weapons technology already has. We can't be sure just who will get it, how competent they will be, or how rational. We must have an insurance policy against that day, as well. So, no, SDI is not a bargaining chip. It is a cornerstone of our security strategy for the 1990's and beyond. We will research it. We will develop it. And when it's ready, we'll deploy it. Remember this: If both sides have defenses, it can be a safer world. But if we leave the Soviets with a monopoly in this vital area, our security will be gravely jeopardized. We must not let that happen.

My talks with General Secretary Gorbachev will cover the full range of U.S.-Soviet relations, including human rights, exchanges between our peoples, and Soviet involvement in regional conflicts such as in Afghanistan, Angola, and Nicaragua. I believe that if America remains firm and strong, if we don't give up in squabbles among ourselves things that should be the subject of negotiations with the Soviets, we can usher in a new age of peace and freedom.

Yes, we live in a time of promise and a time of worry, of hazard. In the next few months, we can take steps that will lead America and the world toward a new age of prosperity and peace or, if we take the wrong steps, in just the opposite direction. So, I have a very simple appeal to you today. I need your help. I need your hand. Let's work together to make certain that the steps America does take are the right ones.

You know, I have developed a hobby recently, and I'm annoying audiences with it,

I'm sure. I can't close without telling you what that hobby is. I have begun collecting jokes that I can prove are told by the Soviet citizens among themselves, which show their great sense of humor, but also a certain cynicism about their system. And I couldn't resist in the last meeting with the General Secretary to tell him one of those jokes. [*Laughter*]

It had to do with an American and a Russian arguing about their two countries. And the American in the story said, "I can walk into the Oval Office, I can pound the President's desk, and I can say, 'Mr. President, I don't like the way you're running our country!'" And the Soviet citizen said,

"I can do that." The American said, "You can?" He says, "Yes. I can go into the Kremlin to the General Secretary's office, I can pound his desk and say, 'Mr. General Secretary, I don't like the way President Reagan's running his country.'" [*Laughter*] Thank you all. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:06 a.m. in the Sheraton Ballroom at the Washington-Sheraton Hotel. He was introduced by John J. Creedon. In his opening remarks, the President referred to H. Carey Hanlin, chairman and chief executive officer of Provident Life of Tennessee.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on Discussions Between the Speaker of the House of Representatives and President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua *November 16, 1987*

The President met today with House Speaker Jim Wright for 40 minutes to discuss the Speaker's involvement and discussions with Sandinista President Daniel Ortega last week. The President expressed his concern over the Speaker's role in getting involved in what should be essentially a matter between the Sandinista government and the Nicaraguan resistance with respect to negotiating a cease-fire. The President pointed out to the Speaker the confusion that arises and the misleading impressions that can be left if Members of Congress, without coordination with the executive branch, involve themselves in complex negotiations with foreign heads of government.

Speaker Wright reported to the President on his discussions with President Ortega,

Cardinal Obando, and members of the Nicaraguan resistance. He asserted to the President that his efforts were an attempt to further the peace process and to offer Cardinal Obando whatever assistance might be useful in his efforts to serve as a mediator between the Sandinistas and the Nicaraguan resistance.

The President strongly stressed to the Speaker the need for additional nonlethal assistance for the freedom fighters to ensure that they remain a cohesive, viable force which can continue pressuring the Sandinistas into meeting their commitments under the Central American peace plan. The President expressed the hope that Congress will work closely with the administration in the effort to secure peace in Central America and democracy in Nicaragua.

Proclamation 5742—Recognition of the Disabled American Veterans Vietnam Veterans National Memorial as a Memorial of National Significance

November 16, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Near Eagle Nest, New Mexico, on a hill-top between peaks of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains and overlooking the Moreno Valley, stands a memorial to our country's Vietnam veterans. The origin of this shrine explains exactly why Americans for all the generations to come will consider it a memorial of national significance.

The monument arose from one family's grief and solemn pride in a gallant son who gave his life for his fellow Marines, for his country, and for a people oppressed. On May 22, 1968, First Lieutenant Victor David Westphall III, USMC, a rifle platoon commander, was killed in an enemy ambush in Con Thien, Republic of Vietnam. His parents, Dr. and Mrs. Victor Westphall, and his younger brother Douglas decided to erect a permanent memorial to honor his spirit and that of his 12 comrades in arms who died along with him in that battle.

Dedicating their own time and resources, the Westphalls built an inspirational monument rising nearly 50 feet in dramatic architectural lines and containing a memorial chapel where visitors could pray and reflect upon the sacrifices America's fighting forces have made to keep our country free.

The Westphalls completed the memorial in 1971 and named it the Vietnam Veterans Peace and Brotherhood Chapel. In 1982, the Disabled American Veterans (DAV), a national organization of more than one million veterans disabled in military service, formed a special nonprofit corporation to assume ownership and assure perpetual maintenance of the shrine. The DAV has added a visitors' center, guest house, and access to the site for disabled persons.

On Memorial Day, 1983, the memorial

was rededicated and given its present name. Later that year the New Mexico Legislature declared it a State memorial. The Disabled American Veterans Vietnam Veterans National Memorial has become known to millions of Americans and has inspired the construction of other memorials to Vietnam veterans across our land. It has forever acquired a place in the history and heritage of the United States and in the hearts of all who would salute the valor, the honor, and the sacrifices of America's Vietnam veterans.

The Congress, by Public Law 100-164, approved November 13, 1987, has recognized the Disabled American Veterans Vietnam Veterans National Memorial as a memorial of national significance and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance thereof.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby commemorate the recognition of the Disabled American Veterans Vietnam Veterans National Memorial as a memorial of national significance. I also salute the efforts of the individuals who have made possible the creation and continued existence of this memorial.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:16 a.m., November 17, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 17.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Japan-United States Fishery Agreement

November 17, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act of 1976 (MFCMA), as amended, (Public Law 94-265; 16 U.S.C. 1801 *et seq.*), I transmit herewith a Governing International Fishery Agreement (GIFA) consisting of an Agreement Amending the Agreement Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Japan Concerning Fisheries Off the Coasts of the United States of America of September 10, 1982 (the "Agreement") signed at Washington on November 10, 1987. This Agreement amends to conform to U.S. law and extends for the period of two years from December 31, 1987, until December 31, 1989, the existing GIFA with Japan. The exchange of an Agreement, together with the present GIFA, constitutes a GIFA within the re-

quirements of Section 201(c) of the Act.

This GIFA is one of a series negotiated in accordance with the MFCMA since 1976. The amendment and extension of the GIFA would ensure the continuation of mutually beneficial joint ventures between the U.S. and Japanese fishing industries in the U.S. exclusive economic zone. Unless the GIFA is extended, these operations will cease, causing significant financial hardship to U.S. fishermen.

I recommend that the Congress give favorable consideration to this Agreement at an early date, so that it can enter into force before the present GIFA expires on December 31.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 17, 1987.

Remarks at the Farewell Ceremony for Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger

November 17, 1987

The President. Admiral Crowe, thank you. This is a bittersweet moment for me and, I think, for all of us who have known and worked closely with Cap Weinberger. It's so fitting to see this fine military tribute to the one American who has probably done as much as any other in history to restore the morale and readiness of our nation's military. In the Rose Garden recently, I called you America's finest Secretary of Defense, and that was no exaggeration.

There are many qualities that made Cap's service at the Pentagon and in my Cabinet so invaluable, and I'll speak to some of those in a moment. But at the heart of the matter, well, it was really a matter of heart. Cap Weinberger started his service to this country more than 40 years ago as a buck private, and he never forgot his origins. He

never forgot the men and women of America's armed services, who guard our nation's safety and protect our freedom. And if he was known up on Capitol Hill as a stalwart and determined fighter for our country's defenses—if maybe, Cap, they even thought you a little stubborn at times—well, that's because he was going to make sure that if our servicemen are ever asked to put their lives on the line to defend our country they have the best training, equipment, and support America has to offer.

Yes, Cap has been the point man in the effort to rebuild our nation's defenses, and he has assembled an unparalleled record of achievement. But I bet if you were to ask him what his proudest achievement was he would say restoring morale in our Armed Forces and bringing back pride in our coun-

try's uniform. And Cap can take a lot of the credit for the fact that, as one base commander said to me, the young men and women coming into our military are some of the smartest, best-educated, most highly motivated he had ever seen.

But Cap's tenacity comes from another source as well: a recognition of the tragic reality of a world divided, a world torn between those who believe in freedom and cherish the value and dignity of each individual human soul and forces implacably hostile to those ideals. If one faces that reality foursquare, without illusions, it produces a certain, well, clarity of vision. And in 1980, to someone entrusted with the great responsibility of Secretary of Defense, it could only produce a profound sense of urgency.

When Cap came to this job more than 6 years ago, the Navy had been permitted to dwindle from more than 1,000 ships to less than 500. There were planes that couldn't fly for lack of spare parts. And our men and women in uniform were seeing their pay in real terms shrink, while pay in the private sector rose. With Caspar Weinberger at the helm, we turned that around, and today we have a military that is once again ready, able, and willing—a modern defense worthy of the leader of the free world. Yes, Cap, we have come a long distance from 1980. But let me also promise you this: No one here is going to be resting on their laurels after you leave. Frank [Carlucci] and I know the job is not yet complete. And to anyone who calls for even the slightest slacking off in commitment to a strong and ready national defense, I'll only have to say two words: Remember Cap.

We will remember, and we will heed the example of Cap Weinberger, just as he learned from and heeded the example of another great champion of peace through strength. I'm thinking of one particular example: One lone Member of Parliament in the 1930's who saw the promise of new, as yet unproven, technology. He was a Member of Parliament; his name was Winston Churchill, and the technology was radar. It was unworkable, unnecessary, and too expensive, said its opponents, and with a tenacity that even Cap would envy, Churchill fought the long, hard political

battle. And in a way, winning that battle was the true turning point of the Battle of Britain. In the end, Churchill's vision and foresight won the day for radar and helped save the day for Britain and freedom.

As Secretary of Defense, Cap has been one of the most eloquent and forceful proponents of our Strategic Defense Initiative. In the 1970's we watched as America cut its defenses to the bone, even as the Soviets conducted a huge buildup of offensive nuclear arsenals. We know today that the Soviet Union has spent many times more on strategic defenses in the last 10 years than has the United States. Cap is determined—I am determined—that we will not repeat the mistakes of the last decade. We will not unilaterally disarm in this one area or any area.

SDI holds out hope of a world free from the fear of ballistic missiles. It is, as Cap likes to say, an innocent technology that threatens no one. Indeed, it's hard to see how making people's lives safer will make the world more dangerous. After so many years, it will take time for some to adjust to a world based on defenses rather than offenses. But it's my sincere belief that SDI will not only make us safer, it will in the end relieve tensions between our country and the Soviet Union and, thus, open up new areas of cooperation and peaceful exchange.

Cap, today we say farewell. For more than two decades I have known you as a colleague, ally, and trusted adviser, but most of all, as a friend. How many times in the Oval Office or in Cabinet meetings have I waited to hear that patient voice, those clear, complex, and perfectly fashioned sentences building resolutely to a conclusion, always, it seemed, as an incontestable one? How many times, my friend, have I looked to you to find the safe harbor of principle in the stormy events of world affairs? And how many times have I found in you the stalwart commitment to freedom, that fierceness of belief in this land of ours that is the mark of a true man of peace?

In another farewell address many years ago, another great patriot, Douglas MacArthur, quoted an old West Point barracks

song about old soldiers. Well, this old soldier, Cap Weinberger, isn't going to fade away. He's leaving his official capacity as Secretary of Defense, but he can never leave his unofficial position as my trusted friend and adviser. So, Cap, if it's all right with you, I'll continue to rely on your counsel. You know that I'll never be more than a phone call away. You have served your country well. And this old horse cavalryman is going to take one of the privileges associated with rank. In the name of America and the American people, I salute you.

Cap often has the last word, and today will be no exception. So, now I'm going to hand the microphone over to you, but first, Cap, there's something special here for you. I'm happy to announce that today I'm awarding you the Presidential Medal of Freedom with Distinction. The citation reads:

Military officer, State legislator, State Cabinet member, Federal regulatory agency chairman, and three-time Federal Cabinet member, Caspar (Cap) W. Weinberger has, in the tradition of our Founding Fathers, dedicated his life to the service of his country. His proudest public accomplishment is the rebuilding of our country's national defenses so that the freedom we so cherish might endure. His legacy is a strong and free America—and for this, and for a lifetime of selfless service, a grateful nation thanks him.

Secretary Weinberger. Mr. President, I'm really quite overwhelmed. I really like that part about strategic defense much better. But this is an enormous honor and one that can come to very few people, and as I say, I am entirely overwhelmed by it. But, Mr. President and your excellencies and very distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, thank you all very much for coming.

I've always thought that service to a noble cause was actually the definition of happiness. And those of us who had the honor to serve you, Mr. President, and to serve our very great nation have reason to feel not only privileged but blessed. We have all been engaged in the task you set before us in January of 1981, which was to restore pride in the Republic, to return government to the people, and defend liberty not with words alone but with a robust military strength and with great courage.

That seems a little more than common

sense, actually, but when we came to this building nearly 7 years ago, we learned that common sense had actually not been ruled. Amidst a very feverish buildup of Soviet military power, which aimed clearly at producing an arsenal of undisputed superiority, the United States had weakened our own military through deep reductions in funding in the hope, perhaps, that somehow that could soothe the Nation's nerves that had been rent so far apart after Vietnam. But sadly, nothing had changed, really, in the world to warrant this, and the threats to our security and freedom increased annually. Our responsibilities to allies and friends could not be reduced. Our obligation to help those in need remained strong. What had changed was our resolve. Indeed, to many of us it seemed as if our very ability to act as a great power should act—to support liberty, to deter aggression, to keep the peace—was being challenged and denied by some.

That decade of neglect was fed, really, by a rather insidious idea that somehow American power was immoral. We began by doubting the war in Vietnam, but we ended by doubting ourselves. Such doubts, of course, led to this great thirst for contrition, which seemed to justify nearly any act of self-criticism. The more guilty we could proclaim ourselves, the better we seemed to feel. And astonishing as it may seem, I remember President Ford had to fight to get Congress even to fund our withdrawal from Vietnam.

The goal seemed to be that we should forget our Vietnam soldiers and sailors, marines, and our airmen as quickly as we could and never acknowledge their quiet heroism. And, Mr. President, I well recall the first time you came to this building as President, which was in early March of 1981, and it was to present a Congressional Medal of Honor to a remarkable soldier. And that medal had been approved sometime before, but the feeling always was that somehow we couldn't keep reminding ourselves of this war. The President saw right away that the first thing he wanted to do was to remind ourselves of the enormous courage and heroism of the people who had participated in that—fully as great as the

heroism that had accompanied all of our other wars. Well, that dark era is behind us, Mr. President, and it's behind us because of your leadership.

Naturally, I leave with profound regret this very great post that you entrusted to me just about 7 years ago. But so much has been accomplished to restore our military strength and preparedness, that I also leave with a very real sense of accomplishment, with deep gratitude to you and to all with whom I've been deeply privileged to serve here.

And I would like to mention particularly Will Taft, whose dedicated and enormously valuable efforts have benefited us all; our Service Secretaries, whom we've seen this morning; Jack Marsh, who has served in his post as Secretary of the Army longer than, I think, any other Secretary; and Secretary Aldridge of the Air Force, who has brought enormous skills to a number of projects, classified and otherwise, that are vital for us all; and Secretary Webb, who is away today—ably represented by Secretary Garrett, who has presided at the great naval expansion; and their predecessor. These are all great people. And I also leave very firm and very content in the knowledge that with Frank Carlucci, who served here at the very beginning of your term, in this great building; and Colin Powell, at the White House, that we have a team that will mean that, as it should, there will not even be a ripple when the change of command passes.

Well, our recovery that we had to do, our recovery from neglect—our recovery, really, from indifference—had to attack many problems at once. But one problem stood out as the most acute. One problem above all demanded instant redress, and that was the condition of our soldiers and sailors and airmen and marines. We had to demonstrate that our own commitment to security was equal to that of the troops. We had to give them the tools they urgently needed to do their ever more difficult task. We had to show the troops that we cared, and we had to care. And we had to do that by making dramatic improvements in their pay and their housing—their living conditions. We had to restore their faith in the support of the Nation. We had to secure for

them the admiration of the Nation, which so rightly belongs to our troops.

Well, sir, we accomplished a great deal. But the really important thing is how little our men and women ask. As you and I know, Mr. President, every time we've had a chance to visit our troops—and you've discussed it with me and I've mentioned to you—we have been struck by how much they really want to do that job and how proud they are of what they're doing. They are a very special breed of young people, and they're led by an exceptional cadre of officers and noncommissioned officers, and we are fortunate beyond all expression to have them.

Of course, they rightly deserve the tools that are required to defend freedom and keep the peace for us. We've given them those tools. They are using them with extraordinary skill. And to have those tools available, we had to invigorate research and development efforts. We had to begin plans for new ships and aircraft and ground forces. Frequently, I was asked: When will you be done? When will the job be over? And I guess the job will be over perhaps two ways: one, if we don't care about freedom anymore, and the other, if the world changes in a way that none of us can foresee.

We had to see to it, of course, that many of the systems that were on the drawing board were deployed. And we had to shore up the nuclear deterrent with long overdue improvements, because that was the only defense we had. We had to have new bombers and ICBM's and submarines, and some of these had been sacrificed before. From strategic and conventional systems to mobilization, to reforms of our acquisition system, we had to regenerate America's ability to defend herself in her interests.

And you, Mr. President, set us on a course that will ultimately strengthen deterrence even more. Because you asked us, as you so frequently did in Sacramento, to reject the conventional wisdom. "Maybe," you said, "it isn't so wise." You asked us to make sure that our people do not have to remain always vulnerable to ballistic missiles. You asked us to join you in a bold move to study and then to deploy strategic

defenses. And already we are a long way toward that beckoning goal. Faced with predictable demands that we trade away our right to deploy defenses, which I suppose to my mind is one of the most dangerous ideas ever to infect our political discourse, you redoubled your efforts to move our nation toward a safer world. And we as a nation will always be grateful to you for that.

I am, of course, thankful that we have been as successful as we have, because that success can be seen in a renewed respect for the United States throughout the world—for freedoms won in Grenada, for freedoms not lost in threatened lands, and for the clear support for our military that now comes from the American people.

I am thankful, of course, as always, to have served under a man of your unique vision, unmovable moral courage, and a penetrating understanding of the principles and goals of our nation. And of course, it's impossible to express my thanks to those of you in the Department of Defense—those of you who served and worked with me and with Jane every day, those of you who are here in Washington, those of you on the ships at sea and in the air, and at every one of our military installations throughout the world. To all of you, I owe a measure of gratitude that can never properly be paid and that I can never express fully.

Mr. President, some here were worried about the weather today. It's one of the

things I never worried about, because I don't believe I've ever been at a public function with you that the rain didn't hold off and, possibly, even the sun come out. And I think it's just one of the things that goes with being Governor of California and that you've continued that as our President. And so, that is a great blessing among others that you have brought to us today.

Most of all, I would like to say that I am thankful to have had the good fortune to have grown up in the freest, most prosperous, and yes, the most just society that the world has ever known. Mr. President, I am very proud to have joined with you in the service to our nation and to have participated in that noblest cause for which so many of our countrymen have given the last full measure of their devotion. So, now, I'd like to say thank you, goodbye, and God bless and keep all of you. [*Applause*]

Note: The President spoke at 10:28 a.m. on the grounds of the Pentagon. He was introduced by Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr., Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. Frank C. Carlucci was Secretary of Defense-designate; William Howard Taft IV was Under Secretary of Defense; Edward C. Aldridge, Jr., was Secretary of the Air Force; James H. Webb, Jr., was Secretary of the Navy; H. Lawrence Garrett III was Under Secretary of the Navy; and Colin L. Powell was Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Proclamation 5743—African American Education Week, 1987 *November 17, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Because teachers are among the most important role models in our society, it is truly fitting that we set aside African American Education Week to encourage young African Americans to pursue careers in the field of education.

Americans have always deeply valued the

rewards and the advancement that education makes possible. No task is more vital to the strength and security of our Nation than that of providing good education for all our citizens. So that America continues to remain a land of opportunity for all people, we should encourage a wide representation of African Americans as teachers and continued concern for African American students. The National Alliance of Black School Educators is committed to these goals. By

inspiring students with a vision of excellence, we can touch the lives of countless youngsters in present and future generations for the better.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 174, has designated the week beginning November 15, 1987, as "African American Education Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning November 15, 1987, as African American Education Week. I call upon officials of government at every level, educators, private

sector groups, and all Americans to observe this week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities in support of the achievement of academic excellence among African Americans.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:39 a.m., November 18, 1987]

Proclamation 5744—National Family Caregivers Week, 1987 November 17, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The week in which Thanksgiving falls is a most appropriate time in which to pay proud and grateful tribute to the millions of Americans who care for aging members of their families. The care these family members offer to those who once cared for them, or who share other ties of family life and love, is a beautiful reminder for all of us of the strength of love, of selflessness, and of the family.

Many family caregivers are women—wives, daughters, and daughters-in-law. Many must forego employment to have the time for the family care. Many are aged spouses, and some are in need of care themselves. All family caregivers can use assistance in their duties and respite from them. Countless families work together to provide care for aging members, sharing expenses and aiding with daily tasks such as hygiene, medical needs, transportation, shopping, and household maintenance.

During National Family Caregivers Week we can all recognize the achievements of our Nation's devoted family caregivers and express our gratitude to them for their kindness, compassion, and hard work. We can do so, of course, both in word and in

deed, helping in our own families, among our friends, and in our neighborhoods. In this way we can befriend, honor, and show our love to family caregivers—and to the elderly family members and other senior citizens who have done so much for us and for our communities and our country through the years.

The Congress, by Public Law 100-165, has designated the week beginning November 22, 1987, as "National Family Caregivers Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning November 22, 1987, as National Family Caregivers Week. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this occasion with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventeenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:40 a.m., November 18, 1987]

Letter Accepting the Resignation of George H. Allen as Chairman
of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports
October 13, 1987

Dear George:

August 11, 1987

It is with deep regret that I accept your resignation as a Member and Chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, effective October 31, 1987.

I have been fortunate to have had some-
one of your abilities and dedication as
Chairman of the Council for the past six
years. Your accomplishments have been
many and you can take great pride in them.
Among your outstanding achievements are
initiation of the Governor's Councils on
Physical Fitness and Sports; expanding the
Presidential Physical Fitness Award pro-
gram to include youngsters from 6 to 9
years of age; establishing the US/USSR
Youth Fitness Exchange Program; establish-
ing National Conferences on Youth Fitness
and Fitness and Aging; airing youth fitness
public service television announcements
that point out the benefits of exercise in
easing teenage stress; designating the
month of May each year as National Fitness
and Sports Month; establishing 23 regional
clinics on physical fitness and sports; airing
a continuous radio program of 18 public
service announcements distributed to 4,000
stations nationwide; inaugurating the "Get
Fit" campaign; and planning the First
World Congress on Physical Fitness for All
to be held next year in our Nation's Capital.

I know your duties have been challenging
and time-consuming, but throughout your
unprecedented tenure as Chairman, you
have consistently met those challenges with
enthusiasm, energy, and dedication. You
have my deepest gratitude for your service
to our Nation.

Nancy joins me in thanking you and wish-
ing you, your wife Etty, and your family the
best in all future endeavors. God bless you.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

My Dear Mr. President,

It is with a heavy heart that I write to
you at this time. After much deliberation
with my family, business associates and
valued friends, I feel that a decision must
be made pertaining to my various responsi-
bilities.

Mr. President, early in your administra-
tion you gave me the great honor of ap-
pointing me Chairman of the President's
Council on Physical Fitness and Sports. I
have enjoyed this tremendous challenge
and have much pride over a number of
accomplishments. In fact, during these
Reagan years, the Council has been more
productive than it has in its entire history.

Concurrently, I have worked to establish
and to fund the National Fitness Founda-
tion. Similar to my work with the Council,
this has been and still remains to be a quite
demanding assignment. However, I am
elated over the substantial progress we
have made.

Mr. President, I have reached a point at
which I am compelled to resign from my
post with the Council. I resign with great
reluctance and sorrow, for there is much
yet to be accomplished with the many ex-
citing programs which are well underway.

I am grateful to you for this honor, this
splendid opportunity. I have worked with
all the vigor within me to serve you to the
very best of my ability and I am proud to
have served in this capacity under you, Mr.
President.

With full and enthusiastic support for
your administration, I look forward to con-
tinuing my role as Chairman of the National
Fitness Foundation.

Please accept my warmest wishes to you and The First Lady.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE H. ALLEN

Note: The originals were not available for verification of the content of these letters, which were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 18.

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Excellence in Mathematics and Science Teaching Awards

November 18, 1987

Well, I'm delighted to have all of you here in the Rose Garden today. *[Laughter]* No, we had to switch on account of we found out that none of you brought over-shoes. *[Laughter]* With all that snow and the rain last night, we'd have all been ankle deep. But they always refer to this as part of the White House complex, so at least we're close to it. But I'm delighted you all could be here today.

You know, every time I see a gathering of teachers, something just gets into me. I was thinking on the way over here about a story I used to tell out on the campaign trail last year. I won't give you the context, because as you probably know, we've been negotiating with the Hill recently, and I don't want to do anything to upset the bipartisan budget settlement that we're trying to reach. But anyway, it's about this young fellow who walked into school and warned his teacher: "Teacher, you better be careful, because my dad says that unless my math grades improve somebody's going to get spanked." *[Laughter]*

I guess you could say the young man was missing the point—*[laughter]*—but unlike him, you're here today because your fellow Americans have not missed the point. And that point is: your dedication to your profession and your service to others. John Erskine suggested once that a good teacher is so rare that the rumor of him or her spreads like a scandal. Well, Washington, after all, is a city that loves scandals—*[laughter]*—so it won't surprise you that the rumor of your work has been heard here. We've asked you to come to the White House, this complex I mentioned, so that I

might, as President, on behalf of a grateful nation, extend to each of you our warmest thanks.

Now, I know that praise and thanks make most of you a little uncomfortable. It's no secret teachers don't get a lot of it in their day-to-day work, which frankly reminds me of another story—*[laughter]*—about a teacher I knew back in Dixon, Illinois, named B.J. Frazier. He not only taught English, but—and I don't know whether principals still do this today or not—he was also principal. And I remember one day I was in his office. It wasn't exactly a social visit. *[Laughter]* And I remember the conversation, because at one point, he said to me—he probably saw the look on my face—that it didn't matter to him what I thought of him at that time, that the only thing he was concerned about was what I might think of him 15 years from then. And I must say, after 15 or more years had passed and before he departed this Earth, I'm grateful that I had the opportunity to tell him what I thought of him and what he had meant to me. And as the years went by, I'd come to realize how much he did mean to me and to so many others.

So, I think this does illustrate my point: Anyone interested in immediate feedback or instant gratification doesn't belong in your profession. Henry Adams put it very well when he said a teacher affects eternity. He or she can never tell where his or her influence stops. And for most of you, knowing that 10 years or 15 years from now someone will remember you and be grateful is thanks enough. As someone else once

put it: Teaching is the most responsible, the least advertised, the worst paid, and the most richly rewarded profession in the world.

Now, I haven't used this in a while, but it's really one of my favorite bits of poetry that says it all about your profession. It was written by Clark Mollenhoff, a former Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter with the Des Moines Register and now a member of the faculty at Washington and Lee. By the way, he wrote this before he became a teacher himself. So, my guess is that, after a tough day, maybe he occasionally has to get it out and reread it. The poem is just called "Teacher."

"You are the molders of their dreams—
the gods who build or crush their
young beliefs in right or wrong.

You are the spark that sets aflame a
poet's hand, or lights the flame in some
great singer's song.

You are the gods of the young—the very
young.

You are their idols by profession set apart.
You are the guardians of a million
dreams.

Your every smile or frown can heal or
pierce a heart.

Yours are one hundred lives—one thou-
sand lives.

Yours is the pride of loving them, the
sorrow too.

Your patient work, your touch, make you
the god of hope that fills their souls
with dreams and makes those dreams
come true."

He's right, of course. Whether you're
Christa McAuliffe following her dream into

the stars and into grateful memory of her
countrymen or whether you're inspiring
young people day after day, you too can be
all the difference. You too can become a
symbol of hope.

We've seen in the past few years a great
new emphasis on education in this nation.
We've seen the college board scores go up.
We've seen an emphasis on basics. We've
seen a new interest in math and science.
We've seen 32 States increase their require-
ments in math and 26 States increase their
requirements in science. And parents are
more active and involved with local schools
and their children's education.

We as a nation owe you our thanks for
preparing our next generation. In order for
our children to be able to compete in the
next century, they must have the proper
education, and an emphasis on math and
science is critical. This is your special work
and your dedication to ensuring our chil-
dren's future, and we thank you. And the
fact that you're here today is further proof
that Americans care about their schools and
care about their teachers. I urge you to con-
tinue your wonderful work, and if future
historians say our time saw a renaissance of
American education, you can be sure those
of you here today are the ones who made it
happen.

I can't stay for what's going to follow, on
behalf of all of you. But my congratulations
to you, and again, my thanks to all of you,
and God bless all of you.

*Note: The President spoke at 11:41 a.m. in
Room 450 of the Old Executive Office
Building.*

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the Report of the Congressional Committee Investigating the Iran Arms and *Contra* Aid Controversy November 18, 1987

The report of the congressional commit-
tee investigating the Iran-*contra* affair con-
firms the information contained in the
Tower board report and summarizes testi-

mony that we all watched on television this
summer. As shown by this report, the Presi-
dent did not know of the diversion of funds.
When he found out, he acted immediately

to begin the many investigations that have looked into this matter.

The President has cooperated every step of the way, providing hundreds of thousands of pages of documents to the committee, to the Independent Counsel, and to the Tower board. As these investigations have unfolded, the President made it clear that he accepts responsibility and understands that mistakes were made in the conduct of these policies. On March 4, following the Tower board report, the President said: "What began as a strategic opening to Iran deteriorated in its implementation into trading arms for hostages. This runs counter to my own beliefs, to administration policy, and to the original strategy we had in mind. There are reasons why it happened, but no excuses. It was a mistake." On August 12, after the televised hearings had concluded, the President told the Nation: "I let my preoccupation with the hostages intrude into areas where it didn't belong. The image—the reality—of Americans in chains, deprived of their freedom and families so far from home, burdened my thoughts, and this was a mistake."

Also in the process of these investigations, the President began to make the orderly changes in government that would prevent these kinds of instances from happening again. He brought in a new team at the National Security Council, headed by Frank Carlucci, to make those changes. The President instituted new recording procedures. He created a new post of an NSC legal adviser to ensure greater sensitivity to the

matters of law. He recommended that a congressional joint committee on intelligence be formed to oversee the intelligence community. He reached an agreement with existing congressional intelligence committees on the sharing of information. He revised the operations of the NSC to strengthen the interagency processes of decision-making, and in general, he has even gone beyond the Tower board recommendations in changing the foreign policy decision-making process in the White House.

This new report reflects the subjective opinions in not even the unanimous judgment of the committee. There is a minority report and separate dissenting views. But the committee should be commended for its long, arduous work over the last many months. It has given the American people, through its televised hearings, direct access to the information in this case. The American people have had the opportunity to make their own judgments, and it serves no purpose for us to argue with the opinions of the committee members.

The President did not violate any laws; even the majority report does not so state. In view of the ongoing Independent Counsel investigation, we feel that it is inappropriate to make legal judgments. This report is but another step in the investigatory process. But, it does culminate the long summer of self-examination for America and for the administration, and now we are through it. We are moving on, and we trust that out of this experience has come a new wisdom about the process of governing in America.

Remarks on the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the Office of the United States Trade Representative

November 18, 1987

The President. Clay and Jim Robinson, Senator Long, I appreciate this opportunity to join you in commemorating the 25 years of service of the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative. This office was organized in 1962—and maybe you've been told that already—to enable the Executive Office of

the President to provide leadership and coordination in the conduct of our trade policies.

I want to extend a personal word of congratulations to Clayton Yeutter for the terrific job that he's been doing, along with the rest of you, in championing the cause of

free and fair trade among the nations. Clayton, I'm grateful for all you've done. The U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement and the Uruguay Round negotiations are two examples of the outstanding contributions you and your staff are making to achieve a more open world trading system. You've got a lean, mean fighting machine here, Clayton. [Laughter] All working Americans, as well as consuming Americans, rely on the talent and the dedication all of you put into your job. You've got a team of which to be proud.

I understand that a new fellowship you've just been told about, and I've just learned about, has been established to provide advanced training for your USTR negotiators in honor of Senator Russell Long. He served for 15 years as chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and was always a champion of responsible trade policy. Senator, I hope our future negotiating team will be as tough and responsible as you always were.

I heard a story recently about two fellows who were always on the same team. They played baseball together all the way from the sandlot games, through high school and college and finally right into the major leagues. And then, tragically, one of them died. It was about a month after the funeral, and his buddy got a phone call—picked up the phone and heard his friend's voice. And he said, "Is that you?" And he said, "Yes, don't be afraid. I just want to tell you what heaven is like." "Well," he says, "okay, what's it like?" "Well," he says, "there's good news and bad news." He said, "The good news is there's baseball up here," and he said, "and I'm playing second base, just like always." "Well," he said, "what's the bad news?" He said, "You're slated to pitch this coming Tuesday." [Laughter]

Well, there's bad news and good news about trade. The bad news is that the trade deficit remains far too high, and we must remain absolutely diligent in our efforts to bring that deficit down. And that's the bad news. The good news is that solid progress has been made. The latest figures give us reason for hope—not reason to let up, mind you, but reason for hope. September figures released last week show both an \$800 million increase in exports and an \$800 million decrease in imports. The trade deficit

dropped by 1.6 billion, down to 14.1 billion, the best showing in 4 months. Manufactured exports were up a strong 1.1 billion.

Progress against the trade deficit is taking place on a wide front and in every major trading market. The trade deficit with Japan dipped slightly. And it's still far from satisfactory, but better than the previous month's \$4.9 billion high. At the same time, imports from the European countries, or the European Common Market, I should say, fell by \$400 million, while exports rose by 325 million.

Perhaps one of the greatest misconceptions about today's economy is the idea that our country is no longer producing those products, that, somehow, America's becoming deindustrialized. Well, to paraphrase Mark Twain, the reports of the death of America's industrial base have been greatly exaggerated. In fact, as a percentage of real gross national product, manufacturing has remained almost constant since 1960. Now, that's not to suggest stagnation. In fact, we've been living through a time of great change in American manufacturing. Foreign competition—which is one of the positive and indispensable roles such competition plays—has spurred on our domestic producers to improve quality, bring down costs, and to invest in state-of-the-art technology.

One of the goals of our economic recovery program, early in the administration, was to encourage much-needed investment in America's manufacturing infrastructure in order to meet foreign competition. Today, we can see it beginning to pay off. Our working people are still the most productive in the world because they've got the modern tools and equipment needed to keep them competitive. In fact, worker productivity in manufacturing grew at an annual rate of nearly 5 percent since the recovery began. Now, that's the right way of protecting American jobs, and it seems to be working. Manufacturing output during this expansion has increased 37 percent. And while the service sector has grown faster, manufacturing has still moved forward. Manufacturing profits are up, and those September figures tell us that manufactured exports are 20 percent higher than

a year ago.

These positive figures underscore the importance of sticking to a responsible program to bring down the trade deficit, rather than succumbing to irrational calls for protectionism. This is especially true when the volatility of the stock market is all too apparent. How many times does it have to be repeated that the Smoot-Hawley tariff helped bring on the Great Depression before the protectionists will back off? When I hear about some of the protectionist ideas floating around Capitol Hill, I can't help but recall a quote that is attributed to Yogi Berra: "It's a *deja vu* all over again." [Laughter]

Well, we're not about to let anything that will destroy our country's economic well-being happen all over again. I recently received a letter, cosigned by 38 Members of the Senate, pledging to oppose enactment of economy-killing protectionist legislation. Now, that's the kind of letter I enjoy getting from Capitol Hill.

What we must do now, and much of this falls on your shoulders, is make certain that our manufacturers get as fair a shake overseas as importers get here. Now is the time to be opening markets and hammering out agreements that will increase the flow of trade and not restrict it. So, we're all counting on you to be aggressive in promoting the interests of our country and in furthering the cause of an open and fair trading system. All I can say is: I have absolute confidence in you, and I appreciate the fine work that you're doing.

I couldn't help but see when I came in some signatures up there, and I can't resist an opportunity to autograph—[laughter]—

Mr. Yeutter. We'd be pleased, Mr. President. We'd be delighted.

The President. I will. I have to tell you all that one of the reasons why I'm so anxious to do that was, back in those days when I was in show business, I—oh, you've got a pen all ready—

Mr. Yeutter. I got a good one.

The President. I was on Fifth Avenue in New York walking down the street, and a man about 30 feet ahead of me, coming this way stopped, pointed, and he yelled, "I know you. I see you all the time on the screen and on television." And he starts toward me. Well, you know New Yorkers—they all kind of stood back on the street, and everybody stopped. And he came down the lane between them, reaching in his pocket for a pen and paper—and he's talking all the time—and he gets there to me, sticks out the paper and the pen and says, "Ray Milland." [Laughter] So, I signed "Ray Milland." There was no sense in disappointing him.

Note: The President spoke at 1:21 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. In his opening remarks, he referred to Clayton Yeutter, United States Trade Representative, and James D. Robinson III, Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Trade Negotiations. Following his remarks, the President signed an anniversary card for the Office.

Nomination of Robert L. McElrath To Be a Member of the National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement

November 18, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert L. McElrath to be a member of the National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement for a term expiring September 30, 1990. This is a reappointment.

Mr. McElrath is currently a professor for

the College of Education, East Tennessee State University, Johnson City, TN. Since 1981 Mr. McElrath has been commissioner of education for the State of Tennessee. Prior to this he was superintendent of the Greeneville city schools in Greeneville, TN, 1968–1980.

Mr. McElrath graduated from Mars Hill Junior College (A.A., 1949), Baldwin Wallace College (A.B., 1951), University of North Carolina (M.P.H., 1957), and the Uni-

versity of Tennessee (Ed.D., 1968). Mr. McElrath was born July 4, 1928, and served in the U.S. Army. He is married, has two children, and resides in Greeneville.

Remarks to the United States Chamber of Commerce on the Economy and Deficit Reduction November 19, 1987

We all talk about the difficulties of getting around in Washington when it snows—it's 5 hours to get home and that sort of thing—but it's taken us 2 weeks to get here. [*Laughter*] I appreciate this opportunity to be with you today. First and foremost, this occasion gives me a chance to extend to you my personal thanks for all the United States Chamber of Commerce has done—in the arena of commerce and industry and the political arena, as well—to lay the foundation for the tremendous economic strides America has made and that Mr. Delchamps referred to.

A special thank you to both Chairman Ollie Delchamps and to Vice Chairman William Kanaga. I'm sorry one of your leaders, a friend of mine, couldn't be with us today: Chamber President Dick Leshner—the man who is to Federal tax rates what Conan the Barbarian was to anyone who got in his way. [*Laughter*] Seriously, we've been part of a team that has accomplished much, and we have every reason to be proud. I understand you just saw a film entitled, "Making It," which documents America's entrepreneurial spirit as evidenced in six small, but growing companies; and believe me, I'm honored to have just been able to meet the stars of that film here on stage.

I happen to believe that—I know you agree with me—that it is this spirit of enterprise that is the secret of our country's success. Over the 200 years of our Republic, our economy has produced more wealth, more opportunity, and a higher standard of living for more people than has ever happened before. In these last 7 years together, we have sought to unleash that same creative and economy-building spirit of enterprise that built America.

The collectivism, excessive regulation, and high tax rates of the last decade brought our people unbearable inflation, sky-high interest rates, economic decline, and national pessimism. Instead of trying to harness the energy and resources of the American people, which seemed to be the goal of our liberal predecessors, we have sought to set them free. And I've always felt, and I think events have proven me right, that the best thing the Government can do for free people is to get out of their way.

So, that's what we set out to do. It was tough going just to clear away the dead-weight of excessive regulation, to get the massive increases in Federal spending under control—and we were only partially successful at that—and to bring down the tax rates from the economy-killing levels they were at. And then we had to stick to our guns while our program had time to work its magic.

Well, 5 years ago something began that even our harshest critics had trouble ignoring. A surge of energy could be felt across the width and breadth of our country. And much to the dismay of those who said it would never happen in the first place, it just kept coming and coming. Last month we passed a milestone, and today it's fitting that I've come here to recognize it with all of you. It couldn't have happened without you. Together we put in place growth-oriented tax, regulation, and spending policies that have brought our fellow citizens 5 years of uninterrupted economic growth—the longest peacetime expansion on record.

This expansion is not just statistics; it's meant a better life for our fellow Americans. I've received letters from people all

over this country telling me the wonderful things that they have been able to accomplish. Of course, everyone hasn't been satisfied, especially those who opposed our reforms in the first place. And even though this undeniably has been a period of tremendous economic renewal, there's been a constant drumbeat of doom and gloom, rumors, and misinformation. Will Rogers once said: "Rumor travels fast, but it don't stay put as long as truth." So, I'd like to touch on a few of the myths that have made the rounds of late.

First, we've heard time and again that America's industrial base is eroding, that our manufacturers are noncompetitive, and that our country is becoming deindustrialized. Well, the facts tell a far different story. Manufacturing, as a percentage of our total real output, has stayed virtually the same for the last two decades. Some manufacturing industries have gone down, no doubt. Others, however, have gone up.

But while the overall percentages have remained about the same, pervasive change has been the order of the day in America's basic industries, and there's always a certain degree of apprehension and employee dislocation during such times. The picture coming into focus now, however, is not of American manufacturing surrendering and fading into oblivion but of renovation, revitalization, and computerization on a grand scale. Instead of pessimism, what we see is reason for confidence and optimism.

For a year now, our manufacturing output has been rising steadily. Giants in the manufacturing of new technologies are emerging. Some traditional industries, all but written off a decade ago, are now making dramatic strides. Steel is, perhaps, the most impressive example. Business Week reports that U.S. steelmakers are now among the world's most productive.

One of the primary goals of our economic recovery program was encouraging investment to keep our companies competitive. Well, now it's paying off. Real investment has risen to about one-sixth of the gross national product, and along with a new spirit of cooperation from the assembly line to the boardroom, it's keeping us competitive and ensuring that the American worker remains the most productive in the world.

And speaking of working people, we currently have a higher percentage of our work force employed than ever before in our history. An incredible 14 million new jobs have been created since the expansion began. I think that's something to crow about.

Yet even as we beam with pride, a myth has spread that the new jobs being created are actually low-paying, dead-end jobs. Well, again, this information may have wide circulation, but as an old Virginia lawyer once told a hometown jury: T'ain't so. According to Department of Labor figures, nearly two-thirds of the new jobs have been in higher paying occupations, and only 10 percent in lower paying, low-skill occupations. Over 90 percent of the new jobs are full-time. In short, these are, by and large, better paying, more competitive, more challenging, and more rewarding jobs.

And this new opportunity is being shared by all Americans, of every race. In the last 5 years, black employment has soared forward twice as fast as white employment. Hispanics have found over 2 million jobs since the recovery began. Perhaps one aspect of this expansion of which I am most proud concerns the advances made by less fortunate citizens. In the late 1970's, an ominous increase in the poverty rate began. Black Americans were among the hardest hit. One of the myths being heard today is that we're in a time when the poor are getting poorer and the rich are richer. Well, in fact, we have at long last turned around the increasing poverty rate that we inherited from those who now criticize us. Black Americans, whose standard of living began dropping in the late 1970's, now are on the way up. Real family income in the black community is up, and since 1982 it has grown almost 40 percent faster than white income. This August the percentage of blacks employed was the highest on record. Now, this is not to say that things are perfect or all the problems are solved. There's still a long way to go, but things are heading in the right direction.

Our goal has been an America with freedom and opportunity for all; an America where, as John Kennedy once said, a rising tide lifts all boats; an America where people

can rest assured that their life savings will not be decimated by double-digit inflation; an America, as our Founding Fathers wanted her to be, where government is the servant, not the master; a vital, future-oriented America being catapulted forward by the hard work, creativity, and enterprise of its people; a compassionate and caring America, where the people don't wait for government and bureaucracy, but reach out themselves to help one another and to assist those in need.

Nearly 7 years ago, my friends, this is what we set out to accomplish. And much has been done to achieve these laudable goals. But let us give credit where credit is due. It is the American people who built this recovery. What we did right was simply to believe in them. There are, of course, challenges, serious challenges, to be met in the months ahead. It is in just such times as these, when the pressure is on, when the people look to us for leadership, that we must have the courage to stick with our principles.

A few weeks ago was Halloween. You know, there's a story about a fellow who dressed as the devil for a costume party. And at the party he had a little too much to drink. Being tipsy, he got lost on his way home. But he spotted a small church, and the lights were on, and he decided to go in and see if he could get directions. Well, it was a stormy night, and just as he flung open the door of the church, a lightning bolt, and accompanied by thunder, flashed across the sky. The congregation turned around, and there he was dressed in the devil's costume. Pandemonium broke out. Parishioners ran from the church screaming. They jumped out the windows and raced out the back door. After only a minute or two, the church was completely empty except for one lone, little old lady with a cane who slowly walked up to this fellow who she thought was the devil himself, looked him right in the eye, and said, "I've been going to this church for 40 years, but I've really been on your side all the time." [Laughter]

Well, 1 month ago, pandemonium broke out on Wall Street. The stock market had been rocketing to new highs, smashing old records, and then reaching even higher.

When the market turned down, no one who owned stock wanted to be in the group that bore the brunt of a loss, which was expected as part of a long-awaited adjustment. A stampede was the result. It has, as one would expect, unnerved many throughout the country and throughout the world. In making an assessment of the situation, I cannot help but point out that the stock market today is about where it was at the end of 1986, after 4 years of economic growth. It is roughly twice as high as it was when the expansion began. So, while there's every reason for concern, there's no reason to be apocalyptic.

And if explanations are needed, let us not accept myths or unfounded statements about our economy. The Wall Street slide coincided with the following positive economic news: The gross national product was picking up steam, rising to an impressive 3.8-percent annual rate. Inflation, after a brief spurt, was settling back to a modest 2.7 percent. The unemployment rate went to its lowest level in 8 years. New third-quarter statistics from the Department of Commerce underscored that the economy was strengthening almost across the board. Furthermore, manufacturing jobs, many of them export-related, grew by over 300,000 in the 12 months prior to the market slide. Over that period, manufacturing productivity grew by an outstanding 4 percent, and real exports were up more than 13 percent.

There are those, of course, who suggest that nervousness about the high level of Federal deficit spending contributed to skittishness on Wall Street. Well, excessive spending and large deficits have been and remain a vexing problem. But the most recent news on this subject is that deficit spending actually dropped by \$73 billion. That's right; we have cut in 1 year one-third of the red ink this year alone.

Now, not even the experts can tell us with certainty what caused the market slide. The important thing from my view is where we go from here. I believe that the movers and shakers of commerce, industry, and investment are most concerned about how and if we will handle the Federal Government's deficit spending. We must make certain that growth forces prevail and that

recession is avoided. It's up to us, because the course we follow, the policies we pursue, will determine the future. Let me say without reservation that I see no reason to believe that the market drop should drag our country into recession, because the adjustment still leaves us with a market almost twice the size of when our economic expansion began.

Nobel Prize winning economist Paul Samuelson has quipped that Wall Street has predicted nine of the last six recessions. [Laughter] To be specific, stock market drops have happened, and on a surprising number of occasions the economy has kept moving up. The continuing volatility of the market, however, necessitates that great care must be taken with major economic decisions. Two significant stock market declines in this century that had two different aftermaths can help us determine our best course of action. In 1929 the market crashed, and later the economy sank and stayed sunk. In another case, in 1962 the stock market, over a 4-month period, lost almost a third of its value. This market slide was followed by the most robust period of growth in United States history.

What made the difference? Well, after the 1929 market drop, President Herbert Hoover signed into law protectionist trade legislation; and in 1932, at the depth of the market crash, the Congress, taking exactly the wrong action, passed tax increases that condemned the people of America to the Great Depression. In stark contrast, in 1962, with a market in a critical decline, the Trade Expansion Act was passed; and President Kennedy proposed dramatic tax rate cuts. Our economy took off, and the American people enjoyed an unprecedented period of high growth and low inflation.

Another difference between 1929 and 1962 was the liquidity provided to the economy by the Federal Reserve System. And I'm pleased that our new Federal Reserve Chairman, Alan Greenspan, is taking all the steps needed to provide the banking system with the necessary liquidity.

The country is now looking for cooperation among all responsible government leaders to bring down the unacceptably high level of deficit spending, but we must do it in a way that will not threaten the

economy. The Senate on Tuesday showed that it can do its part when it voted to prevent consideration of legislation exceeding congressional budget targets. And I applaud the Senate's courage. This housing bill is a classic example of unnecessary spending, just the sort of thing America can no longer afford.

There's been a lot of talk in Washington the past several weeks about reducing the Federal budget deficit. My representatives have been meeting with negotiators from the House and Senate, attempting to craft a package that will deal fairly with all elements of the Federal budget, place the deficit on a downward slope, and avoid the automatic cutting device, a sequester. While the final package may not be all that I might want, it will not be all that Congress wants either. But it is vital that the negotiators complete their work now. Any agreement that comes from these sessions probably will not be the final word on reducing the Federal budget deficit, but it will be the right signal at the right time and will show our determination to work together to solve this problem.

Now is the time for final action, and now is the time for fairness. I urge the negotiators to produce a budget plan that is enforceable and gets the country on a path toward long-term deficit reduction. Whatever understanding is reached, it must bolster economic growth, and that certainly means it must encompass more than simply extracting more money from the taxpayers' pockets.

Now, as popular as the notion seems to be within the Beltway, I cannot bring myself to operate under the assumption that our citizens are at fault because they're undertaxed and selfishly putting themselves above the national interest. During this administration, the tax revenues of the Federal Government have risen from \$600 billion to \$854 billion. Between 1980, the final year of the last administration, and the fiscal year that ended September 30th, 1987, Federal revenues then increased not 5 percent, not 10 percent, not even 25 percent, but 65 percent. The people aren't undertaxed. The problem is the Federal Government is spending too much money.

In fiscal year 1987 we made substantial progress in slowing the growth of Federal spending. I am absolutely committed to working with Congress to ensure that this represented the beginning of a downward trend that will bring our budget back into balance in the not-too-distant future. Hard choices have to be made. The Federal Government can not be all things to all people. Some spending programs are more important than others, and some are a downright waste of taxpayer money. There are cuts out there to be made, and it's in the national interest to make them. More than anything else, in formulating a solution, we must be realistic.

You know, I used to tell a little joke about the Federal Government compared to the private sector and even local and State governments and all. And then I got out of the way of telling that story. But now, with their attitude toward the deficit spending on the part of some of them up there on the Hill, I remember it. And that was the local town that decided to raise its traffic signs from 5 feet of height—its direction signs—up to 7 feet to make them more visible to the motorists. And the Government came along and said, oh, we have a program to do that for you. We're going to lower your streets 2 feet. [*Laughter*] You know, it's imperative, now more than ever, that decisionmakers in this country learn the lessons of history. Ben Franklin once wrote: "If you will not hear reason, she'll surely rap your knuckles." Well, we don't need our knuckles rapped.

It was 58 years ago, on December 5th, 1929, that President Herbert Hoover stood here and addressed a group of business leaders not unlike yourselves. He acknowledged the stock market panic and reassured everyone of the fundamental strength of the American economy. And this is where the parallel ends. We're not rushing forward to increase tax rates as the Congress did in 1932. In fact, next year a tax rate reduction, the main phase of our tax reform

package, will kick in just when we need it the most. The impact will be forceful and energizing, like a gigantic shot in the arm.

As far as raising tariffs, like the Smoot-Hawley catastrophe, we're moving in just the opposite direction, toward a history-making, near-total elimination of trade barriers with our biggest trading partner, Canada. And make no mistake, our free trade agreement will be a boon to both our peoples and a major stimulus to economic growth.

I have long felt that the people who came to the New World, especially here in North America, have a mission to perform in proving to the world there is a better way. Canada and the United States will soon be doing just that: demonstrating to all humanity that there are, indeed, no limits to what people can accomplish when they are free to follow their dreams. Once this step has proven successful, there's no reason others should not use our success as a model. Ours is a dream of an open world where all are free to trade and do business together, to enjoy the fruits of prosperity, and to live in peace with one another. And we're making that dream a reality. It is the American dream.

Are America's best days ahead? You bet they are, and together we're making certain of that. Any budget compromise will prove again that freedom is right and it works, that we Americans can make the tough decisions, can find the common ground necessary to keep our nation growing and moving forward. And I welcome this chance to thank you, all of you, for what you are doing. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:55 a.m. in the Hall of Flags at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce building to local business leaders. He was introduced by Oliver H. Delchamps, Jr. In his opening remarks, the President referred to a meeting with the chamber that had been scheduled for November 12 but was canceled because of a snowstorm.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Members of Business Partners

November 19, 1987

The President. Well, thank you, and Dr. Gerry Cox, your president of the Business Partners, and your president-elect Joan Whalen, and all of you. It's a very great pleasure to be here with you in a group that so exemplifies the spirit of enterprise. Now, I think that's a combination the foreign competition is never going to be able to beat. [*Laughter*] I know that your organization, Business Partners, is a dynamic group of Americans on the move, representing a growing force, economically and politically.

Now, I realize there are a number of people I should be recognizing here today, but let me just single out one. It's a Presidential appointee of whom I am exceptionally proud, a hard-working member of the Federal Reserve Board, Dr. Martha Seger. [*Applause*]

Earlier in my administration there was a lot of talk about a so-called gender gap and a supposed shortfall in support of me by the women of America. Well, as much as was said about that phenomenon, I'm proud that in 1984 our ticket was reelected and that 57 percent of the women who voted supported our cause. [*Applause*] Now, that did include some of you, didn't it? [*Laughter*] I don't think there's any doubt as to why we got the support we did. Americans want a strong, free, and prosperous America. We all have a common goal. We want to keep the economy growing and opportunity for all citizens expanding. We want to keep—well, we want safe streets and security for our families.

Now, I know you've been briefed on all the latest figures, so it will suffice for me to say that we inherited a battered and teetering economy back in 1981. We promised the American people, not business as usual but a dramatic change of direction. Together, and that includes many of you, we worked and struggled to put in place growth-oriented tax, regulation, and spending policies. And did it work? I think all of us can be proud that last month our coun-

try enjoyed the 59th month of uninterrupted expansion, which is the longest peacetime expansion on record in our history. [*Applause*] Now, that is something to crow about.

I was just over at the Chamber of Commerce this morning, and I mentioned that one thing about which I'm most proud is the all-inclusive nature of the economic progress that we've been enjoying. A wide spectrum of our fellow citizens have seen their lives and those of their families improve. Since the start of the expansion, women have created one out of every four new businesses. Today, more than three million businesses are owned by women, and that number is growing two times as fast as the number of businesses men own. In the last 5 years, employment for American women has jumped nearly 17 percent, which is much faster than the overall increase. At the same time, unemployment for women has dropped 4.1 percentage points. And the ratio between the weekly earnings of women and men has risen from 62.5 percent in 1979 to 69.2 percent in 1986—still ways to go, but it's coming in the right direction.

There's a myth that many of the jobs being created by our recovery are poorer paying. Well, the facts tell a far different story, and women are rapidly moving into an expanding number of professional jobs. Since 1979 the percentage of women employed in the higher-paying occupations has escalated dramatically. The percentage of women accountants and auditors rose from 34 to 45 percent; women computer programmers rose from 28 to 40 percent; computer systems analysts rose from 20 to 30 percent; lawyers from 10 to 15 percent; and managers and administrators from 22 to 29 percent. Now, I think the record will show this to have been one of the greatest periods of expanding opportunity for American women in the history of our Republic. And I'm proud that it's been our economic reforms that laid the foundation for this dra-

matic social progress.

It was, of course, President Kennedy who said: A rising tide lifts all boats. And in the last 59 months, the American people have enjoyed a rising tide of economic growth and expansion. Together, our task now is to ensure that our country moves forward from here. And considering the powerful forces still trying to pull America back to the failed policies of the past, ours is no easy responsibility. The volatility all too evident in the stock market suggests that we must proceed with care in meeting the challenges ahead, especially in coming to grips with the dual deficit problems—the trade and Federal budget deficits.

Well, there's reason, however, for hope about both deficits. On the trade deficit, even as the stock market was falling a few weeks ago, the latest figures tell us progress is being made in narrowing the trade gap. In fact, the September figures released last week show an \$800-million drop in imports and an \$800-million increase in exports. Progress on the trade deficit is being made on a wide front. Now, this is no reason to let up. We must continue to narrow the gap. But it's reason to be suspicious of any draconian protectionist measures that could well knock the legs out from under the world trading system and send our economy reeling at the same time. I recently received a letter of support, cosigned by 38 Members of the Senate, pledging to oppose enactment of any economy-killing protectionist legislation. And since it only takes 34 of them to uphold a veto, I can pledge to you now: Ain't going to happen!

The second challenge is the continued high level of Federal deficit spending. And here, too, progress has been made. Most people have failed to realize that this year the Federal red ink was reduced by one-third, a drop of \$73 billion in the level of deficit spending from 1986 to 1987. And I think there's evidence of a new commitment, a bipartisan spirit of cooperation in tackling the remaining deficit.

One thing I can tell you is that everyone knows now that the problem will not be solved simply by raising the taxes of the American people. The tax rate reductions, for example, that we fought so hard to get in last year's reform bill, will not be

touched; of that you can be certain. We've been working with the leadership of both Houses of Congress, and I can report to you I'm hopeful that this problem is going to be solved and solved in the right way.

I just came across some figures that I was wondering about. Having looked for my first job back in the days of the Great Depression, I was a little interested because then they had had the great stock market crash. And then President Hoover went before the people and said we had to make things right. So, among the things they did was the Smoot-Hawley tariff, which just made the Depression worldwide—a protectionist measure. But then our Congress raised the income taxes. One and a half percent was the bottom bracket; they raised it to 9 percent. They raised the 25 percent top rate to 63 percent, and the result was a 21-percent drop in Federal revenues. So, when people talk about taxes as an answer to deficit spending, it's an answer all right: It'll just make the deficit greater.

Well, I also see evidence of bipartisan cooperation in meeting the responsibility we share in bringing the Supreme Court up to strength. After the travails and wrangling of the past months, I think a consensus is emerging behind an individual who'll serve our country with honor and distinction, Judge Anthony Kennedy. Many of you may be aware that I've known Judge Kennedy for some 15 years. He's a jurist who believes in our constitutional system of enumerated powers and can be trusted to move forward within the spirit of the Founding Fathers. He realizes the importance his decisions will have on each of us and on the safety of our families. He has a wonderful family of his own, and I couldn't help but admire them when I announced his nomination last week.

As a member of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, Judge Kennedy has proven himself to be a tough and fair jurist. He's the kind of jurist of whom all Americans can be proud, and I hope he'll have your support as he moves through the confirmation process. [Applause] God bless you. Thank you. I would also hope that the Senate acts expeditiously so that the highest court in the land is able to conduct its business with a

full complement of nine justices.

We're about to enter into an election year, and during the next 12 months we'll again demonstrate to the world that, in a free and democratic society, competition and good will can go hand in hand. And whoever is elected and takes my post, all Americans will wish that President the very best of luck. And I hope you agree there's ample reason for every American to look ahead with confidence. This period of growth, 59 months of it, was just a prolog to the great advances ahead. America's leading mankind into a new age of peace, freedom, and prosperity—an age of opportunities beyond our imagination. And many of you are part of the entrepreneurial revolution that is keeping America out front.

I want to thank all of you for the support you've been to me over these last 7 years. And now I'm going to do something I've been doing recently. I have a new hobby, and, so, I try to share it. That hobby is, I've been collecting stories that I can find are told by the Soviet citizens among themselves. And those stories reveal they have a great sense of humor, but also they've got a certain amount of cynicism about their system. And I just thought I'd close by telling you one of the more recent ones I've heard.

They came into General Secretary Gorbachev,

and they told him that there was an elderly lady there in the Kremlin who said she would not leave until she had had a chance to speak to him. "Well," he said, "send her in." So they did. And he said, "Well, old mother, what is it?" She said, "Was communism invented by a scientist or a politician?" "Oh," he said, "I guess politician." She said, "That explains it. A scientist would have tried it on mice first." [Laughter] Well, thank you all again for all that you're doing, and God bless all of you.

Q. How's Nancy?

The President. Nancy, she's getting along just fine. The hardest thing to get over is her recent loss. The question was "How's Nancy?" There was a relationship there between daughter and mother that was very beautiful to behold. And even though we have known this had to happen sooner rather than later, it still was a great blow and a great loss to her. But her mother was a remarkable woman. After we honeymooned with her mother and father—[laughter]—I found out that much as I loved jokes, I could never again tell a mother-in-law joke. [Laughter] Thank you all very much.

Note: The President spoke at 1:35 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. Business Partners was a women's professional organization.

Executive Order 12615—Performance of Commercial Activities November 19, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, and in order to facilitate ongoing efforts to ensure that the Federal Government acquires needed goods and services in the most economical and efficient manner, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The head of each Executive department and agency shall, to the extent permitted by law:

(a) Ensure that new Federal Government requirements for commercial activities are

provided by private industry, except where statute or national security requires government performance or where private industry costs are unreasonable;

(b) Identify by April 29, 1988, in cooperation with the Director of the Office of Management and Budget all commercial activities currently performed by government. The department and agency heads are encouraged to consult with the President's Commission on Privatization in making such identification;

(c) Schedule, by June 30, 1988, all com-

mercial activities identified pursuant to subsection (b) for study in accordance with the procedures of OMB Circular No. A-76, as revised, and the Supplement thereto, to determine whether they could be performed more economically by private industry;

(d) Meet the study goals for Fiscal Year 1988 set forth in "Management of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1988"; and thereafter, beginning with Fiscal Year 1989, conduct annual studies of not less than 3 percent of the department or agency's total civilian population, until all identified potential commercial activities have been studied;

(e) Include in each annual budget proposal to the Office of Management and Budget estimates of expected yearly budget savings from the privatization of commercial activities projected to be accomplished following the completion of scheduled studies, unless an exception is authorized by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. These estimates shall be based on analysis of savings under previous studies and estimated savings to be achieved from future conversions to contract. A department or agency proposal may reflect retention of expected first-year savings as negotiated with the Office of Management and Budget for use as incentive compensation to reward employees covered by the studies for their productivity efforts, or for use in other productivity enhancement projects;

(f) Develop and maintain an effective job placement program for government employees affected by privatization initiatives and cooperate fully in interagency placement efforts;

(g) Designate a senior-level official to coordinate the OMB Circular No. A-76 studies and other privatization efforts; and

(h) Report to the President on progress each quarter, through the Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Sec. 2. The Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall, to the extent permitted by law:

(a) Issue guidance to departments and agencies to implement this Order. Such guidance shall be designed to ensure an eq-

uitable cost comparison of government-operated commercial activities with private industry performance of the same activities, and to improve the efficiency in the conduct of studies;

(b) Publish for public review (i) not later than 30 days after its completion, the inventory of commercial activities identified pursuant to section 1(b) and the activities scheduled for study by departments and agencies in Fiscal Year 1988 pursuant to section 1(c); and (ii) not later than 30 days before the start of each successive fiscal year, the list of activities to be reviewed during that year pursuant to section 1(d); and

(c) Establish a tracking system to monitor, on a quarterly basis, progress by departments and agencies in carrying out this Order.

Sec. 3. The Director of the Office of Personnel Management, in consultation with the heads of other Executive departments and agencies, shall review and revise, as necessary and to the extent permitted by law, personnel policies and regulations in order (a) to ensure that government managers have the flexibility to organize in the most effective and efficient manner to achieve levels of productivity comparable with those of private industry, and (b) to reduce any adverse effects of productivity improvements on employees.

Sec. 4. For purposes of this Order, the terms "commercial activity," "conversion to contract," and "cost comparison" shall have the meanings set forth in OMB Circular No. A-76, as revised.

Sec. 5. Nothing in this Order shall be construed to confer a private right of action on any person, or to add in any way to applicable procurement procedures required by existing law.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 19, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:28 p.m., November 19, 1987]

Proclamation 5745—American Indian Week, 1987 November 19, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

We do well to set aside the week in which Thanksgiving falls to honor the achievements of American Indians, the first inhabitants of the lands that now constitute the continental United States. Native Americans' assistance made a significant difference for early settlers. Since then, American Indians have continued to make valuable contributions to our country. They have served with valor and distinction in wartime, and their artistic, entrepreneurial, and other skills have truly enriched our national heritage.

The Constitution affirmed the special relationship of the Federal government with American Indians when it stipulated, "the Congress shall have Power To . . . regulate commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes; . . ." This unique government-to-government relationship continues today and has been reinforced through treaties, laws, and court decisions. During the Bicentennial of the Constitution, it is especially

fitting that we recognize and celebrate the many contributions of American Indians.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 53, has designated the period beginning November 22, 1987, and ending November 28, 1987, as "American Indian Week" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the period beginning November 22, 1987, and ending November 28, 1987, as American Indian Week, and I request all Americans to observe this week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:20 a.m., November 20, 1987]

Proclamation 5746—National Adoption Week, 1987 November 19, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Theodore Roosevelt captured a vital truth years ago when he said, "We cannot as a Nation get along at all if we haven't the right kind of home life." "The right kind of home life" is exactly what adoption is all about; during National Adoption Week we do well to remember that and to encourage this loving, proud, and beautiful way to create or enlarge families.

The family is something all of us need. Wholesome family life is not only the basis

for stable communities and a strong country but also the best way ever devised to nurture, raise, and love children and to instill in them confidence, compassion, and understanding of right and wrong. Family life is a precious gift, and it is something adoption affords both children and parents in a truly special way.

In recent years many Americans have been discovering adoption and all its blessings, but for many it remains an untapped opportunity. Thanks to the efforts of devoted citizens, though, much progress has taken place in finding permanent homes for

thousands of children, including some of the more than 30,000 youngsters with special needs across our country who await adoptive families. These children are older, or have emotional, physical, or mental disabilities, or are of minority heritage, or are sibling groups who cannot be separated. These wonderful children have a great deal of love to offer their adoptive families.

What is required of people considering adoption is the ability to love and the desire to help children. Adoption of children by their relatives or their step-parents has always been common, but in recent years we have begun to see the benefits of adoption by single, foster, and handicapped parents, as well as by parents with biological children. Members of the military have also shown great interest in adoption.

Many single women have realized that adoption is the best solution to crisis pregnancy. Often under the most difficult circumstances, they have rejected abortion and given their babies the gifts of life and of a loving adoptive home. Many dedicated Americans help these expectant mothers during and after pregnancy, but all of us, as individuals and as a Nation, need to do much more to support and encourage the brave women who heroically choose life.

During National Adoption Week and throughout the year we should do all we

can to make adoption a true national concern. There is much that each of us can do to foster awareness of adoption—in schools, churches, businesses, communities, and government. The new report by the Interagency Task Force on Adoption will help us find innovative ways to encourage adoption and eliminate barriers to it, and that is good news for everyone.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 97, has designated the week of November 22 through November 28, 1987, as “National Adoption Week” and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of November 22 through November 28, 1987, as National Adoption Week. I call upon all Americans to observe this week with appropriate programs, activities, and ceremonies.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 19th day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:21 a.m., November 20, 1987]

Proclamation 5747—National Family Week, 1987 *November 19, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The destiny of America is shaped not only by events within the councils of government, industry, and finance, but also by the hand of God and the life and the love in each and every home in our Nation. America's families are a tremendous source of strength and faith and freedom for our children and our country, and during National Family Week we recognize this truth and pay glad tribute to the families of our land.

The family is a source of well-being, a place to give and receive love and to learn and live our traditions and the virtues and the values of responsibility, selflessness and self-reliance, loyalty, mutual respect, fairness, and the power of faith. In families we also come to know our inherent dignity and worth as individuals and to enjoy the God-given rights that are the basis of freedom.

We must remember during National Family Week, and especially during the Bicentennial of the Constitution, that freedom, the family, and the individual have everything to do with each other. That is a

truth that the Founders of our country knew well. The more the integrity of the family is fostered—the more social and public policy influences that weaken the family are eliminated—the stronger is freedom and the healthier is society. Let us forever remember this personally and as a people, for the good of our families and the good of our country.

The Congress, by Public Law 100-166, has authorized and requested the President to proclaim the week of November 22 through November 28, 1987, as “National Family Week.”

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of November 22 through 28, 1987, as National Family Week.

I invite the Governors of the several States, the chief officials of local governments, and all Americans to celebrate this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:11 p.m., November 20, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on November 20.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Report of the Railroad Retirement Board November 20, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

I hereby submit to the Congress the Annual Report of the Railroad Retirement Board for Fiscal Year 1986, pursuant to the provisions of Section 7(b)(6) of the Railroad Retirement Act, enacted October 16, 1974, and Section 12(1) of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, enacted June 25, 1938.

The rail industry pension fund has nearly gone broke three times since 1974. Significant declines in rail employment have eroded the pension fund's contribution base. Refinancing legislation enacted in 1974, 1981, and 1983 has failed to provide long-term solutions for the rail pension system. The Railroad Retirement Board's chief actuary is again predicting cash-flow problems and recommends an upward adjustment in the rail sector's contributions.

Rail industry pensions should be fully financed from rail sector resources. As long as the Federal Government has a fiduciary responsibility for rail pensions, I will work to ensure that rail sector contributions are adequate to finance rail retirees' benefits. I therefore concur with the chief actuary,

Board Chairman Gielow, and Board Member Chamberlain that the rail sector's contributions should increase to prevent the pending financial crisis and to ensure adequate financing for rail industry pensions. I renew my August recommendation for a 3-percent rail sector contribution rate increase on January 1, 1988, and a 1.5-percent increase on January 1, 1989.

I strongly oppose suggestions by some to restart American taxpayer subsidies to the rail sector by transferring Federal income taxes collected on rail pensions to the rail industry pension fund. As the Congress recognized in 1983 and 1986, rail pensions—the amounts above social security equivalent levels—are private pensions and should be treated like all other private industry pensions. Income taxes collected on these private pensions should go to the general fund, not be converted to subsidies to the rail sector.

The long-term solution for the rail pension system lies in the private sector, where all other industry pension systems reside. Rail labor and management should be allowed to determine pension financing and

payment provisions free from Federal intrusion and participation. I therefore reaffirm my position that the rail pension system should be restored to the private sector and terminated as a Federally administered program.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 20, 1987.

Note: The 134-page report was entitled "Railroad Retirement Board, 1986 Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ending September 30."

Message to the Congress Reporting on the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Iran *November 20, 1987*

To the Congress of the United States:

This report is made pursuant to section 204(c) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, 50 U.S.C. 1703(c), and, as with previous reports, discusses only matters concerning the national emergency with respect to Iran that was declared in Executive Order No. 12170 of November 14, 1979. This report covers events through October 15, 1987, including those that occurred since my last report on June 16, 1987.

1. The Iran-United States Claims Tribunal (the "Tribunal"), established at The Hague pursuant to the Claims Settlement Agreement of January 19, 1981 (the "Algiers Accords"), continues to make progress in arbitrating the claims before it. Since my last report, the Tribunal has rendered 14 awards, for a total of 318 awards. Of that total, 237 have been awards in favor of American claimants; 142 of these were awards on agreed terms, authorizing and approving payment of settlements negotiated by the parties, and 95 were decisions adjudicated on the merits. The Tribunal has dismissed a total of 21 other claims on the merits and 44 for jurisdictional reasons. Of the 16 remaining awards, one represented a withdrawal and 15 were in favor of the Iranian claimant. As of October 9, 1987, total payments to successful American claimants from the Security Account held by the NV Settlement Bank stood at approximately \$983 million.

To date, the Security Account has fallen below the required balance of \$500 million seven times. Each time, Iran has replen-

ished the account, as required by the Algiers Accords, by transferring funds from the separate account held by the NV Settlement Bank in which interest on the Security Account is deposited. Iran has also replenished the account once when it was not required by the Accords, for a total of eight replenishments. The most recent replenishment occurred on October 13, 1987, in the amount of \$170,000, bringing the total in the Security Account to \$500,000,000.00. The aggregate amount that has been transferred is approximately \$483 million.

In claims between the two governments based on contracts, the Tribunal to date has made four awards in favor of the United States and four in favor of Iran. The Tribunal has dismissed two claims that had been filed by the United States and dismissed 11 claims that had been filed by Iran. In addition, Iran has withdrawn 13 of its government-to-government claims, while the United States has withdrawn three.

In July, the Government of Iran appointed Mr. Assadollah Nouri to replace Dr. Mohsen Mostafavi as the Iranian arbitrator in Chamber One.

2. As stated in my last report, the Tribunal continues to make progress in the arbitration of claims of U.S. nationals for \$250,000 or more. Over 60 percent of the non-bank claims have now been disposed of through adjudication, settlement, or voluntary withdrawal, leaving 207 such claims on the docket. The largest of the large claims, whose progress has been slowed by their complexity, are finally being decided, some-

times with huge damage awards to the U.S. claimant. In one recent decision, a U.S. company received an award for \$117 million, while another U.S. company was awarded \$58 million. The Tribunal rendered interlocutory decisions on legal issues in two large oil company claims, finding liability on the part of Iran in both instances. These decisions pave the way for determinations of damages and an ultimate resolution of these cases.

3. The Tribunal also continues to process claims of U.S. nationals against Iran of less than \$250,000 each. As of October 15, 1987, a total of 139 small claims have been resolved, 12 of them since my last report, as a result of decisions on the merits, awards on agreed terms, or Tribunal orders. Two contested claims were decided in awards issued by the Tribunal since my previous report, raising the total number of contested claims decided to 13, eight favoring the American claimant. These decisions will help in establishing guidelines for the adjudication or settlement of similar small claims. To date, American claimants have also received 20 awards on agreed terms reflecting settlement of claims under \$250,000.

Since my last report, the three Tribunal Chambers have selected 65 claims for active arbitration, bringing the total number of small claims currently under active Tribunal consideration to 206. The Tribunal has held hearings in two of these claims since my last report, and the Department of State has filed additional pleadings in 45 such claims.

4. The Department of State continues to coordinate efforts of concerned governmental agencies in presenting U.S. claims against Iran, as well as the response of the United States Government to claims brought against it by Iran. Since my last report, the Department has filed six pleadings in government-to-government claims based on contracts for the provision of goods and services. Two such claims have been settled, so 35 government-to-government claims remain pending.

Since my last report, the Tribunal has held two hearings on government-to-government contract claims. On October 5-8, 1987, it heard Iran's claim against the United States for allegedly defective heli-

copters sold to Iran under the Foreign Military Sales program. On November 4-5, a hearing was held on Iran's claim for the return of military property held by the United States Government.

The Tribunal has recently issued opinions in two claims brought by Iran concerning the interpretation and/or performance of various provisions of the Algiers Accords. On May 4, 1987, the Tribunal denied Iran's request to find the United States responsible for the payment of Tribunal awards in favor of Iran against nationals of the United States. On September 30, 1987, the Tribunal issued a decision holding that it has the authority, inherent in the Algiers Accords, to award interest as compensation for damages suffered. This was the position advocated by the United States. The Tribunal further stated that each of its three chambers may decide in each case whether interest should be awarded and how it should be calculated.

5. Since my last report, two bank syndicates have been paid a total of \$989,751.88 for interest accruing for the period January 1-18, 1981 ("January Interest"), on the basis of settlements reached with Bank Markazi Jomhuri Islami Iran ("Bank Markazi," Iran's central bank). These payments were made from Dollar Account No. 2 at the Bank of England. Settlements have been signed between Bank Markazi and three other bank syndicates for the payment of \$691,912.40 from Dollar Account No. 2. Apparently there are certain other settlements awaiting Bank Markazi's approval.

6. Since my last report, there have been no amendments to the Iranian Assets Control Regulations, 31 C.F.R. Part 535, administered by the Office of Foreign Assets Control at the Treasury Department.

7. The situation reviewed above continues to implicate important diplomatic, financial, and legal interests of the United States and its nationals and presents an unusual challenge to the national security and foreign policy of the United States. In particular, the Iranian Assets Control Regulations issued pursuant to Executive Order No. 12170 continue to play an important role in structuring our relationship with Iran and in enabling the United States

properly to implement the Algiers Accords. I shall continue to exercise the powers at my disposal to deal with these problems and will continue to report periodically to

the Congress on significant developments.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 20, 1987.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the Annual Reports on Highway, Traffic, and Motor Vehicle Safety Programs *November 20, 1987*

To the Congress of the United States:

The Highway Safety Act and the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act, both enacted in 1966, initiated a national effort to reduce traffic deaths and injuries and require annual reports on the administration of the Acts. This is the 19th year that these reports have been prepared for your review.

The report on motor vehicle safety includes the annual reporting requirement in Title I of the Motor Vehicle Information and Cost Savings Act of 1972 (bumper standards).

In the Highway Safety Acts of 1973, 1976, and 1978, the Congress expressed its special interest in certain aspects of traffic safety that are addressed in the volume on highway safety.

The national outrage against drunk drivers, combined with growing safety belt use and voluntary cooperation we have received from all sectors of American life, have brought about even more improvements in traffic safety.

The fatality rate, a measure of the risk of motor vehicle travel, decreased in 1985 to 2.47 percent, the lowest in more than two decades. This is a reduction of 26 percent over 1980 when the rate was 3.35 percent. In 1985, there were 43,795 fatalities, down from 44,257 fatalities in 1984 and a signifi-

cant percent decline from the 51,091 deaths that occurred in 1980 before this Administration took office.

The progress we have made is, of course, no consolation to the relatives and friends of those 43,795 people who, despite the safety advances and greater public awareness, lost their lives in 1985. But it is indicative of the positive trend this Administration has established to make our roads safer.

While a decrease in the number of fatalities is encouraging during a time of economic prosperity and lower gas prices, the loss of approximately 120 lives per day on our Nation's highways is still too high. Also, with the increasing motor vehicle travel, we are faced with the threat of an even higher number of traffic fatalities. Therefore, there is a continuing need for effective motor vehicle and highway safety programs.

We will continue to pursue highway and motor vehicle safety programs that are most effective in reducing deaths and injuries. We are convinced that even during these times of fiscal austerity, significant progress in traffic safety can be achieved through the combined efforts of government, industry, and the public.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 20, 1987.

Nomination of Sydney Olson To Be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services

November 20, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Sydney Olson to be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services (Human Development Services). She would succeed Dorcas R. Hardy.

Since 1986 Miss Olson has been government relations representative for Dow, Lohnes and Albertson in Washington, DC. Prior to this, she was a majority staff member for income security, U.S. Senate

Finance Committee, 1981–1986; and special assistant for the House Ways and Means Committee, 1979–1981. From 1977 to 1979, Miss Olson was a minority staff assistant for the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Miss Olson graduated from the University of Oregon (B.S., 1969). Miss Olson was born August 14, 1947, in Long Beach, CA, and currently resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of Charles L. Grizzle To Be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency

November 20, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Charles L. Grizzle to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency (Administration). He would succeed Howard M. Messner.

Since 1983 Mr. Grizzle has been Deputy Assistant Secretary for Administration at the Department of Agriculture, Washington, DC. Prior to this he was the confidential

assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, 1982–1983. From 1981 to 1982, Mr. Grizzle was executive director for the Republican Party of Kentucky.

Mr. Grizzle graduated from the University of Kentucky (B.A., 1973). He was born July 22, 1948, in Argillite, KY, and currently resides in McLean, VA.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Reporting on the Cyprus Conflict

November 20, 1987

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95–384, I am submitting to you a bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question.

I would like first to note the United Nations Secretary General's October 29 announcement of the appointment of a new Special Representative of the Secretary General on Cyprus, Oscar Hector Camilion. Mr. Camilion is a former Foreign Minister

of Argentina and a distinguished diplomat with long and varied experience in the art of negotiation. Our best wishes and full support go with Mr. Camilion as he begins his efforts in the cause of establishing a long-lasting and equitable peace on Cyprus.

There was considerable dialogue on the Cyprus problem during this period between the United Nations Secretary General and the parties to the dispute and also between United States representatives and a wide

range of interested parties. In the context of the opening of the 42nd United Nations General Assembly session, the Secretary General met separately, in early October, with both Cypriot President Spyros Kyprianou and Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktash, as well as with the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey. The Secretary of State held discussions with Cypriot Foreign Minister Iacovou, Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias, and Turkish Foreign Minister Halefoglu. Special Cyprus Coordinator M. James Wilkinson met with Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash.

We continued to consult actively with U.N. representatives, allies, and concerned groups and individuals on the problem. In discussions regarding the Cyprus dispute, United States representatives emphasized the need for the parties to give the fullest cooperation to the efforts of the U.N. Secretary General.

We also added our voice to that of the Secretary General in reiterating concern about the potentially dangerous military buildup on the island, a serious situation that the U.N. Secretary General once again pointed to in his latest "Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization," released on September 9. We find merit in the Secretary General's effort to address the issue through his proposal that the United Nations undertake a force verification role on Cyprus. Although the parties to the dispute have not agreed with this concept, we would hope that constructive reviews with the Secretary General of this or other ideas can be pursued in the inter-

est of strengthening stability.

Also on this topic and further to my last report to the Congress, there have been additional reports of withdrawals of Turkish tanks from Cyprus. Recent reports indicate that Turkey has continued to remove older model tanks from the island, consistent with earlier Turkish statements that a modernization program had caused a temporary rise in the number of tanks.

The recent difficulties for the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), caused by the Swedish decision to withdraw its soldiers from the Force, have been resolved through the magnanimous offer of replacement troops by the Governments of Austria and Canada. On October 3, the UNFICYP spokesman released details of the arrangements under which the Canadian and Austrian soldiers will be deployed along the cease-fire line. These troops, added to the already sizeable contingents from those two countries and the other troop-contributing nations, will enable UNFICYP to continue its invaluable role on the island without interruption. Unfortunately, UNFICYP's funding problems have not been resolved, and we continue urging other countries to increase their contributions to the voluntary fund supporting UNFICYP.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Remarks Announcing a Bipartisan Plan to Reduce the Federal Budget Deficit and a Question-and-Answer Session With Reporters November 20, 1987

The President. I have a statement to make here. This country has been held captive by the threat of ever-increasing deficits, and it became apparent several weeks ago when our nation was stunned as the stock market took a dramatic dive. There were many reasons given for the drop, but

few wanted to take responsibility.

It became clear, though, on that day that it was time for action, and immediately we took the necessary steps to deal with our Federal budget problems. For the past 20 days, my representatives have been meeting with negotiators from the Congress,

hammering out a credible and reliable deficit reduction plan, a plan that's both fair and responsible, a plan that meets our short-term concerns while laying the foundation for long-term solutions. And today I'm pleased to announce that a bipartisan agreement has been reached on the budget not just for 1 year but for 2, a blueprint that sends a strong signal both at home and abroad that together we can and will get our deficit under control and keep it that way.

This agreement is probably not the best deal that could be made, but it is a good solid beginning. It provides the necessary services for our people, maintains our national security, and does so at a level that does not overburden the average American taxpayer—in a word, fairness. And while there will be other reports to reduce the deficit, today we're sending the right message at the right time.

So, let me extend my personal thanks to the congressional leadership and to the budget negotiators for the spirit of cooperation they have shown. All of us, Republican and Democrat, Senator and Congressman, must roll up our sleeves and go to work so that we can complete this important job. And the challenge before us is to make our case to the American people and to urge them to join with us in reaching our goal: a sound and enforceable budget.

Our commitment is to continue on a path of growth and opportunity. And we have today committed ourselves to a fiscal path that will lead to continued economic growth and opportunity and provide a solid base for economic stability in the future.

Jim, would you like to say a few words?

Speaker Wright. Thank you, Mr. President. This is truly a bipartisan agreement. It is a balanced package: Everybody gives some; nobody gets everything he wants—not the President, not the Congress, not Democrats, nor Republicans. It is a real set of deficit reductions. It isn't painless for the very reason that it is real and not cosmetic. I believe it is a demonstration that in time of stress the administrative and executive and the legislative branches of government can work together, even when they are in the hands of different political parties. And so, we anticipate its adoption in the House

and in the Senate. I understand that it has the support of all the leadership, Democrat and Republican, in the House and the Senate.

Q. Mr. President, Mr. President, do you think you can make it stick?

The President. Senator Byrd is—a few words here.

Senator Byrd. This is a demonstration that the executive branch and the legislative branch can work together, that they have demonstrated the discipline and the will and the determination to reach an agreement that is a positive one, that is a substantive one. We think that this is a good message to send to the markets and to the people, and we are pledged to give our support to it and the full implementation of it. And I want to personally thank the President and his representatives and Tom Foley and the Members on both sides of the aisle in both Houses, who have worked so long in preparing this package, which I think is a very good birthday present for me.

Q. How old are you?

Senator Byrd. This is the 31st anniversary of my 39th birthday. [*Laughter*]

Q. Mr. President—

The President. There is a gentleman here first that should be heard from—we are all indebted to him—and that was the chairman of the negotiations, Tom Foley.

Representative Foley. Thank you, Mr. President. I think we see this agreement as a milestone in our efforts to bring about a reduction of the deficit. It represents a consensus between both parties, the Congress, and the President. And this is a good, solid plan. It does not have budgetary gimmicks or smoke in mirrors, as sometimes the words are used. It is an achievable reduction to the targets of Gramm-Rudman this year and substantially more next year.

Q. Mr. President—

The President. Andrea [Andrea Mitchell, NBC News], did you have a question? [*Laughter*]

Q. How are you going to make this stick? How are you going to sell it to the Republicans who don't like it? And what do you say to those who say it isn't enough?

The President. Well, I think we've indicated up here that this is something that must

be ongoing, but that it is a good beginning. And as to selling it to our—all of us that you see up here are going to go to work on that right now.

Q. But your own party doesn't like it. Your own party says it's too much taxes and too much of a defense hit.

The President. Well, let's wait and see what they say after we've had a chance to visit.

Q. Well, Mr. President, many on Wall Street, sir, have already discounted this because of the relative small numbers—about 30 and 45 billion in the 2 years—and because it presumably doesn't contain any COLA reductions. So, the Street seems to think it's not going to be enough—won't make any difference.

The President. I have an answer to the Street about that. Should I give it?

Q. Yes!

Q. Yes!

Q. Please, please!

Q. Yes, please!

Q. Sure!

The President. Well, it isn't original with me; I wouldn't plagiarize. [Laughter] But a man sent me a letter the other day. And he just pointed out that with Wall Street looking for so many outside areas as being responsible for the volatility of the marketplace—he said even a farmhand cleaning out the stalls in a barn knows that what he's cleaning out didn't come from outside; it was produced in the barn.

Q. Are you attacking Wall Street? [Laughter]

Q. Mr. President, are you saying—

The President. No, I'm just saying that they've got some things to straighten out themselves, also. [Laughter]

Q. Mr. President, sir, what is your reaction to the Iran-*contra* report, which charges that there was a disdain for the law in this White House and says you were responsible for this atmosphere?

The President. Sam, [Sam Donaldson, ABC News], this day is given over to a budget deficit. I'm not going to take any questions—

Q. —sign the sequester?

Q. Well, Mr. President, how do you plan to go out and vigorously sell \$9 billion in new taxes, when you just the other day at

the Chamber of Commerce said taxes were not the way to go on this? How are you going to sell that?

The President. I would like to remind you that in the budget last January that I sent up to the Congress I had proposals in there for \$9 billion in revenues. And this has been part of our proposal all the way. But they are not taxes dealing with changes in the income tax or taxes that we think would be deleterious to the economy. But these sources of revenue are—they've been there laying on the shelf since January.

Q. Are you ever going to respond?

Q. Mr. President, people on Wall Street wonder why this deal was put together many days ago—the basic numbers were in place many days ago—and they're saying, why has it taken so long to produce so little?

The President. Well, because I think when you get dealing here in government—and two branches of government and two parties involved and all—there are people who have their own ideas and who like to make suggestions. And some are accepted, and some are denied. And we've finally come to an agreement.

Q. Well, what was holding it up, Mr. President? I mean, the numbers were set several days ago.

The President. Well, finally we came to an agreement.

Q. How do you think the market will react, sir?

Q. What about our allies, Mr. President?

Q. Could we ask the Speaker a question? Could we ask the Speaker a question?

Mr. Fitzwater. He's going to have to go here.

Q. Mr. President, are we going to now meet with our allies?

Q. Mr. Speaker, have you identified for the President all of the areas where the taxes will come from, or is that still up in the air?

Speaker Wright. Well, I don't think it's up in the air, exactly.

Q. Well, have you given an exact list of where these taxes will come from?

Speaker Wright. No, and he didn't ask for one. We have a bill that we passed in the House. The Senate has a bill which has

been reported from committee. The President and Members of the Senate may have suggestions to make with respect to additional changes, modifications, amendments. Whatever emerges from the Senate, I presume, would go to conference with what has passed in the House, and—

Q. Do you pledge, sir, that they will not be rate increases in any sense?

Speaker Wright. I don't think it is achievable in this climate to have rate increases, and I think it would be unrealistic for me to expect to pass any rate increases. As you know, I have said early on this year that my personal preference might be to extend the rate as it is, not have rate reductions for those at the top of the economic spectrum. But that isn't going to happen this year. It isn't in the House bill. It isn't in the Senate bill. And the President—

Q. But you are giving that pledge, sir?

Speaker Wright. Well, I don't have to give the pledge. The President has already indicated he'd veto a bill that had it in there.

Q. Are you satisfied, Mr. President? Are you satisfied that they've been specific enough about the taxes and that you're not going to be hoodwinked?

The President. Yes. Yes. And what the Speaker says is correct. But also, in addition—maybe he was going to get to this—there has been an agreement on the kind of taxes it wouldn't be.

Q. What is that?

Mr. Fitzwater. Let's take a 10-minute

filing break, and then we'll come back for the other briefing.

Q. Do you know—

Q. What kind of taxes won't it be, sir?

The President. My boss is kicking us out of here.

Q. Do you now agree, sir, that there won't be a joint session with Mr. Gorbachev, that Mr. Gorbachev will not appear before a joint session of Congress?

The President. They've never formally asked for one.

Q. But would you have liked one if the Republicans had not rebelled against it?

The President. No, and this never originated with us, at all. There was talk of it—

Q. Speaker Wright announced it, sir.

The President. But there was talk of it, yes, but no request ever did—

Q. Marlin?

Q. Is there going to be a summit?

Q. Spending cuts—

The President. Yes, there will be a summit.

Note: The President spoke at 3:42 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives; Robert C. Byrd, Senate Majority Leader; and Representative Thomas S. Foley of Pennsylvania also made remarks. Marlin Fitzwater was Assistant to the President for Press Relations. Prior to his remarks, the President met with the congressional leadership in the Cabinet Room.

Appointment of John D. Negroponte as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

November 20, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint John D. Negroponte to serve as Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Since July 1985 Mr. Negroponte has served as the Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. A career Foreign Service officer since 1960, he was Ambassa-

dor to the Republic of Honduras from November 1981 to June 1985. Mr. Negroponte received the Senior Foreign Service Meritorious Service Award in both 1983 and 1987. Since joining the Foreign Service, Mr. Negroponte has served abroad in Hong Kong, Saigon, Paris, Quito, Thessaloniki, and Tegucigalpa. In Washington he has had tours on the National Security Council staff and

at the Department of State. In Paris Mr. Negrofonte was a member of the United States delegation to the peace talks on Vietnam. While on the National Security Council staff (1970–1973) he was head of the office dealing with Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and in that capacity attended the 1972 Nixon/Brezhnev summit. He has also served as chief United States fisheries negotiator with the rank of Ambassador (1977–

1979) and as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1980–1981) dealing with Southeast Asia.

Mr. Negrofonte was born on July 21, 1939. He received a B.A. degree from Yale University in 1960 and is married to Diana Villiers. They have two daughters, Marina and Alexandra. They reside in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Paul Schott Stevens as Executive Secretary of the National Security Council

November 20, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Paul Schott Stevens as Executive Secretary of the National Security Council. He will replace Grant S. Green, Jr., who will assume responsibilities at the Department of Defense. Mr. Stevens will continue to serve as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Since January 1987 Mr. Stevens has been legal adviser to the NSC. From September 1985 to July 1986, Mr. Stevens served as Deputy Director and General Counsel of the President's Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management. Under Chairman David Packard, Mr. Stevens assisted in overall management of the Commission's military and civilian staff and provided legal

counsel on all aspects of the Commission's work. Formerly, Mr. Stevens was a partner in the Washington, DC, law firm of Dickstein, Shapiro and Morin. He is a member of the District of Columbia Bar, and from 1980 to 1984, was a lecturer in law on the faculty of the Washington College of Law at the American University.

A scholar of the house at Yale College, Mr. Stevens received his B.A., magna cum laude, in 1974. He graduated in 1978 from the University of Virginia School of Law. He is married to the former Joyce L. Pilz. He was born November 19, 1952, in New Orleans, LA. Mr. Stevens and his wife live in Alexandria, VA, and have one child.

Final Order on Emergency Deficit Control Measures for Fiscal Year 1988

November 20, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the statutes of the United States of America, including section 252 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1987 (Public Law 99–177), as amended by the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act of 1987 (Public Law 100–119) (hereafter referred to as "the Act"), I hereby order that the following actions be taken immedi-

ately to implement the sequestrations and reductions determined by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget in his report dated November 20, 1987, under section 251 of the Act:

(1) Each automatic spending increase that would, but for the provisions of the Act, take effect during fiscal year 1988 is permanently sequestered or reduced as provided in section 252. The programs with such

automatic spending increases subject to reduction in this manner are: National Wool Act; Special milk program; and Vocational rehabilitation.

(2) The following are sequestered as provided in section 252: new budget authority; unobligated balances; new loan guarantee commitments or limitations; new direct loan obligations, commitments, or limitations; spending authority as defined in section 401(c)(2) of the Congressional Budget Act of 1974, as amended; and obligation limitations.

(3) For accounts making payments otherwise required by substantive law, the head of each Department or agency is directed to modify the calculation of each such payment to the extent necessary to reduce the estimate of total required payments for the fiscal year by the amount specified in the Director of the Office of Management and Budget's report of November 20, 1987.

(4) For accounts making commitments for guaranteed loans and obligations for direct loans as authorized by substantive law, the head of each Department or agency is directed to reduce the level of such commit-

ments or obligations to the extent necessary to conform to the limitations established by the Act and specified in the Director of the Office of Management and Budget's report of November 20, 1987.

All reductions and sequestrations shall be made in strict accordance with the specifications of the November 20 report of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget and the requirements of section 252(b).

This Order shall be effective immediately and supersedes the initial Order issued on October 20, 1987.

This Order shall be reported to the Congress and shall be published in the *Federal Register*.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 20, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 7:45 p.m., November 20, 1987]

Note: The order was printed in the "Federal Register" of November 23.

Radio Address to the Nation on the Economy and Deficit Reduction November 21, 1987

My fellow Americans:

In a moment I'd like to tell you about our efforts this past week to cut the Federal deficit in order to keep the American economy growing and strong. First, though, I'd like to stress that very fact. Despite stock market fluctuations, despite all you may have heard to the contrary, the truth is: The American economy remains growing and strong.

As usual with economics, it's the figures that tell the story. During the third quarter of this year, our gross national product rose at a healthy annual rate of 3.8 percent. This was spurred in turn by new business investment, which is soaring at a truly remarkable rate of 24 percent. Inflation is down. Manufacturing productivity is up. Real exports, too, are up and rising at an annual

rate of nearly 17 percent. One set of figures is especially important: the figures that concern the more than 14 million new jobs that have been created since this economic expansion began some 59 months ago. That's 2½ times more new jobs than have been created in the other major industrialized countries since 1982, and you might think it's something for us Americans to take pride in.

But some have tried to pooh-pooh this tremendous achievement, distorting the record in the process. Last December, for example, a study was presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, which claimed that, while millions of new jobs have indeed been created, most of these are basically bad jobs, with well over half paying only about \$7,000 a year or less.

Well, since then at least two major investigations have shown that study to be wrong. The Department of Labor has put out evidence showing an exactly opposite trend toward higher paying jobs. And last month the prestigious American Enterprise Institute here in Washington called a press conference to present the results of its own exhaustive and scholarly study. The American Enterprise Institute study found that over the past 20 years—and I quote—“there has been no rise in the share of new jobs with low earnings, but instead a slight increase in the share at the upper end of the earnings distribution.”

Well, you should know that when the misleading Joint Economic Committee study was first released, it made virtually every network news show, national magazine, and major newspaper. But when the American Enterprise Institute study was released, only one major newspaper, one major magazine, a handful of local journalists, and not a single television network sent reporters. So, as I said, our economy is in fundamentally good condition. And when you hear reports of doom and gloom to the contrary, well, please take them with a grain of salt.

And now to tell you about our success this week in reaching an agreement that will reduce the Federal deficit still further: When the stock market took its dramatic plunge last month, it became clear that the time had come for dramatic action. And for some 20 days, my representatives met with negotiators from the Congress, struggling to work out a credible and reliable deficit reduction plan. Just yesterday I was able to

announce that a bipartisan agreement was indeed reached, an agreement that would cut the deficit not just for one year but for two.

As with all agreements that result from long and difficult negotiation, this agreement is probably not the very best deal that could have been struck. But we have to begin somewhere, and I believe this agreement represents just that: a good, solid beginning. It provides the necessary services for our people, maintains our national security, and does both at a level that will not overburden our taxpayers—in a word, fairness. And while efforts to cut the deficit still further must certainly continue, this agreement will send the right message at the right time, both to our own financial markets and to markets and governments around the world: Decisively, doggedly, and in a spirit of cooperation, the United States has chosen to act.

My thanks and congratulations to the congressional leadership and the budget negotiators for all their hard work. Now each of us, Republican and Democrat alike, must work to reach our vital goal: a sound and enforceable United States budget. We have built a solid economic foundation that has made our economy stronger, more competitive, and better prepared than ever to meet the challenge of tomorrow. If we pursue the right policies, our future will be even brighter.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for Frank C. Carlucci as Secretary of Defense

November 23, 1987

The President. Well, let me welcome all of you here today. And I'm going to begin exactly the way you would expect me to by saying how proud I am that someone with as illustrious a record as Frank Carlucci will be taking over at Defense. As you know,

Frank has earned a reputation as an experienced and skillful administrator—a man who knows the bureaucracy, knows the Hill, and knows how to work with both to achieve remarkable results for our national security. I've worked closely with Frank

here at the White House; it's been a privilege to come to know him well. He's earned my respect, my full trust, and confidence. I know firsthand of his deep commitment to a strong defense. And I look forward to working with him in a capacity—the importance of which I've stressed from day one of this administration—the national defenses and military readiness of the United States.

Now, I'm not going to recite all of Frank's accomplishments, because I know they're so well known to all of you. But it should be noted that his background as national security adviser, an intelligence manager, a career diplomat, a businessman, and Deputy Secretary of Defense makes him the most qualified individual in history to assume this post.

Frank, there are going to be extraordinary challenges, and I'm certain you're up to them. As you know, you'll face the day-by-day task of strengthening our military preparedness and the longer term work of using our military technology—through programs like SDI—to make this a safer world for peace and freedom. But there's also the difficult but honorable work of maintaining one of this administration's proudest accomplishments: the return of pride in our Armed Forces and the appreciation of those devoted young men and women who wear our country's uniform.

I think Frank knows better than anyone the importance of that last point I've just mentioned. A few years back, when all the experts were telling him differently, Frank persevered in supporting democracy in Portugal. And due in no small part to this personal commitment, today that nation is free and strong, and it set an example for democratic progress elsewhere in the world. That sort of grit has to come from something very deep in a person. Yes, Frank is the grandson of an Italian stonecutter; he knows in a special way not only what this nation means to all of us but to the entire world. The fact that he's reached the heights he has in his own life says a great deal about him and his family, but it also says something about this great nation and the cause of world freedom for which it stands.

Frank Carlucci is living proof to all of us and to the world that "only in America" is

more than just an easy cliché: it's a great ringing truth. So, Frank, Marcia, today all of us extend to you our congratulations, our best wishes, and our warmest support.

Secretary Carlucci. Thank you, Mr. President, for those very kind and challenging words. I know it's customary to focus on one's new responsibilities in this kind of situation, but, Mr. President, I'd just like to take a minute to comment on my experience here at the White House under your leadership.

First of all, let me thank you for the tone that you have set in our relationship. You have made a tough job seem easy. I also want to thank you for your willingness to tolerate my viewpoint even when you've known that it has not accorded with yours. We've had some spirited discussions in the Oval Office, but always in an atmosphere of friendship and cordial debate. And I will miss those discussions, although I will be back to see you in my new capacity.

Let me also express my appreciation to Howard Baker, Ken Duberstein, and the White House staff for the extraordinarily cordial relationships that we have had and for the support that they have given to me and to the NSC. Someone said, Mr. President, you never had a White House staff that has gotten along so well together, and I can certainly endorse that. Your staff is serving you well, and they are worthy of your continuing support.

Cap just handed me a letter as I came in, which I suspect goes back to the days in 1980 when he asked me to be his deputy in Defense. And after wavering a bit, I said yes. And I said, "Cap, you know I have only one goal, and that is to help make you the finest Secretary of Defense in our nation's history." And I'm proud to say, Mr. President, that I have played some small role in achieving that goal, because surely, as you said the other day, Cap will go down in history as our finest Secretary of Defense. And, Cap, I will try to carry on in your tradition.

Lastly, I would like to express my appreciation to the NSC staff that has been so supportive and to my wife, Marcia, who has been very supportive throughout my days in the White House. It is a big job in the

Pentagon, Mr. President, but it's a special department, because you head it. You are the CINC, the Commander in Chief. I know that you have a special feeling in your heart for our men and women in uniform and for the thousands of civilians that support them. And solid in that knowledge, I know that I can work with you to build on the very significant achievements of your administration to date and continue the fine Pentagon tradition that makes our Armed Forces the greatest in our country's history.

Thank you very much.

Reporter. Mr. President, why did you name an active-duty military man [Colin L. Powell] to replace Mr. Carlucci? The *Iran-contra* report recommended against an active-duty military man in the NSC job.

The President. I guess I wasn't listening to them. [*Laughter*]

Q. You don't think that's a good idea?

The President. I think the man that I ap-

pointed has served as Frank's next-in-command, his deputy. I have seen him operate, and I think he is excellent for that particular job. And I don't think that wearing our country's uniform and a few stars take away anything from that.

Q. Is the INF treaty in any trouble? Are we going to get it?

The President. Wait until the plane lands—[*laughter*]—from Switzerland, and I'll let you know.

Q. Mr. President, the markets now seem to be terribly oppressed with the budget compromise.

The President. They probably haven't looked at it yet. [*Laughter*]

Note: The President spoke at 1 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In Secretary Carlucci's remarks, he referred to Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Kenneth M. Duberstein, Deputy Chief of Staff.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on United States Trade Sanctions Against the European Economic Community

November 23, 1987

The President has taken the first steps to ensure continued market access for approximately \$100 million in U.S. meat product sales to the European Community (EC). He has instructed the U.S. Trade Representative to hold public hearings on products for inclusion in a retaliatory action against the EC.

In December 1985 the EC decided to ban the sale or import of meat produced from animals treated with growth hormones, effective January 1, 1988. Recently, however, the EC Council of Agriculture Ministers voted to allow meat imports to continue for an additional year.

To ensure that U.S. access to the Community does, in fact, remain unimpeded, the President will raise tariffs on about \$100 million of EC exports to the United States effective soon after January 1, 1988, but will

then immediately suspend the tariff increases so long as U.S. meat exports to the European Community continue uninterrupted.

The President is optimistic that the EC will permit dispute settlement to proceed in the interim in order to reach a permanent agreement based on scientific evidence. The EC contends that its ban is motivated by health concerns, but the U.S. Food and Drug Administration and a prestigious panel of international scientific experts have concluded that use of such hormones poses no health hazards.

The President's action illustrates how his discretionary, flexible authority under section 301 of our unfair trade laws protects American interests. Congress may wish to review this and other effective uses of sec-

tion 301 before considering any changes in the law that would attempt to force the President to retaliate at times when it would be counterproductive.

Remarks to Administration Supporters at a White House Briefing on Arms Control, Central America, and the Supreme Court November 23, 1987

Well, thank you very much, and welcome to the Old Executive Office Building. And I think it'll keep right on getting older, too. They tell me that the granite walls are 4 feet thick. They don't make them like that anymore.

Well, it's wonderful to see so many familiar faces, so many old friends and supporters. Together we've won some remarkable victories in the last 7 years. But as I told Cap Weinberger the other day at the Pentagon, the job isn't finished, and anyone who thinks we're going to be just sitting around on our laurels these last 14 months better guess again. It's like the story of Winston Churchill toward the close of World War II. He was visited by a delegation from the Temperance League and was chastised by one woman who said, "Mr. Prime Minister, I've heard that if all the brandy you had drunk since the war began were poured into this room it would come all the way up to your waist." And Winston looked dolefully down at the floor and then at his waist, then up to the ceiling, and said, "Ah, yes, madam, so much accomplished and so much more left to do." [Laughter]

Well, one thing left to do, one of the great challenges of these next months, will be seeing if we can work out with the Soviet Union a better answer to nuclear weapons. As you know, I'll be meeting here in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev unless some hitch develops that we can't foresee. But if all goes well, we'll sign an agreement that will for the first time in history eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. It's a good bargain: For every nuclear warhead of our own we remove, they'll have to give up four.

It would, however, be hasty to assume that we're at the point where we're ready to put pen to paper and sign the treaty. For one thing, in at least one important area,

verification, the treaty is not yet complete. Any treaty that I agree to must provide for effective verification, including on-site inspection of facilities before and during reduction and short-notice inspection afterward. The verification regime we've put forward in Geneva is the most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations. I actually learned a couple of words in Russian in order to talk about this with the General Secretary: *Dovorey no provorey*. That is a proverb in Russia that says: "Trust, but verify." [Laughter]

We have come this far only because we've been patient and unwavering in our commitment to a strong and vital national defense. Contrary to what some have said, we've been at this for some time. As I said at West Point, we made this proposal—this treaty that we're talking about—we made this proposal nearly 6 years ago. Our opponents dismissed it as unrealistic, because it was too one-sided in our favor. And then the Soviets tried to get us to eliminate the SDI program. I refused. The moral is that patience, consistency, firm negotiating, and clear objectives count much more with the Soviets than good intentions. And I am for this agreement not because I have any illusions about the Soviet system but because of the good deal for the United States and its allies. That's why I'm asking for your support and help in convincing the Senate—if we once sign, and when we once sign this—to ratify this treaty.

We're also moving ahead when negotiation—or with negotiations on our proposal to reduce U.S. and Soviet strategic arsenals by half. Our Geneva negotiators have made progress. And the Soviets must, however, stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our research and development of SDI.

It's no longer a secret that the Soviet Union has spent billions upon billions of dollars developing and deploying their own antiballistic missile defenses. Research and development in some parts of the Soviet strategic defense program—we call it the Red Shield—began more than 15 years ago. Today Soviet capabilities include everything from killer satellites to the modernized ABM defenses that ring Moscow. More than 10,000 Soviet scientists and engineers are working on military lasers alone, with thousands more developing other advanced technologies, such as particle beam and kinetic energy weapons.

The Soviet Red Shield program actually dwarfs our SDI. Yet there's been a strange tendency by some in Congress to discuss SDI as if its funding could be determined by purely domestic considerations, unconnected to what the Soviets are doing. SDI is too important to be subject to congressional logrolling. It's a vital insurance policy, a necessary part of any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. In decades to come, it will underwrite all of us against Soviet cheating on both strategic and intermediate-range missile agreements. SDI leads us away from the days of mutual assured destruction to a future of mutual assured safety. And it goes hand in hand with arms reductions. We cannot, we will not, bargain it away to get strategic arms reductions.

SDI will also protect us against accidental missile launches and ballistic missile threats—whether with nuclear, conventional, or chemical warheads—from outlaw regimes. In the decades ahead, we can't be sure just who will get access to ballistic missile technology, how competent they will be or how rational. We've had madmen come to power before in countries in the world. We must have an insurance policy against that day, as well.

So, no, SDI is not a bargaining chip. It is a—[*applause*—]thank you. It's a cornerstone of our security strategy for the 1990's and beyond. We will research it. We will develop it. And when it's ready, we'll deploy it. Just remember this: If both sides have defenses, it can be a safer world. You know, with the present deterrent that we have—the MAD policy, mutual assured destruc-

tion—I've never been able to feel very safe with the knowledge that if they blow us up we'll be blowing them up at the same time. [*Laughter*] I'd like to leave them around if they'll leave us around. [*Laughter*] If we leave the scientists—or the Soviets with a monopoly in this vital area, our security will be gravely jeopardized, and we mustn't let that happen.

Now, if I may, I'd like to turn to another issue of vital importance: freedom and democracy in Central America. With our aid, the Nicaraguan freedom fighters have made impressive gains in the field and brought the Communist Sandinistas to do something that they never would have done otherwise: negotiate. I hope the Members of our own Congress will not forget this important fact: Without the freedom fighters, there would be no Arias peace plan, there would be no negotiations and no hope for democracy in Nicaragua. An entrenched, hostile Communist regime in Nicaragua would be an irreversible fact of life, and the Sandinistas would have permanently consolidated and fortified a new Cuba on the American mainland.

Within the next few weeks, Congress will have to vote on further aid to the freedom fighters. Without that aid, the Sandinistas will know all they have to do is play a waiting game. They'll have no incentive to negotiate, no incentive to make real concessions to fulfill the peace agreement. If Congress pulls the plug on the freedom fighters, they will have accomplished what billions of dollars in Soviet aid could not: extinguishing all hope of freedom in Nicaragua and leaving the neighboring Central American democracies naked to Communist aggression.

It's the Nicaraguan freedom fighters who brought the Sandinistas to the negotiating table. It is the freedom fighters—and only the freedom fighters—who can keep them there. If we're serious about the peace process, we must keep the freedom fighters alive and strong until they can once again return home to take part in a free and democratic Nicaraguan society. They're brave men, and they've sacrificed much in the cause of freedom, and they deserve no less. There will be few more important votes in Congress than this one, and as I

have so often in the past, I'll be counting on your active support. With your help, I know we can win this one.

Now, as you know, on Friday we announced a bipartisan agreement on the budget that will cover not just 1 year but 2. Now, this may not be the best deal that could be made, but it is a good, solid beginning. It provides the necessary services for our people, maintains our national security, and does so at a level that does not overburden the average American taxpayer. We have committed ourselves to a fiscal path that will lead to continued economic growth and opportunity and provide a solid base for economic stability in the future.

And finally, I'd like to say a few words about another subject of great importance to all of us: the confirmation of Judge Kennedy as an Associate Justice on the Supreme Court. In choosing to nominate Judge Kennedy to the Supreme Court, I kept in mind the fact that criminal cases make up the largest category of cases the Supreme Court must decide. These cases are especially important to the poor, the inner-city residents, and minority groups, since these Americans are victimized by crime to a disproportionate extent.

Judge Kennedy's record on criminal law is clear; indeed, he has participated in hundreds of criminal law decisions. He has earned a reputation as a jurist who is tough,

but fair. His decisions have helped, rather than hindered, the search for truth in the courtroom. And he's been sensitive to the needs of law enforcement professionals, who each day risk their lives in the real world of street crime and violence.

Every day that passes with the Supreme Court below full strength impairs the people's business in that crucially important body. Judge Kennedy has already won bipartisan praise from the Senate, and I know you join me in looking forward to prompt Senate hearings, conducted in a spirit of cooperation.

Well, obviously we've got our work cut out for us, and as I said, there will be no resting on our laurels. In politics, as in life, if you're not moving forward, you're slipping back. So, we're turning on the gas. We're putting the pedal to the metal—as they say—and we're making tracks. And when I say "we," believe me, I'm talking about all of us here together, because you've been so much a part of everything that we've accomplished so far. And now, in these 14 months remaining, let's just pin some of those things down so they won't disappear once we're not working together.

And I want to thank you all very much, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:35 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Informal Exchange With Reporters

November 23, 1987

Thanksgiving Turkey

Q. What's going to happen to that turkey?

Ms. Range. He's going to a pet farm.

Q. Mr. President, are you going to pardon North and—

The President. So, you can say happy Thanksgiving right in front of him, and it doesn't matter. [*Laughter*]

Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy

Q. Are you going to pardon North and

Poindexter, sir?

The President. What?

Q. Are you going to pardon North and Poindexter?

The President. Sam [Sam Donaldson, ABC News], that's a question no one can answer at this point, and I'm not going to try.

Q. You can.

Q. You can, sir.

Q. You can. Isn't it up to you?

The President. No. No, I can't.

Q. What has to happen, Mr. President?

The President. If they'd given me a different answer on Charlie and his future, I would have pardoned him. [Laughter]

Q. Do you intend to pardon them on Thanksgiving Day, Mr. President? Mr. President, do you intend to pardon them on Thanksgiving Day?

Q. North and Poindexter?

The President. There is no answer to that, and I'm not answering that at all. And no one can at this time.

Cuban Prisoner Riots

Q. Mr. President, are you monitoring the situation with the Cuban prisoners who are rioting, and are you going to do anything about that?

The President. The Attorney General is on that and taking care of that and has proposals to make to them. There are some suggestions and things that can be done.

Q. How old is this turkey?

Q. Are you willing to promise them they won't be sent back to Cuba, sir?

Q. How old is this turkey?

The President. I'm waiting for the Attorney General to go down and make his proposals to them.

Soviet-U.S. Summit Meeting

Q. What did you mean, sir, when you said

that you would be meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev unless something unforeseen happened? Are you expecting something to happen?

The President. That's just being cagey. [Laughter]

Q. Cagey or KGB?

The President. Listen, I have to go back—

Q. Stroke the turkey one more time.

Q. Mr. President, can we see you with the turkey again?

Q. Just give it a parting stroke, sir. That's it.

Q. Atta boy!

Cuban Prisoner Riots

Q. Mr. President, on the Cubans—do you think they've been treated fairly while they've been here?

The President. I have no information otherwise.

Note: The exchange began at 2:06 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. The President was given a Thanksgiving turkey by Herman Mason, president of the National Turkey Federation. Rebecca Gernhardt Range was Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Public Liaison.

Remarks to Business Leaders on the Deficit Reduction Plan November 23, 1987

Mr. Baker. Mr. President, the group you have here is a representative group from the Wall Street community, from the industrial community, from labor, and from the farming sector, from associations such as the Chamber of Commerce, and other representatives of important sectors of the economy. It's been our privilege and pleasure to have lunch together and to talk about the package just negotiated between the White House and Congress in an effort to reduce the deficit and to avoid a sequester. It's been a good conversation. And I think there's a general consensus that you are entitled to high marks for having taken this

initiative, and we were fortunate that we were able to produce a result. They each have their own views on the various aspects of it, and I'm sure they would like very much to discuss this with you.

The President. Well, I want to thank you all for coming today, especially on such short notice. I thought that it was important quickly to begin a series of meetings with a wide range of opinion leaders to tell you what is in and what is not in our agreement on the budget. And I know that you have received a rather detailed assessment from Howard and Jim Baker and Jim Miller.

Let me mention three things about this

agreement that I believe are important to reiterate. As I said on Friday, this agreement must not be the last word on deficit reduction. This is a good first step, a basic framework to work within for this year and next. And we can and should do more.

Second, let me share with you the personal assurances that I have from the congressional leaders as well as the chairmen of the tax writing committees that they have committed to hold the level of taxes to no more than the \$9 billion this year and the \$14 billion next. They've also committed to leave our tax reform intact. There will be no change in marginal rates or indexing, and there will also be no new broad-based taxes, such as a sales tax or new excise taxes. I know that you're concerned about provisions I haven't mentioned, like taxing mergers and acquisitions. Just let me say that this agreement does not preclude us from vetoing any or all of the legislation that comes out of this agreement, and I will veto any bad tax bill.

Finally, I believe, and I think that you will agree, that this package is better than the automatic sequester under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law. It prevents the otherwise indiscriminate, across-the-board cuts of a sequester, especially those that will cripple our national defense, and it provides for more reforms in entitlement programs, reforms that will provide lasting reductions. It calls for the imposition of over \$1 billion in user fees to advance my policy of requiring people to pay for the services they receive. And perhaps most importantly, it shows that the executive and the Congress can come together to produce a credible package rather than have to rely on the autopilot approach of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. I think that's what the American people are looking for: the ability of this government to make choices.

And now, John, I'd like to call on you, John Phelan, to tell us how you think the markets here and abroad will react and perform in the foreseeable future.

Mr. Phelan. Well, I would merely echo what others have said, Mr. President, that I think one of the important things about this agreement and this accord is not that it's an

end, but it's a beginning. As you've said, it must continue in some way. It's much better than sequester. I think this at least sends a message both domestically, but more importantly abroad, that the leadership in this country is willing to sit down to work on an agreement, realize the seriousness of it. And I think that a lot of people don't understand the impact of interest rates that all of this has had not only on our domestic markets but overseas, as well. And I think, without a voluntary agreement like this, that would certainly be viewed in foreign markets and by foreign governments as an extremely serious situation in which it was not possible to get an agreement of this country, and I think that would be to the long-term detrimental interest of this country. It certainly is the beginning.

Reporter. Mr. President, can you set the record straight, sir, as to whether you would consider any pardons in the Iran-*contra* affair before Mr. Walsh's investigation is over?

The President. This is a subject I have not and will not discuss at this time.

Q. Until what point, Mr. President?

The President. Well, just let's say sometime in the future.

Q. Would you address the Iran-*contra* report sir? You have not commented on that. It's been out almost a week.

The President. Well, maybe no comment is called for.

Q. Sir, why is that? After months of investigations, you said that when the report was finally in we would hear a lot from you—that we wouldn't be able to shut you up, I think was your words.

The President. Well, maybe they labored and brought forth a mouse.

Note: The President spoke at 2:34 p.m. in the Cabinet Room at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; James A. Baker III, Secretary of the Treasury; and James C. Miller III, Director of the Office of Management and Budget. John J. Phelan was the chairman and chief executive officer of the New York Stock Exchange.

Remarks on Arms Control and an Informal Exchange With Reporters in Denver, Colorado

November 24, 1987

Q. It must be good news. It must be good news.

The President. Yes. I have just a very brief statement. I'm pleased to report that en route to Denver, here, I received a call from Geneva. And it appears that all of the remaining issues on reaching an INF agreement have been resolved, including a reliable and credible verification package. This treaty will be finalized when General Secretary Gorbachev and I meet in Washington next month.

Q. Can you sell it to the Senate?

The President. What?

Q. Can you sell it to the Senate? Can you sell it to the Senate—the treaty?

The President. I'll bet we can. Yes.

Q. —now on START agreement?

The President. What?

Q. Have you made progress now on the START agreement?

The President. Well, this is one of the things we'll be talking about here in this meeting. I know that you can't conclude it here, but we'll be getting into that process.

Q. Mr. President—

Q. —uneasy—

The President. What?

Q. Are you at all nervous about letting the Soviets onto a U.S. or Western facility, an allied facility?

The President. No, I think that all of that will be worked out. We'll be as careful as they are.

Q. Are you willing to delay SDI? Are you willing to delay SDI deployment by staying within the treaty for a longer period of time if that will make a deal?

The President. I'm not going to discuss that right now about SDI, but, as I've said before, I'll just answer it with this: SDI is not a bargaining chip.

Q. Sir, a lot of Senators, including Senator Wallop, are worried that this treaty will make us less safe.

The President. Well, I'm going to try to convince them it won't.

Note: The exchange began at 10:30 a.m. at Stapleton International Airport.

Remarks on the Strategic Defense Initiative to Martin Marietta Denver Astronautics Employees in Waterton, Colorado

November 24, 1987

Thank you very much, and thank you, Mr. Pownall, General Abrahamson, the rest of my companions up here in the top shelf, and Senators Wallop and Wilson and Congressmen Hefley and Schaefer, who are here with us. I am convinced now that with some of the difficulties we've had with regard to getting enthusiastic support in some circles for this program the answer is a conducted tour of those individuals here to see what I have seen here so far today.

It's an honor for me to be here at Martin Marietta with all of you men and women of science and engineering, who play such a

vital role in this age of technology. I'll have to admit I'm more than a bit awed by what I've seen and heard today. Of course, not all my predecessors shared my sense of wonder about such things. One, President Rutherford B. Hayes, played host to a notable science and technology event back in the 1870's, a demonstration of the newly invented telephone. And President Hayes' reaction was, "Well," he said, "that's an amazing invention, but who would ever want to use them?" [Laughter] You know, when I heard him say that, I thought he might be mistaken. [Laughter]

Seriously, though, I was born in a small town in the farm country of Illinois. Progress in those days meant indoor plumbing, electric lights, a telephone, and then some years later, possibly, a radio—a crystal radio set. Well, just in my lifetime, we've gone from a time when many, if not most, people traveled by horse power—and I mean the kind that eats hay—to an era of supersonic passenger service. And just possibly before I leave the scene, we will have developed a craft that will take off from runways as planes do today, and once at high altitude, this craft will rocket itself into space and zip to its destination at 18 or 20 times the speed of sound—from New York to Tokyo in 90 minutes. You know, this could bring a whole new meaning for sushi to go. *[Laughter]*

The America that I was born into was acclaimed for its liberty and opportunity, yet that opportunity for which we were so proud has been expanded today beyond anything that Americans of my youth could possibly have imagined. Affordable, worldwide communications and transportation have not just extended, they have eliminated horizons. Computer capability, which a short time ago was available only to large corporations, is now being put to use by small business and individual entrepreneurs.

We're in an age when the common man can do and experience what in past times was enjoyed only by royalty, aristocracy, and the elite. Jefferson, Washington, and Madison laid the foundation for liberty and equality. Edison, Einstein, Goddard, and others like them, like many of you, built on that foundation. It's been technology and freedom, together, that have pushed America forward and made her the land of abundance and progress that we love so dearly.

Arthur Balfour once noted: "Science is the greatest instrument of social change, the most vital of all revolutions which mark the development of modern civilizations." Science and technological-based resolutions in health care and food production, communications, transportation, manufacturing, and other endeavors have changed how we live and the quality of our lives. Before joining you here, I was given a classified update on some of the key elements of the program that you're working on. It's clear that

the project is bounding forward, and I couldn't be more pleased. After what I've seen today, I believe that mankind is again on the edge of a revolution that will change the basic assumptions upon which we base our decisions and reshape the world in which we live.

Until now, mankind's search for security often focused on expanding the ability to lash out, to kill, to destroy. Technological advances throughout the ages increased man's destructive power, and those nations that did not keep pace soon felt the sting of defeat and the pain of subjugation. But humanity, in almost every case, found a defense for every offense, and that is exactly what we're seeking: a defense against mankind's most deadly weapons—ballistic missiles.

You are laboring to develop a defensive system that will change history. Once you've completed your work, the world will never be the same. I suggest it will be a better and a safer world. And what better legacy can this generation leave than a safer world? Our Strategic Defense Initiative offers mankind security through protection rather than retaliation. I must tell you that I have never been able to see the safety—or feel the safety of knowing that if someone blew us up we'd be blowing them up at the same time. It's a scientific advance that will be judged a success based not on how many lives it is capable of taking—which is none—but on how many it is able to protect. It's a moral as well as a scientific endeavor worth every minute and hour that you are dedicating to it. Our goal is to strengthen deterrence by moving as soon as we're ready to increasing reliance on defenses to keep the peace.

I realize that being a government project, with all the politics that goes with that reality, your work can be frustrating. Wernher von Braun once said: "We can lick gravity, but sometimes the paperwork is overwhelming." *[Laughter]* I appreciate the extraordinary effort that each of you is making. Your mental prowess and creativity and, yes, your hard work will make or break the program. And I want you to know that what you accomplish will be put to good use in protecting your country, the

free world, and perhaps all mankind against the threat of nuclear holocaust. You're not working to build a bargaining chip. It will not be traded away.

Yes, there are those who complain about the cost. Well, Benjamin Franklin, himself a man of science and politics, once observed: "The expenses required to prevent a war are much lighter than those that will, if not prevented, be absolutely necessary to maintain the war." Well, mirroring that thought, I'd say that what we spend to protect ourselves from nuclear missiles is much lighter than the cost, human and otherwise, if even one nuclear missile is fired, even if by mistake, and we have to suffer the consequences, because there's no way to stop it. In the case of SDI, America cannot afford not to do everything necessary to develop this missile defense system and put it into operation.

The Soviet Union, even as they criticize and try to cripple our SDI research effort, has been aggressively moving ahead on its own antiballistic missiles defense. They have spent roughly \$200 billion in the last 10 years and have concentrated the energy and talent of their brightest scientific minds. More than 10,000 skilled scientists and engineers are working on military lasers alone with thousands more developing high tech weapons that use particle beams and kinetic energy.

The Soviet Government wages its propaganda campaign against our SDI research, even while they work overtime to develop their own SDI-like system. Well, we must not be lulled into reducing our commitment. Their military program, which includes everything from killer-satellites to the modernized antimissile system that protects Moscow, dwarfs our SDI program already. Those who would cut or eliminate funds for our effort would grant a clear monopoly in this vital area to our adversary, which would undermine the present basis of deterrence. Because the question is not, Will strategic defense be developed? The question is rather, Will the Soviet Union be the only country to possess them? The choice is ours.

Furthermore, the Strategic Defense Initiative is not aimed at protecting us and our allies against the Soviet Union alone. Fran-

cis Bacon once wrote: "He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils, for time is the greatest innovator." Well, in the decades ahead, who knows what governments will obtain ballistic missile technology? Who knows how rational or competent those governments will be? I spoke before a meeting of the American Council of Life Insurance last week, and I called SDI an insurance policy. And that's what it is.

SDI is not a weapon of war but an insurer, a protector of the peace. It is totally within the limits of the ABM treaty. And let me add, the United States has observed the ABM treaty, but with the construction of the huge phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk, the Soviets have violated one of the treaty's key provisions. This is but one—but another example, I should say, of why it's important not to rely on words alone. The Strategic Defense Initiative, you see, underwrites our efforts to achieve offensive arms reduction agreements. With a defensive system in place, the possibility that one side has cheated and has a few missiles in hiding, is far less threatening. SDI then makes further reductions more likely: A system that makes ballistic missiles less effective, makes those missiles more negotiable.

Now, there are those who may be pessimistic about the chances of deep reductions in U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, but let us not forget that in 1981 when I first proposed our zero option it, too, was all but written off by many commentators. In the time that has followed, we persevered and stuck to our principles. We held firm against the advocates of a so-called nuclear freeze. We followed through on our modernization program and, in close cooperation with our allies, installed the cruise and Pershings in Europe. When at long last it was realized that we in the alliance had the courage to protect our own longrun interests, progress toward a mutually beneficial treaty ensued.

As you are all aware, General Secretary Gorbachev will be visiting Washington beginning December 7th. We hope to sign an historic treaty that will eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear-armed intermediate-range missiles from the face of the

Earth, the first mutually agreed upon reduction in our nuclear arsenals ever. And this could well be just a beginning. We have just had word from Geneva, where Secretary Shultz is, that we are right to speak so optimistically about the upcoming treaty, the INF treaty. They have made great progress there.

We hope we can see forward movement on a number of other fronts. The United States, for example, has proposed a 50-percent reduction in U.S.-Soviet offensive strategic forces. Much progress has been made toward a START agreement, as we call it, and more is possible. But let there be no doubt: Giving up the Strategic Defense Initiative and the protection it will provide is too high a price to pay for any agreement.

Neither the INF treaty we hope to sign during the upcoming summit nor any other agreement that follows will be built on trust. Agreements with the Soviet Union must be based on reciprocity, verification, and realism. And while we want to bolster the peace and do our part to improve relations, no agreement should ever be signed simply for the sake of signing an agreement, for the sake of atmospherics. Improving the general tone of relations between our countries, as I've outlined on several occasions, will require much more movement from the other side toward the solution of regional conflicts, a far greater respect for human rights, and progress on a number of bilateral issues between our countries. As I explained to General Secretary Gorbachev, our countries do not have differences because we're well-armed; we're well-armed because we have differences.

Even with all the talk of openness and *glasnost*, much change needs to take place before trust, like that we have with democratic governments, can come into play. The Soviet peoples themselves—even though there has been some change—still tell stories and joke about their plight. I heard one about a fellow who went to the KGB to report that he lost his parrot. The KGB asked him why he was bothering them. Why didn't he just report it to the local police. Well, he answered, "I just want you to know that I don't agree with a thing that parrot has to say." [Laughter]

You know, in 4 months we'll mark the fifth anniversary of the March 23, 1983 speech in which I challenged the scientific community to develop a system that would make ballistic missiles obsolete. General George Patton once said: "Never tell people how to do things. Tell them what to do, and they'll surprise you with their ingenuity." Well, that statement showed a deep insight into the American character, and it has been proven again and again in our drive to establish a strategic defense system. Today I have been deeply impressed with what I've seen and heard. The progress made toward achieving our goals gives us reason for confidence. The critics who claimed it couldn't be done have been proven wrong again, just as has been the case with almost every technological triumph in the past. The scientific research and engineering work you are doing, along with that of others like you in hundreds of locations throughout this great land, is a tribute to the genius of America. This is truly a national effort, both government and private sector, involving preeminent individuals in industry, education, and the scientific community.

I have even learned a couple of Russian words that I have used in my previous meetings with the General Secretary. It is a proverb. It says, *Dovorey no provorey*. That means "Trust but verify." And we will.

No President could be prouder or more grateful than I am to all of you and your fellow colleagues around the country for what you are doing. You, indeed, are reshaping the world, and for literally all time to come.

So, thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 12:15 p.m. in Building No. 3. He was introduced by Tom Pownall, chairman and chief executive officer of Martin Marietta. In his opening remarks, the President referred to Lt. Gen. James A. Abrahamson, Director of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization; Senators Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming and Pete Wilson of California; and Congressmen Joel Hefley and Dan Schaefer of Colorado. Following his remarks, the President traveled to his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA, for Thanksgiving.

Message to the Congress Transmitting a Report on Proposed Alternative Sequestration Reductions for the Department of Defense Budget

November 24, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the requirements of section 252(c)(2)(C)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Reaffirmation Act of 1987, Public Law 100-119 (the "Act"), I hereby transmit my report proposing alternative sequestration reductions for the Department of Defense for Fiscal Year 1988, together with a proposed joint resolution that provides for adoption of my report.

The alternative proposal exempts only the Strategic Defense Initiative, based on the priority of the program, and multi-year/firm fixed-price contracts, based on the need to preserve the economies inherent in our acquisition strategy. The exemptions in the alternative proposal are offset by reductions distributed uniformly across all other

programs and accounts.

In making calculations for this joint resolution, we have used account outlay rates identical to those used in the November 20, 1987, sequester report issued by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. The outlay increases that would result from adoption of the alternative sequestration reductions in my report would be offset by the outlay reductions also contained in the report.

As provided in section 252(c)(2) of the Act, I request prompt congressional passage of a joint resolution affirming these changes.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 24, 1987.

Statement on the Haitian Elections

November 25, 1987

Following the 1986 ouster of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the provisional government of Haiti, the Provisional Electoral Council, and—most importantly—the Haitian people have moved resolutely towards the goal of true democracy. The path has not been easy or smooth. We, along with other friends of Haiti, have been concerned by the all too frequent violence which has marked the process, especially that which was directed at electoral authorities and candidates.

Despite these disturbing events, we are heartened by the evident determination of the Haitian public not to be denied their voice in choosing those who will lead their country in a new, freer era. Now all Hai-

tians can take pride in this historic process. Each has a responsibility: the electoral authorities to supervise the voting in an orderly and free manner, the government to ensure an environment of security and confidence, and the voting public first to express their preferences and then to respect the outcome of this process.

I have named an observer delegation to witness this historic event. They carry with them my hope and confidence in Haiti's success. After next February's inauguration, my government will work closely with the newly elected President of Haiti and his government to move towards the prosperous and happy future Haiti so richly deserves.

Statement on the Upcoming Soviet-United States Summit Meeting November 25, 1987

I have just been briefed by my national security adviser Colin Powell on the detailed results of the Geneva meeting between Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze.

I was very pleased that the two Ministers cleared away remaining obstacles to completion of an INF treaty. While details remain to be worked out, I look forward to signing this historic agreement with General Secretary Gorbachev at the Washington summit next month. This brings to realization the objectives which I laid out in my zero option proposal of 1981 and to which we and the allies have adhered firmly through all these years of INF negotiations.

I was also briefed on the results of the

discussions that were held on human rights, regional, bilateral, and other arms control issues. I will be pursuing these issues with General Secretary Gorbachev. I am pleased that we also have agreement with the Soviets on a summit schedule that emphasizes the businesslike nature of the meeting and includes ample opportunity for the General Secretary and me to exchange views on a wide range of issues.

We have also included social and other events that will provide the General Secretary insight into our intellectual and business communities. He will also be in contact with Members of Congress. Nancy and I look forward to receiving General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev.

Statement on the Death of Harold Washington November 25, 1987

Harold Washington had a distinguished career in public service. In the Illinois Legislature, the Congress, and as mayor, he dedicated his life to the service of his fellow Chicagoans. He was a dedicated and outspoken leader who guided one of our nation's largest cities through the 1980's.

Harold Washington will truly be missed not only by the people of Chicago but also by many across the country for whom he provided leadership on urban issues. Nancy and I extend our condolences to his family and to the city he served for so long.

Letter to Members of Congress on the Deficit Reduction Plan November 27, 1987

Dear (Member of Congress):

On November 20, the Leadership of the House and Senate joined with me to announce to the American people a bipartisan agreement to bring about meaningful reductions in the Federal deficit and maintain confidence in our Nation's economy. The agreement reflects a bipartisan commitment to reduce the deficit substantially over the next two years. It maintains vital government services, upholds our national

security, and preserves the integrity and fairness embodied in last year's tax reform legislation.

In an agreement of this magnitude that results from tough bargaining, it is not difficult to find something with which to disagree. Nevertheless, the agreement is our best hope for achieving deficit reduction without resorting to indiscriminate across-the-board cuts that would devastate essential services.

I pledge to continue working with the Congress to complete this vital task begun by our negotiating teams. We must join together in a bipartisan way to preserve our economic gains and keep our Nation strong.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to each Member of Congress. The original was not available for verification of the contents of this letter.

Radio Address to the Nation on Soviet-United States Relations *November 28, 1987*

My fellow Americans:

In a moment I'd like to talk with you about the coming summit meeting between myself and General Secretary Gorbachev. But first I wonder whether you'd join me in doing again now what so many of us did with our families just 2 days ago: pausing to consider all that we have to be grateful for.

America today is at peace. Despite some ups and downs, our economy remains strong and growing. And if Thanksgiving is a time to think especially for the less fortunate among us, then surely we must give thanks during this economic expansion that the number of Americans living in poverty has fallen to the lowest level in 5 years. With economic growth, too, has come an increase in private charity. Private contributions to charity have set new records in each of the past 4 years. Who can doubt that we do indeed owe our Creator a profound debt of thanks? For after 200 years, ours is still a nation of freedom and, yes, of goodness.

As you know in 10 days' time, I will be meeting in Washington with General Secretary Gorbachev. If all goes well, he and I will sign an agreement that will for the first time in history eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. But this agreement must be seen in the context of our wider relations with the Soviet Union.

Our administration has insisted from the first upon dealing with the Soviets in each of four crucial areas. Human rights is one. Human rights, after all, is what our nation is all about. In this area, we've seen a certain amount of progress: Some political prisoners in the Soviet Union have been released, im-

migration rates have seen a slight rise, and there's been talk about granting the Soviet peoples some very limited new economic freedoms. Yet all of this remains much, much too little, and human rights will remain on my agenda when I meet Mr. Gorbachev.

Expanding bilateral relations, especially people-to-people exchanges, is the second area we've stressed. Here, too, we've seen a certain amount of progress, notably in cultural exchanges following my first summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev in Geneva. The Bolshoi Ballet has toured the United States, and many American artists have visited the Soviet Union in turn. I think in particular of the historic return to Moscow last year of pianist Vladimir Horowitz—his first visit to Russia in more than 60 years.

Regional conflicts represent the third major point in U.S.-Soviet relations, and the American position can be stated very simply: Wherever in the world the Soviets or their clients are seeking to advance their interests by force—in Nicaragua, in Afghanistan, in Angola, in Cambodia, or elsewhere—they must stop and let the people of these countries choose their own destinies. And I can assure you, this will be at the top of my agenda for Mr. Gorbachev. I will remind him that Soviet conduct in these areas remains a major impediment to improved U.S.-Soviet relations.

This brings me to the fourth major topic on our agenda, namely, my search for a better way to deter aggression and ensure security than through the threat of offensive nuclear retaliation. One answer has been our Strategic Defense Initiative, or

SDI—our work on a defensive system that will shield us and our allies while threatening no one. A second answer has been arms reduction negotiations with the Soviets, negotiations that have produced the INF agreement that Mr. Gorbachev and I expect to sign. This agreement, as I said, will eliminate an entire class of Soviet and American intermediate-range missiles. For every deployed warhead of our own that we remove, they will give up almost four.

Since the Soviets have a record of violating arms agreements, we're insisting on the most stringent verification regime in arms control history. And we will go on to press the Soviets for progress in the START talks, where we've proposed 50-percent reductions in both sides' strategic arsenals. But

the Soviets are going to have to drop their tactic of holding strategic arms reduction hostage to their efforts to cripple our SDI program.

Let me assure you, SDI is not a bargaining chip. It is the path to a safer future. Make no mistake, the Soviets are and will continue to be our adversaries, the adversaries, indeed, of all who believe in human liberty. Yet as we work to advance the cause of liberty, we must deal with the Soviets soberly and from strength and in the name of peace.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 9:06 a.m. from his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA.

Statement on Signing the Older Americans Act Amendments of 1987

November 30, 1987

I am pleased to sign H.R. 1451, the Older Americans Act Amendments of 1987. The bill authorizes a number of worthwhile Federal programs that help provide community-based services important to the Nation's rapidly growing older population and promote economic development in Native American communities.

I believe, however, that certain provisions of H.R. 1451 must be carefully construed and administered to avoid raising substantial constitutional questions under the equal protection clause. The bill amends the Older Americans Act of 1965 to require providers to attempt to provide services to low-income minority individuals in at least the same proportion as the population of low-income minority individuals bears to the population of older individuals of the area served by such provider. While I share the Congress' concern that older Americans programs reach all eligible populations, I expect that the attempt to provide services to low-income minority individuals will be made in a manner that is not racially preferential. It is appropriate, for example, to

conduct outreach efforts to identify and inform those who qualify for services, including members of the minority communities.

The bill also amends the Native American Programs Act by requiring the Secretary of Health and Human Services to disclose to the Congress, on request, the recommendations of review panels concerning applications for financial assistance and the Secretary's reasons for following or deviating from such recommendations. This provision is considerably less problematic than provisions, as were included in predecessor legislation, that require routine reporting of individual decisions and the grounds therefor. Even so, it is important to note that I understand this provision does not detract from the President's constitutional authority not to disclose information to the Congress where necessary to protect the integrity and confidentiality of the deliberative process within the executive branch.

Note: H.R. 1451, approved November 29, was assigned Public Law No. 100-175.

Remarks to Local Business Leaders at a White House Briefing on Deficit Reduction November 30, 1987

Welcome to the White House—America's first public housing. [*Laughter*] You've heard this morning from Howard and Jim Baker and Jim Miller about our budget compromise with the Congress. I called for the budget negotiation and received daily reports from our negotiating team and gave instructions on what I felt was acceptable and what was not. And I'll do everything I can to see that the agreement is adhered to and fully implemented. During the talks, our team was sent back to the bargaining table twice for better deals: one time to get a billion dollars more from entitlement spending, another to get revenue increases down to the kind I called for in the budget that I had submitted last January.

Our instructors, our negotiators, I should say, were instructed that only an enforceable agreement was acceptable, and I'm sure that they've made that clear to you already. It's tough to come up here last and hope that you aren't repeating things that have already been said. [*Laughter*] I said I would not agree to something like we had a few years ago and that when the tax part was to come to my desk several weeks before the spending part, but the spending part was to have \$3 in cuts—spending cuts—for every dollar of increased revenue.

So, I approved the taxes, and then the cuts in spending somehow got lost out there on Pennsylvania Avenue and never arrived. This time I'm taking the advice of that 19th century political sage, Finley Peter Dunne. He said: Trust everybody, but cut the cards. [*Laughter*] This time the tax and spending bills are to arrive close enough together for me to sign—or veto—them together. As I've said many times, the result of these negotiations is not a perfect deal, far from it. But it's an adequate deal, the best we could get, and it's a good first step. It's worth the support of everyone here and of those who've stood with me for so long in the Congress. And I say that for two very important, no, two absolutely crucial reasons: keeping our economy strong and keeping our national

defenses strong.

First, the economy. The best thing about this deal is what it didn't do. It didn't touch marginal income tax rates, the very heart and soul of incentive economics. The second round of tax rate cuts will go into effect on January 1st, right on schedule. The top income tax rate will drop to 28 percent, and that's the lowest rate since 1931. Indexing, despite some attempts to do away with it, will remain. Taxes will stay lower and flatter, paving the way for strong, robust growth through 1988 and beyond.

And the fact is it's as clear as day to anyone who examines the figures that cuts in tax rates are not part of the deficit problem. They're part of the solution. And maybe some others here along with me can go back in memory to 1932. I can; I was looking for my first job—the depths of the Great Depression. And the Congress at that time decided to increase the income tax rates. The bottom rate was 1.5 percent. They raised it to 9. The top rate was 25 percent. They raised it to 63 percent. And total revenues declined by 21 percent. So, our tax rate cuts haven't lowered revenues one bit. In fact, just as we predicted, cutting tax rates produced a healthy, expanding, vibrant economy that enlarged tax revenues. Since 1984, the first year that our tax cuts were really in effect, revenues have climbed roughly 18 percent, after inflation. And they're continuing to grow.

So, here's the bottom line on taxes in the budget deal: no rate manipulation, no tampering with indexing, no new broad-based taxes such as a sales tax or a new excise tax, no revenues other than the kind that we called for in our budget—the one I submitted last January. And as I said, this agreement does not preclude me from vetoing a bad tax bill—and I will. Now, I've heard some talk about all of this being a surrender. Well, I can't help thinking that if every surrender were like this one the British would still be camped at Yorktown.

Now for the second reason that makes this a good deal. We actually came out of this ahead on defense, with about \$3.5 billion more in defense outlays than last year. No, that \$3.5 billion is a lot less than we need, but it's better than the \$16-billion cut in defense budget authority we would have had to suffer under sequestration. The difference between these two approaches means that we have to make far smaller cuts in our defense programs. It means a more stable operating budget with more flying days for our planes and more steaming days for our ships. We won't have to stretch out maintenance schedules as much. And that means a military that is better trained and more ready to do its duty, whether our duty calls halfway around the world or for right next door, as it did in Grenada.

The agreement also means that we can continue to modernize our military at a pace that makes sense. The difference here comes down to simple numbers. For example: more than 400 tactical missiles, 8 helicopters, 2 F-15 fighters, \$200 million worth of ammunition, and \$300 million worth of spare parts, 1 attack submarine, 36 M-1 tanks, 3 Trident II missiles, and 1 Peacekeeper missile. Well, with years of arms reduction negotiations about to bear fruit this is no time to be cutting the very systems that have given us bargaining leverage. If we're to give up something we ought to get something from the Soviets in return. And with negotiated missile reductions coming, we'll need even more urgently a strong conventional force to deter the Soviet Union's massive conventional strength. This agreement will preserve our national defense at this critical time.

But let me be clear about something. No one part of this agreement was enough to get me or the congressional leaders to go along. The total package is what we bought, and we'll all be watching closely over the next few weeks to see that the agreement is fully implemented. To put it most simply: So far as we at this end of Pennsylvania Avenue are concerned, it's all or nothing. A partially implemented deal is no deal. When Jim Wright, Bob Byrd, Bob Michel, and Bob Dole stood with me 10 days ago, we all pledged together to put the country

on the right course toward a balanced budget. That pledge means no additional spending. It means no taxes that will harm the economy. It means we will not compromise our vital national security interests. That's the pledge we took, and that is the pledge that I trust we will maintain.

You know, there's a story about Britain's great Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli. Disraeli had a biting wit, which he often turned on his liberal rival, Gladstone. Liberal, of course, in those days, meant someone who opposed tariffs and trade restrictions and favored tax cuts. So, as you can see, some things have changed. [Laughter] In any case, Disraeli was once asked the difference between a misfortune and a calamity. And he replied, "Well, if Gladstone fell into the Thames River, that would be a misfortune; and if anybody pulled him out, that would be a calamity." [Laughter]

So, to those who say that falling into this agreement was a misfortune, I only say: Now that we're in it, for anyone to pull us out would be a calamity. The entire world has been looking for a sign that, despite political differences, America is getting its fiscal house in order—and has rightly taken the budget accord as that sign. From Britain to Japan, governments have hailed the agreement and said that lower interest rates would follow.

Last week the central banks of West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France did lower their rates. From the Germans, in particular, this was a welcome step toward economic policies that, like our own, stimulate growth. In today's world no nation is an island unto itself. Lower interest rates and more growth abroad help us here in America. Higher interest rates abroad helped drive our rates up; as they come down, ours can come down, too. And as other nations grow faster, our exports can expand even faster than they have and our trade imbalance can correct itself. Lower interest rates, more exports—put them together, they mean more investment, more new businesses, more growth, and more jobs for all Americans. That's our stake in the way the other major industrial nations are responding to our budget accord.

Seven years ago, when I assumed this

office, America was in the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. Today we're in the longest peacetime economic expansion on record—59 months of uninterrupted growth. Just last week we learned that in the third quarter, the gross national product patched out at a hot rod speed of 4.1 percent a year. In recent months exports and business investment have been the tigers in our tank. Real business investment grew at an annual rate of 26 percent. Real exports rose at a 19-percent yearly pace.

All these economic numbers add up to something very simple: America is strong, stronger than the critics think. But then, for more than 200 years, when you've added things up that's the answer you've come up with. There is a power in America that has always seemed to surprise the critics and to carry our nation through, even when we in Washington stumbled. It's a power that comes not from government, but from towns and farms, from neighborhoods, schools, and churches all over America. It's the might and wisdom of a free people in a free land.

For several months, before the financial markets started falling and rising like leaves in the autumn wind, I was warning that after 4 years of economic growth, we in Washington faced a choice. In one direc-

tion, continuing the economics of growth—low tax rates, less government spending, getting control of our deficit, open international trade. In the other direction, higher taxes, more spending, bigger deficits, protectionism—and if all that happened, perhaps a depression.

With this budget package, Congress and the administration have joined hands and begun to lead Washington cautiously, very cautiously, in the direction of continued trust—not in the Government's checkbook, but in the strength of the American people. So, today it's important for all of us, you and me, to join together. While it's only a first step, it's the right step at the right time because as guardians of that trust it's imperative that we act and act now. So help us keep Washington on the right path so the economics of growth can be our legacy to our children and their children and generations to come.

Thank you all for being here. Thank you for what I know you're going to do, and God bless all of you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; James A. Baker III, Secretary of the Treasury; and James C. Miller III, Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

Remarks at a Luncheon Hosted by the Heritage Foundation November 30, 1987

Thank you for those very kind words, and thank all of you very much. It's always a great pleasure to speak to the Heritage Foundation and have a chance to see so many old friends and supporters and advisers. As many of you know, Ed Feulner joined the administration for a short while at the beginning of the year and his help and advice were invaluable, but he wanted to get back to Heritage. He knows where the real power center in Washington is. [Laughter]

In the last 10 years, with Ed at the helm

and with the constant support and vision of Joe Coors, Heritage has transformed itself from a struggling and valiant coterie of conservatives to, well, a struggling and valiant coterie of conservatives—[laughter]—though today the influence and importance of Heritage is widely recognized in Washington and, indeed, by policymakers around the world.

Thinking back to those days when, as we used to say, all the conservatives in this town could fit into a single phone booth, I remembered the story Lincoln told when

he found his entire Cabinet, with the exception of one man, was against him. During a revival meeting in his hometown in Illinois, one of the audience who'd indulged too much in the refreshments beforehand passed out and stayed asleep. And when the preacher challenged the assembly: "All here who are on the Lord's side, stand up!"—and the whole audience, of course, except for that drunk, stood up. And when the preacher then asked, "And who is on the side of the Devil?" He suddenly awoke, he rose and stood there all alone and said, "I don't exactly understand the question, but I'll stand by you, parson, to the last." [Laughter]

Well, we've stood by each other. All of you today, who've been so generous, have stood by the cause and demonstrated the kind of dedication that has made conservatism the dominant intellectual and political force in American politics today. When we think of those people who have helped shape American politics, one special name comes to mind—a voice of patriotism, reason, and conservative values. That voice is now silenced, but the memory of our great and good friend, Clare Boothe Luce, will continue to speak loudly, not just to a new nation of conservatives but to all Americans, to all people who cherish freedom, who know it's worth the struggle.

Clare once remarked that no matter how great or exalted a man might be, history will have time to give him no more than a single sentence. George Washington founded the country; Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves; Winston Churchill saved Europe. But I can't help but think that Clare will prove the exception to her own rule. History will have to take time to chronicle all of her great achievements. Or if there is a single line, it will be: Clare Boothe Luce, she did everything superbly.

Before I get to the main body of my speech, there are two subjects I'd like to discuss. Really, I want to ask for your support. The first, our nomination of Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court. He's tough on crime. He believes, as we do, that judges should interpret the law, not make it. He knows that there are victims of crime as well as criminals, and he doesn't confuse the two. He's served for 12 years as a judge

on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals where he's won the respect of the entire legal community. He's been on my short list from the very start because he's second to none in his commitment to the philosophy of judicial restraint. But one of the best things about Anthony Kennedy is, he's only 51 years old. And you know those Californians—[laughter]—they're all health nuts, and they have a way of sticking around for a long time.

The second thing I need your support on is the budget deal that we hammered out with Congress. Now, I know some people are disappointed with that deal. I don't expect people to be jumping up and down in ecstasy. But let me tell you about two important aspects of the deal that should be reassuring to conservatives, indeed, to everyone: Marginal income taxes—the heart of incentive economics—have not been touched. The second round of rate cuts will go into effect just as scheduled on January 1st. That's vital for a strong growth year in 1988. There are no new across-the-board taxes. There are user fees, loophole closings, increased compliance, and the like. In fact, I had \$22 billion of them in my own budget this year, but we've kept our pledge to the American people to hold the line on taxes.

And we actually came out ahead on defense. Now, some people said we would have been better off with sequestration. Well, sequestration would have cut as much as an additional \$16 billion of defense budget authority, reducing the defense programs to a level 10 percent below fiscal year 1987 in real terms. That large a cut, coupled with its indiscriminate across-the-board application, would quickly return us to the hollow Army of the seventies.

Flying hours would be reduced by 25 percent, steaming days for the Navy by 20 percent, with severe reductions in maintenance and spare parts. Critical weapons development, such as the Stealth program, could be delayed for years. With this deal, we ended up with \$3.5 billion more in defense outlays than last year. We may have bid farewell to Cap Weinberger, but, as I said to him, we know that the magnificent job he did rebuilding our defenses is nowhere near complete, and we're not slack-

ing one iota from that commitment. It's not all that he or I wanted, but it's far superior to the alternative.

Well, as you all know, a week from today I'll be receiving a rather important visitor. There's been, as you also know, a lot of intensive preparation for this summit. We seem to have ironed out the difficulties, and I'm confident that they will stay ironed. With all of the things going on, however, one might be forgiven if one felt a little like Harold MacMillan in his famous exchange with Nikita Khrushchev. It was MacMillan, of course, who was delivering an address at the United Nations, when Khrushchev pulled off his shoe and started banging it on the table. Unflappable as ever, MacMillan simply remarked, "I'd like that translated, if I may." [*Laughter*]

Well, today I want to give you a translation. I want to talk to you about relations between the United States and the Soviet Union—relations that focus upon four critical areas. First—and in many ways primary—human rights; second, negotiated settlements to regional conflicts; third, expanded exchanges between our peoples; and fourth, arms reduction. Now, let me begin with the last because in this area particularly, our realism, patience, and commitment are close to producing historic results.

I remember when I visited Bonn back in 1982, when we were planning deployment of our Pershings and cruise missiles in Europe. Thousands of demonstrators chanted and marched, demonstrators out there—that I couldn't help thinking, what irony. For it was to secure the peace they sought and the freedom they were exercising that we are deploying the missiles they were protesting. Despite intense political pressure, NATO held firm. The two-track policy of arms reduction negotiations and deployment stayed—well, it stayed on track. And yes, it was when we showed our determination, our willingness, if need be, to meet force with force that the Soviets after first walking out of the negotiations—said they wouldn't come back—they eventually returned and began to talk seriously about the possibility of withdrawing their own INF missiles.

Well, I'm pleased to say that the INF agreement is based upon the proposal that

the United States, in consultation with our allies, first put forward in 1981—the zero option. The zero option calls very simply for the elimination of this entire class of U.S. and Soviet INF missiles. And according to this agreement the Soviets will be required to remove almost four times as many deployed nuclear warheads as will the United States. Moreover, the Soviets will be required to destroy not only their entire force of SS-20's and SS-4's but also their shorter range INF missiles, the SS-12's and SS-23's.

This treaty, as any treaty I agree to, will provide for effective verification, including onsite inspection of facilities before and during reduction and short-notice inspection afterward. In short, it will be the most stringent verification regime in the history of arms control negotiations. I would not ever settle for anything less. I urge you to join in the support of this historic treaty.

We're also pressing ahead on an agreement to reduce our two nations' strategic arsenals by half. Our Geneva negotiators have made progress but, as I've said repeatedly, I've waited 6 years to get an agreement that is both reliable and verifiable. We must never be afraid to walk away from a bad deal—on that point there is no negotiation. Meanwhile, the Soviets must stop holding strategic offensive missile reductions hostage to measures that would cripple our research and development of SDI.

It's no longer a secret that the Soviet Union has spent roughly \$200 billion developing and deploying their own antiballistic missile system. Research and development in some parts of the Soviet strategic defenses—we call it the Red Shield—began more than 15 years ago. The Red Shield program dwarfs SDI, yet some in Congress would cut funding for SDI and bind us to an overly restrictive interpretation of the ABM treaty that would effectively block its development, giving the Soviets a monopoly in antiballistic missile defenses. This effort makes even less sense when the Soviets aren't abiding by the ABM treaty. Virtually all experts, even some of our biggest critics, agree that the Soviet construction of the large, phased-array radar at Krasnoyarsk is an out-and-out violation of the ABM

treaty. We will not sit idly by and fail to respond to these violations. As I promised Cap Weinberger 2 weeks ago in his farewell at the Pentagon: We are not unilaterally disarming in this area or any other area.

A recent report released by the Department of Defense, called "The Soviet Space Challenge," warns that the Soviet space program points in one direction: "The methodical pursuit of a war-fighting capability in space." Well, this report raises an ominous specter. Together with the longstanding Red Shield Program and the construction of the Krasnoyarsk radar as part of an updated early warning and tracking system, the Soviets may be working toward a "breakout" from the ABM treaty, to confront us with a fait accompli that, without SDI, we would be totally and dangerously unprepared for.

There's been a tendency by some in Congress to discuss SDI as if its funding could be determined by purely domestic considerations, unconnected to what the Soviets are doing. Well, SDI is a vital insurance policy, a necessary part of any national security strategy that includes deep reductions in strategic weapons. It is a cornerstone of our security strategy for the 1990's and beyond. We will research it. We will develop it. And when it is ready, we will deploy it.

Now, let me just say a few more words about two of the other subjects I'll be discussing with General Secretary Gorbachev—first, human rights. There has been a lot of speculation about *glasnost* recently. Is it merely an effort to make the economy more productive, or will this first breath of openness inspire peoples in the Soviet Union to demand real freedoms? Those of us who have lived through the last 70 years remember earlier moments of promise in Soviet history—temporary thaws soon frozen over by the cold winds of oppression. *Glasnost*—a promise as yet unfulfilled. Still, it inspires brave souls throughout the Soviet Union to take a chance, to come out of hiding and declare proudly their commitment to human and national rights and to speak openly about their religious beliefs.

Just last August, over 200 underground Ukrainian Catholic Church leaders and laity fearlessly and for the first time disclosed

their names in an appeal to General Secretary Gorbachev to legalize their church. Joseph Terelya, the brave Ukrainian Catholic human rights activist, recently released from the Soviet Union after 21 years in Soviet labor camps, prisons, and psychiatric hospitals, delivered the appeal personally. Few moves on the part of the Soviet Government could do more to convince the world of its sincerity for reform than the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. One of the truest measures of *glasnost* will be the degree of religious freedom the Soviet rulers allow their people—freedom of worship for all, including Protestants, Jews, Catholics, Orthodox, and followers of Islam.

Finally let me just touch on the subject of personal—or of regional, I should say, conflicts. Today, even as their economy flags at home, the Soviets spend billions to maintain or impose Communist rule abroad, from Eastern Europe to Cuba, Cambodia, South Yemen, Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, and Afghanistan. It's estimated that the Soviet war on Afghanistan costs them between \$5 billion and \$6 billion a year. The Soviet bloc has supplied some \$1 billion annually to the Communist Angolans and \$2 billion to the Sandinistas in military hardware alone.

Meanwhile Soviet and Soviet-backed forces in Afghanistan and Angola have been suffering devastating defeats at the hands of the freedom fighters in those nations. The courage of the Mujahidin has become legendary. In the past 15 months, they have inflicted a string of serious defeats on Soviet elite combat units as well as the puppet Afghan army. With improved weapons, tactics and coordination, and strengthened political unity, they have sent a message loud and clear to the Red Army: Ivan Go Home!

International support for the brave Afghan freedom fighters is more solid than ever. Three weeks ago the U.N. General Assembly, with a record vote, called overwhelmingly for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Afghanistan. The Soviets have talked of setting a timetable for withdrawal from Afghanistan, but that timetable is too long and too conditional. It's time for them to pack up, pull out, and go home. It's time they set a date certain for the com-

plete withdrawal of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

They should respect the voice of the Afghan people and negotiate with the resistance, without whose assent no political solution is possible. And they should face reality and allow a process of genuine self-determination to decide Afghanistan's destiny, for the present regime in Kabul is discredited and doomed. Its days are clearly numbered. From comments we hear the Soviets making in many parts of the world, it's beginning to look as if even they are writing off that regime. The Soviets pride themselves on recognizing objective reality. Well, it's time for them to bite the bullet. The goal of the U.S. remains a genuinely independent, nonaligned, neutral Afghanistan free from external interference. Once the Soviet Union shows convincingly that it is prepared to withdraw promptly and permit self-determination, the United States will be helpful diplomatically. In the meantime, the struggle against tyranny will continue.

In Angola in the past few weeks, Jonas Savimbi's freedom fighters inflicted another crushing defeat on the Soviet-backed MPLA forces. This fall's Communist offensive, the biggest ever in Angola, ended in a rout for the Soviets and their proteges. The heroes of the Lomba River did it again, pushing back the massive Soviet assault, capturing hundreds of operational trucks and tanks, and shooting down a substantial number of helicopters and Cuban-piloted planes. The Soviets truly are beginning to feel the sting of free people fighting back.

On the other side of the continent, the Soviets must take their share of responsibility for the situation developing in Ethiopia. Once again, famine threatens that poor land. No doubt weather plays a role; nevertheless, a major share of the responsibility rests squarely on the shoulders of Ethiopian Marxist rulers. More than one relief agency has accused the Ethiopian Communist government of manipulating the famine and relief efforts in the civil war against their own people. And the systematic suppression of all private initiative in Ethiopia will guarantee chronic shortages for years to come, if not reversed.

During the last famine, while the rest of

the world sent food and medicine, the Soviets sent their clients in Ethiopia weapons of war. And I think all of us are aware that many times the movement to get those weapons out where they wanted them replaced the movement to get the food out to the starving people. The Soviet Union must do more, much more, to press for immediate reforms in Ethiopia that will prevent the horror of famine from happening again. The first time it was a tragedy; the second will be a crime.

When I meet with General Secretary Gorbachev, I'm going to ask him: Isn't it time that the Soviet Union put an end to these destructive, wasteful conflicts around the world? Otherwise, there can never be a true *glasnost*, true openness, between his nation and ours. I'll also make it clear that one of the greatest stumbling blocks to increased cooperation and exchange between our two nations is Soviet support for Communist tyranny in Nicaragua. With our support the Nicaraguan freedom fighters have made impressive gains in the field and brought the Communist Sandinistas to do something that they never would have done otherwise—negotiate.

If I can turn to the domestic side of this question for a moment, I hope the Members of our own Congress will not forget this important fact: Without the freedom fighters, there would be no Arias peace plan, there would be no negotiations and no hope for democracy in Nicaragua. An entrenched, hostile, Communist regime in Nicaragua would be an irreversible fact of life. The Sandinistas would have permanently consolidated and fortified a Communist beachhead on the American mainland.

Within the next month Congress will have to vote on further aid to the freedom fighters. If Congress says no to this aid, the Sandinistas will know that all they have to do is play a waiting game. They will have no incentive to negotiate, no incentive to make real steps toward democracy.

If we're serious about this peace process, we must keep the freedom fighters alive and strong and viable until they can once again return home to take part in a free and democratic Nicaraguan society. They are brave men, and they have sacrificed

much in the cause of freedom, and they deserve no less. There will be few more important votes in Congress than this one and, as I have so often said in the past, I'll be counting on your active support. With your help, I know we can win this one. The fact is, as you all very well know, we have no choice—we have to win this one.

So, as Robert Frost might have said, we have promises to keep and miles to go before January 1999 [1989]. Looking ahead to our agenda always puts me in mind of one of my favorite Churchill anecdotes. It was toward the close of World War II, and Churchill was visited by a delegation of the Temperance League. And one of the ladies there firmly chastised him, saying, "Mr. Prime Minister, I've heard of all the brandy you have drunk since the war began and heard that if it were poured into this room it would come up all the way to your waist." And Churchill looked dolefully down at the floor and then at his waist, then up to the ceiling, and said, "Ah, yes, Madam, so much accomplished, and so much more left to do." [Laughter]

Well, we've got so much more left to do

in these next 14 months or so. If anything, we're stepping on the gas because of the limited time. We want to get as much pinned down of what has been accomplished so far and the changes that have been made. And, you know, there's one thing that might encourage you sometimes when the going gets a little tough. Do you realize how short a time it has been that both parties are talking about eliminating the deficit? [Laughter] For 50 years they told us that we didn't have to worry about the deficit—we owed it to ourselves. Now we're not arguing anymore about, no, you shouldn't spend that money. We're just arguing about how we're going to cut. And we've had more practice at that than they have, so we'll try to get our way.

Thank you all very much, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:12 p.m. to the foundation's trustees and founders in the ballroom at the Willard Hotel. Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., was president of the foundation, and Joseph Coors was a member of the board of trustees.

Message to the Congress Transmitting the France-United States Social Security Agreement

November 30, 1987

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to Section 233(e)(1) of the Social Security Act, as amended by the Social Security Amendments of 1977 (P.L. 95-216, 42 U.S.C. 433(e)(1)), I transmit herewith the Agreement between the United States of America and the French Republic on Social Security that consists of two separate instruments: a principal agreement signed at Paris on March 2, 1987, and an administrative agreement signed at Washington on October 21, 1987.

The U.S.-France Agreement is similar in objective to the social security agreements already in force with Belgium, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Such bilateral agreements

provide for limited coordination between the United States and foreign social security systems to overcome the problems of gaps in protection and of dual coverage and taxation for workers who move from one country to the other.

I also transmit for the information of the Congress a comprehensive report prepared by the Department of Health and Human Services, which explains the provisions of the Agreement and provides data on the number of persons affected by the Agreement and the effect on social security financing as required by the same provision of the Social Security Act.

The Department of State and the Department of Health and Human Services join with me in commending the U.S.-France

Social Security Agreement and related documents.

The White House,
November 30, 1987.

RONALD REAGAN

Message to the Congress Transmitting Proposed Legislation for the Implementation of the Compact of Free Association With Palau *November 30, 1987*

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the consideration of the Congress a proposed Joint Resolution that, in accordance with Section 101(d)(B) of Public Law 99-658, would enable the Government of the United States and the Government of Palau to implement the "Compact of Free Association" on a date mutually agreed to by our Governments.

In accordance with Section 101(d)(A) of Public Law 99-658, I hereby certify to the Congress that the Compact of Free Association between the United States and Palau has been approved in accordance with Section 411 (a) and (b) thereof, and that there exists no legal impediment to the ability of the United States to carry out fully its responsibilities and to exercise its rights under Title Three of the Compact.

The foregoing certification is based upon notification by the Government of Palau that its internal constitutional approval process has been completed. Specifically, on August 29, 1987, President Lazarus E. Saliu certified in writing to the Department of State that 73 percent of the people of Palau voting in a plebiscite observed by the United Nations on August 21, 1987, approved the Compact. The Palau National Congress gave its final approval to the Compact on August 27, 1987. Under their constitution, the people of Palau have freely chosen self-government and free association with the United States.

The proposed Joint Resolution would also amend Section 104(e) of Public Law 99-658 in two ways. First, additional language would be added to the first sentence of this subsection, stating that money payable by the United States to Palau shall be paid to Palau in accordance with procedures provided by the Compact and its related agree-

ments. For example, Palau may wish to issue a bond and grant its creditor a security interest in some of the anticipated Compact funds from the United States, a procedure possible under the Fiscal Procedures Agreement with Palau. The additional language would clarify that payment into such an encumbered bank account would be consistent with U.S. responsibilities to Palau. This would place Palau on an equal footing with the other freely associated states.

Second, the proposed Joint Resolution would repeal the last sentence of Section 104(e), which purports to strip United States courts of jurisdiction over commercial litigation now pending in the Federal courts between Palau and certain of its creditors. This attempt to grant Palau sovereign immunity for a single case relating to a power plant project is inconsistent with United States law and policy as embodied in the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976. Repeal of this provision would protect the reputation of the United States as an international financial center and allow Palau and its creditors to pursue the rights and remedies available to them through the judicial process. Such repeal would also permit the routine application of the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. This would not in any way prejudge the matter, but merely enable the case to be heard in the courts of the United States.

Approval of the enclosed Joint Resolution would enable the United States to bring the Compact into effect and end application of the 1947 Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations Security Council, under which the United States has administered Palau. The end of the trusteeship would mean the beginning of a new era of politi-

cal, economic, strategic, and cultural partnership between the United States and Palau.

Therefore, I urge the Congress to pass the attached proposed Joint Resolution authorizing entry into force of the “Compact

of Free Association.”

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 30, 1987.

Proclamation 5749—National Home Health Care Week, 1987 *November 30, 1987*

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The comfort of familiar surroundings and the loving care and attention of family members often give an important measure of relief to patients recovering from illness or injury, including those on early release from hospitals or nursing homes. Many Americans who understand this and who decide to care for their loved ones at home find welcome assistance in occasional services offered by home health care providers.

A variety of groups make such care available. Thousands of home health agencies—large and small, urban and rural, public and private, hospital-based and independent—provide nursing services; physical, speech, and occupational therapy; social services; and home health aide services. The dedication of these organizations and their thousands of employees and volunteers has eased the path to recovery for countless Americans.

The high-quality services of home health care providers give aged and disabled citizens an exceptional opportunity to take advantage of this Medicare-covered benefit and recuperate in their own homes, where they can most effectively draw upon the constant support and concern of their families. That strengthens family life and individual independence alike, and is good

reason for all of us to celebrate National Home Health Care Week and to thank and salute the men and women who supply home health care.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 98, has designated the week beginning November 29, 1987, as “National Home Health Care Week” and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning November 29, 1987, as National Home Health Care Week, and I call upon government officials, interested organizations and associations, and all Americans to observe this week with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities to acquaint themselves with home health care and to support these vital services to elderly and disabled people.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 30th day of November, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:10 p.m., December 8, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 1.

Letter to the Speaker and the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives on the Continuing Appropriations Resolution December 1, 1987

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Leader:)

This is to register my concerns with the provisions of H.J. Res. 395, the Continuing Resolution, which I understand is scheduled to be considered in the House in the near future. While members of the House and Senate are working to develop legislation that would implement our bipartisan budget agreement, it would be counterproductive for the Congress to act on a measure that clearly violates both the spirit and the terms of that agreement.

Let me also point out there are many extraneous provisions included in the Resolution to which I must take exception. In addition I am informed that further objectionable measures may be incorporated into the Resolution by the Rules Committee.

It is imperative in my view that essential nonlethal aid to the Nicaraguan democratic resistance be continued in the Resolution. To fail to provide such assistance at this critical time would undercut the peace

process and undermine our commitment to democracy in Central America.

I trust that we can continue our bipartisan effort and work toward implementation of the agreement reached last month. I urge you and your colleagues to develop a Continuing Resolution that is faithful to our agreement.

We are working to carry out the Administration's part of this agreement, and I trust the House will do the same. If H.J. Res. 395 were sent to me in its current form for signature, I would have no hesitation in vetoing the measure.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Robert H. Michel, Minority Leader of the House of Representatives. The original was not available for verification of the content of this letter.

Nomination of Leonard H.O. Spearman, Sr., To Be United States Ambassador to Rwanda December 1, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Leonard H.O. Spearman, Sr., of Texas, to be Ambassador to the Republic of Rwanda. He would succeed John Edwin Upston.

Since 1986 Dr. Spearman has been distinguished professor of educational psychology at Texas Southern University in Houston, TX. Prior to this he served as president of Texas Southern University from 1980 to 1986. Dr. Spearman has served in the following capacities at the U.S. Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, DC, 1970-1980: Associate Deputy Assistant Secretary for Higher and Continuing Education, 1980;

Associate Deputy Commissioner for Higher and Continuing Education, 1978-1980; Acting Deputy Commissioner for Higher and Continuing Education, 1976-1978; Associate Commissioner for Student Assistance, 1975-1978; Director, Division of Student Financial Assistance, 1972-1975; Director, Division of Student Special Services, 1970-1972. From 1960 to 1970, Dr. Spearman was professor of psychology, Southern University in Baton Rouge, LA, and associate professor of psychology at Florida A&M University, 1957-1960.

Dr. Spearman graduated from Florida A&M University (B.S., 1947) and the University of Michigan (M.A., 1950; Ph.D.,

1960). He was born July 8, 1929, in Tallahassee, FL. He is married, has three chil-

dren, and resides in Pearland, TX.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Area High School Seniors in Jacksonville, Florida December 1, 1987

The President. Superintendent Sang, Secretary Bennett, and Members of the Congress who are here, and all of you, thank you very much. I'm going to keep my remarks brief. I'm not going to take a chance on being voted in your yearbooks the President most likely to talk until June. [Laughter] You know, it's good to get out of Washington, where we spend a lot of time worrying about things that are only important there. Here you have perspective and realize what the important issues are—who's got a Christmas dance date and who hasn't.

But now, before I get started, I have a special message from Nancy. Whenever I speak to students, she asks me to remind you: For your families, for your friends, and just for yourselves, just say no to drugs and alcohol. By the way, there's an important event taking place elsewhere in town today: the White House Conference on a Drug Free America under the leadership of Lois Herrington. And Nancy and I applaud her team's efforts to rid America of drugs.

Today is not just a high school convocation, it's a family day as well. So, let me ask the parents who are here today—could you stand for a moment just so we could see you? [Applause] I'll applaud that, too. Mothers and fathers, your dedication to your children and the schools has made this community what it is today. Your support is the foundation on which the success of Duval County's schools has been built and on which your own children's success will be built throughout life. Today all of us say to you, for all you've done and for all you are doing and for all you will do, from the bottom of our hearts, thank you.

Secretary of Education Bill Bennett tells me that wherever you find parents and communities who care—principals who set goals and keep track of progress, teachers

who pay attention to basics, and students who work hard—in those places you find America's great school systems. He also tells me that Duval County has some of America's great schools. Now, I'm going to talk to you for a few minutes about your great public schools, but I know you have great private and parochial schools, as well. You know, it makes me think that quality and Duval County just seem to go together.

But, yes, since Herb Sang took over as superintendent 11 years ago, you in the public schools—teachers, principals, parents, and students—have made your mark on American education. You've sprinted to the head of the class in improving test scores, cutting dropout rates, winning teaching awards, winning more National Merit Scholarships, and winning a better future for every student and for this entire community. And that's why you are on all lists of the best school systems in America. And for anybody wondering who should be at the top of these lists, you've given your answer by winning four of your seven national academic super bowls. Yes, there's just one word for Duval County and its students, teachers, and schools: The word is "winners."

I've heard that you have a slogan around here: "Winners are finishers." It means stay in school, stick it out through tough times as well as good, finish and you'll be a winner, too. But I can't help thinking: Doesn't that have a lot to do with how your school system itself became a winner? Success wasn't handed on a platter. It didn't come because you had lots of money. In fact, your spending per pupil is regularly below the national average. But as Dr. Sang has taught, progress and money are not the same. And boy, that's one lesson in Washington that we should write a hundred

times on the blackboard.

No, you didn't do it with lots of money; you did it with the courage to be different. When others had lost faith, you did it with your belief in hard work and real standards and with the American tradition of trusting in the future and your ability to build for it with your own hands and your own minds and your own determination. You didn't look to Washington for an easy way out; you did it yourselves. It was the British philosopher Sir Francis Bacon who said that: "By far the greatest obstacle to true progress is found in this—that men despair and think things impossible." I've found that's true in almost every area of life, whether it's building better schools or better mousetraps or a better country.

You know a favorite story of mine is about some advice that supposedly a wise man gave a President of the United States. The President was William McKinley, and the supposed wise man was the head of the United States Patent Office, the man in charge of keeping track of new inventions. In 1899 the head of the Patent Office told President McKinley to close down the Patent Office, because, as he put it, "everything that can be invented has been invented."

Well, if America is to be prepared with jobs, skills, and technology for the next century, we must make way for people who see what can be done and what is possible, not what isn't—make way for people like those who rebuilt this school system. In Washington some things haven't changed much since President McKinley's time. Almost everyone can still tell you 20 reasons why you can't do things—why you can't cut tax rates, why you can't lower Federal spending, why you can't reduce the number of Soviet and American nuclear weapons, and why you can't develop a strategic defense against ballistic missiles.

But America wasn't built by people who said, I can't. Every pioneer who crossed our frontier said, I can. Every man or woman who ever started a new business, discovered a new invention, explored a new idea said, I can. You will graduate from high school because you said, I can. The two most important words anyone can ever learn are those words: I can. You know, I've always thought

that the best hope for America's future was to get as many things as possible out of the gloomy, pessimistic halls of Washington and back to the optimistic air of the real America, where people don't say, I can't, they say, I can.

More decisions outside of Washington, fewer inside, fewer Federal rules, more opportunity—that's the idea behind our support for choice in education. Let parents choose the schools they believe will best prepare their children for the jobs and opportunities of the future. It's the idea behind our enterprise zone proposal. And when Congress failed to act, Florida and 25 other States said, we can, and they went ahead with their own enterprise zone programs. And now there are thousands of jobs and choices in areas where there were few before.

And while we're talking about the American people making choices, not Washington, don't you think that each morning when you start your school day you should have the same voluntary choice every Member of Congress has everyday: to bow your head to God in prayer? [*Applause*]

I've come here this morning with a simple message about your future, you who are students. And that is that America's freedom is a precious opportunity, and the first step to using that opportunity is to say, I can. One of America's greatest philosophers, Henry David Thoreau, reminded us that to Americans "this world is but canvas to our imaginations." If you use your imagination, set goals, make plans, work hard, keep at it, and don't worry too much about who gets the credit, there's no limit to what you can achieve.

The Federal Government does a lot to shape the future. And there are many times when it would be helpful if government just left things alone. Our goal should be to make government the servant of the people and not the other way around. That is one of the reasons that, over the last 7 years, our administration has pushed for more individual freedom and less government interference. In dealing with the Federal budget deficit, our goal has been to provide those services that are necessary, to provide for our national defense, and to do so at the

lowest cost to the average American taxpayer; because what we spend today will be a burden to you tomorrow.

I feel it's time for us to step forward and provide a clear direction for continued economic growth and opportunity. Eleven days ago I joined with the bipartisan leaders in Congress in forging a budget compromise that will put the Nation on a road toward a balanced budget and keep us on that track. I said it was time to roll up our sleeves and get the job done. Well, today I hope you will join with me in this crusade to balance the Federal budget. Let's commit ourselves to do all that we can now and to do even more in the years ahead to continue our economic expansion. It's a time to put aside partisan and personal preferences and join together. It's a time to say, I can and I will.

That's how America itself has moved the entire world toward true peace and greater freedom in the last 7 years, and that's how we restored America's strength. And I hope you won't mind me adding with some pride that it's how our men and women in uniform rescued freedom in the small Caribbean country of Grenada. In just a few days, I'll meet with General Secretary Gorbachev of the Soviet Union. We will sign the first arms reduction agreement in the history of relations between our two countries. It's a good example of what I'm talking about.

For many years critics around the world have insisted that it would be impossible to get an agreement along the lines we've now worked out. Six years ago, when I proposed the elimination of an entire category of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles, they sneered and said I couldn't be serious. It was a sure sign, they said, that I was against arms reductions altogether, and they added that I ought to offer something the Soviets would agree to, even if I didn't believe it was in America's best interests. And yet we—and I mean here you and all Americans who supported rebuilding our national defense and our determination that it was better to have no arms agreement than a bad arms agreement—all of us stuck together. We set goals. We made plans. We worked hard.

Many of those same critics also said that it was provocative to tell the truth about repression in the Soviet Union, about Soviet

overseas adventures, about Soviet violations of past agreements. We said that the United States of America must never be afraid to tell the truth about anyone. Well, now, as a result of lots of hard work and patience, we're about to sign an agreement that will do just what I proposed 6 years ago and that the critics said was impossible. For the first time in history, we will wipe an entire category of American and Soviet nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

After the summit, we'll keep our negotiators working on an agreement that could lead to cutting the U.S. and Soviet long-range nuclear arsenals in half and reducing the disparities in conventional forces, that is, the armies that face each other in Europe. Those disparities favor the Soviets. With the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces agreement, we take a first step across the open frontier toward a safer world for you and your children. And my plan—our plan—should be to keep right on marching.

But in the excitement of the summit, the treaty signing, and all the rest, we must not forget that peace means more than arms reduction. More than a decade ago, there was a warming in U.S.-Soviet affairs that we called *détente*. But while talking friendship, the Soviets worked even faster on the largest military buildup in world history. They stepped up their aggression around the world. They became more repressive at home. We do not want mere words; this time we're after true peace.

One Eastern European dissident thinker has written that "respect for human rights is the fundamental condition and the sole guarantee of true peace." Well, I believe he's right. True peace and freedom are indivisible. That's why it's important to all of us that the Soviets have released over 200 political prisoners over the past year and that they appear to have eased censorship somewhat in the arts and media.

It's also why we're concerned that many more political prisoners remain in jail, internal exile, and psychiatric hospitals. As many as 10,000 Jews await permission to emigrate. Persecution of religious believers continues. Some, including Ludmilla Andruschenko and Father Alonsas Svarinskas, wait

in prison. Their only crime: They wanted to practice their religion and worship God as they pleased. Well, Mr. Gorbachev and I are going to have a few words about that.

We're also going to have words about Soviet expansionism around the world, for example, in Afghanistan. Since the Red Army invaded 8 years ago, the Afghan people have suffered a million casualties, and at least 4 million others have been driven to exile, as freedom fighters have taken up arms against the invader.

Who are these freedom fighters? Well, many of them would be your classmates if they lived here in Jacksonville. That's how young they are. They've taken up arms against one of the largest and best equipped armies in the world, because they've seen what Communist oppression means. To some it means being prevented from living by the rules of their religions. To others it means parents murdered and crops, and even entire villages, destroyed in random and repeated Soviet raids. Or it means a little brother or sister whose hand was blown off by Soviet mines disguised as toys. Oppression means many things. There are many reasons to fight for freedom. The simple people of Afghanistan pose no threat to Soviet territory. They don't now. They never have. The Soviet Union has no legitimate purpose in this war. And I will tell Mr. Gorbachev it is time for the Soviets to set a date certain for withdrawal, to talk with the freedom fighters, and to allow the people of Afghanistan to determine their own destiny.

I will also say it's time for them to leave Cambodia, Ethiopia, Angola, and Nicaragua. Even as the five Central American countries search for peace, the Soviet bloc continues to pour billions of dollars in guns, planes, bullets, tanks, and other assistance into Nicaragua. Why? To quote one of our leading national strategists, Zbigniew Brzezinski: "Potentially at stake in Central America is America's capacity to defend Western interests throughout the world." And he adds: "If the Soviet-Cuban presence in Nicaragua destabilizes the entire region, the United States will inevitably pull back" from Europe and the Pacific to defend our own border.

Well, I want my meeting with Mr. Gorbachev to help build a true peace that will last

for your lifetime and that of your children and of their children. And that's why we will review our areas of agreement, but also emphasize our points of disagreement. Some say it will be impossible for the Soviets to listen. But we've come a long way already by being strong, steady, and determined. We Americans set our goals. We were realistic about how to go after them. We kept on working, in good times and bad. We believed in America's strength and in America's ability to use its strength to make the world better. For the last 7 years, through us, through all of us here today and millions of others, America has said, "I can." And around the world, because of that, peace is more secure and freedom more widely shared. At home, because of that, we're in the longest peacetime economic expansion on record, and unlimited opportunities are waiting for you after graduation. Think of what those two words, "I can," have meant to the story of our nation and the world in our time.

Before I leave, I thought I'd tell you a story that I've told to other students. It's about a college professor, quite an eminent scholar, who was flying on a trip over to the Soviet Union. He was a great student of Russian, and he could speak Russian fluently. But here, taking a taxicab to the airport, he had a young cabdriver, and he got him in conversation and, in the course of things, learned that the young man was still getting an education and driving a cab on the side to help finance that education. And he said to him, "Well, what are you planning on doing and being when you finish your education?" And the young cabdriver said, "Well, I don't know. I haven't decided yet."

Well, the professor made his trip to Moscow, got in a cab there and started into the city and by coincidence had a young fellow—looked about the same age as the cabdriver in America. And being able to speak Russian, he got in a conversation with him and found out this young man was still getting his education, in addition to driving the cab. And so, he finally asked him that same question: What did he plan to do when his education was finished? And the young man said, "I don't know. They haven't told me yet." That answer's a pretty

good one at summing up the great difference between us.

So, when you leave here today, please remember the blessings of American freedom. Think of how God graced you when he set you down in this land of liberty and of peace and of opportunity, this land of neighbor helping neighbor and family helping family. I have often thought—maybe you could call it mysticism if you will—but I've thought that God placed these American continents here between the two great oceans for the most adventurous, the bravest, and the most resourceful people on Earth to find, people from every corner of the Earth who had a little extra love for freedom and the ambition that brought them here and settled them here in this land of ours, bringing you here by deciding how you want to use America's opportunities and then by saying, I can.

I just have one other thing that I'd like to leave with you. I'm sure in this year of the 200th anniversary of our Constitution you probably have been taught a little extra about the Constitution, but if not, I would like to tell you something that—I have read a lot of constitutions. Every country has a constitution, it seems. And then I was struck one day by—well, they talked about freedom of this and that, and freedom to do such and such, and well then why was our Constitution so different? And finally the answer came to me. All those other constitutions said, We the government allow you the people to have the following freedoms and do the following things. Our Constitution says, We the people allow the government to do certain things, and it can do no other things that aren't covered in this covenant, this document. I told that story at a state dinner in the White House to the wife of the Crowned Prince of Japan. And she added another line to my story, because when I finished saying what I've just said to you, she very quietly said to me, "Our constitution, too, says, We the people." And I couldn't hide my surprise. That's right. After the war, when we stopped being enemies, they had a new constitution, and so there is now another country in the world that says what ours does—that the people are in charge.

Well, that's enough from me. I know

right now that Superintendent Sang has something to contribute here, and he will tell you what the next step is.

Mr. Sang. Mr. President, your aides have indicated that you might give us a few more minutes, and our students love to ask questions. In fact, they really work our teachers over. And we selected six of our outstanding academic achievers, and with your permission, they would like to each ask you a question. And I see one already over here to my right.

The President. All right.

Q. Mr. President, I am Victoria Gossmire, from Andrew Jackson High School. [Applause]

The President. You have some friends here.

Arms Control

Q. And my question is: How will I, as a youth, be affected by the summit meetings?

The President. How will you, as a student, be affected by the summit meeting?

Q. Yes, sir.

The President. Well, if the summit meeting carries out as we optimistically think today that it will—that for one thing, we will have started down the road to the elimination of nuclear weapons. We will have done away with those weapons of ours that are based on the NATO line. They were put there in response—we did not put them there first—in response to the Soviets aiming what are called SS-20 missiles at all the targets of Europe. And we tried to persuade them not to do that—this was before I was in office—and they didn't stop. And then Europe asked us to give them something to counter this threat. And by that time, I got here and felt a need to be in charge of placing our weapons there. And they objected very strenuously on the other side. In 1981 I proposed the answer was the elimination—zero on both sides—of those particular weapons. And 4 years later they came back, and we started negotiating about that. So, I think we're going to sign that agreement this time, complete with verification.

But for all of you, this threat that's alive in the world today of missiles that can—well, I've said that a nuclear war can never

be won and must never be fought. By never being won, I mean that, by the time two great nations exchange the thousands of nuclear missiles—firing at each other—where would those people who weren't blown up—who still remained left—where would they live? The very soil would be poisoned—radioactivity. There would be no place for anyone to live. So, I think that we can't do it all at once. But if we've started down that path, and as you come up and take over from the rest of us—maybe there'll still be some of the job done—we can once and for all rid the world of nuclear weapons. And that, I think, will make for a far better life for all of you.

Q. Thank you.

Q. Mr. President, my name's Jason Doman, from Fletcher Senior High School. And I would like to know, in terms of conventional warfare, how will this proposed treaty affect the balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union?

The President. Well, now, that's something that we have looked at down the way in the future, and it is no question the Soviet Union has outbuilt NATO—not just the United States—by 2½ times as many tanks, 3 times as many artillery pieces, and so forth. But there is a weapon still on the battlelines. There are nuclear weapons that are called tactical weapons. These are, among other things, shells fired from artillery, from cannons. But when the shell explodes, it isn't gunpowder; it's an atomic explosion, a nuclear explosion. And so, both sides have those.

Now, I think that we've got a lot of people on both sides standing in the wings, waiting now for us to approach that problem of that kind of weapon. And we have determined that when you start to talk about eliminating those then you must, at the same time, discuss the balancing of the conventional weapons. Because if we all eliminated right now our nuclear battlefield weapons that can balance things up—but if we all did away with those weapons, both sides, we would have given the Soviet Union then a hard and fast advantage because of their conventional superiority. So, when we come to discussing those short-range battlefield weapons, we must also discuss and get from them a concession of con-

ventional weapons being equal. It means a reduction from both sides.

Yes, back there.

Strategic Defense Initiative

Q. Mr. President, my name is Tracie Pough, and I bring you greetings from Jean Ribault Senior High School. I would like to know if you would reiterate the importance to our future of developing and having a Star Wars space-base missile defense system?

The President. Now, I didn't hear just the beginning, because there were some people still cheering you.

Q. I would like to know if you would reiterate the importance to our future of developing and having a Star Wars space-base missile system?

The President. Oh, I'd be delighted. [Laughter] There is so much misinformation out about that. This started several years ago. I asked our people in the Defense Department if it wasn't possible to see in this modern day of technology if there wasn't a weapon that could be designed that could intercept nuclear missiles as they came out of their silos. For example, from the Soviet Union, if they fired their missiles at us, those missiles get here in 30 minutes or less. You've got a half an hour for doing anything. And they agreed that possibly there was, and so a study went into effect. And what we are working on now is a system—I just visited one of the plants where some of this is going forward out in Colorado last week, and I was amazed and gratified to see the miracles that are being performed.

What we have in mind—Strategic Defense Initiative, it's called, that's the SDI—what we have in mind is a defensive system that can begin by hitting those weapons as they come out of the silos. And those that manage to get through, those warheads—there is a second stage then that goes up and catches them before they come back into the atmosphere and, finally, a third stage to catch any that might come through. The main thing about it is it could really make nuclear weapons obsolete, because what country would, if we have such a system—even if they thought that some might get through, they wouldn't be certain

enough to start a nuclear attack, because they would know our ability to attack them back.

So, what I have in mind is that—I won't be around by the time we've got it completed, but what we should do is, when that is completed and we begin to deploy that, we should say to the rest of the world, including the Soviets, if everybody, including us, will get rid of our nuclear weapons, we'll give this to everybody, because we all know how to make them. So, someday we can't be sure that there might not come a madman someplace like a Hitler, who knowing how to make them and knowing that no one else in the world had them, he might decide that he was going to do it. I've likened it to our people as when we got together after World War I and everybody decided that we would no longer use poison gas, but everybody kept their gas masks. Well, I think of this as a gigantic gas mask, and maybe this will be the thing that could bring about the end of nuclear missiles.

Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev

Q. Yes, I'm Shane Green, from Sandalwood Junior-Senior High School. Mr. President, do you feel that Mikhail Gorbachev's rising popularity across the world as a young, dynamic reformer will pose an added pressure to your position at the summit, and do you think that the American public, as a result, might perceive communism as less of a threat in the future than it should?

The President. I have more faith in the American people than that. We're a pretty independent people. You find that out in any number of things that go on any day on the city streets. And I think that the American people are aware of the shortcomings of communism—the boy that can't tell you what he's going to do with his life until they tell him what he's going to do. Do you know that in graduation from high schools in that country they come in the rooms where they've got the graduates and they pick them out and tell them who is going to go to college and who is going to go to work in the factory—and they assign them to these places. So, I don't fear America doing that, and I don't mind that Gorbachev has been, let us say, quite different

than past Soviet leaders. I've met with a number of them, and he is different.

Now, at the same time, I'm not going to tell you that he doesn't believe in their system. He was born and raised in that system, and he believes in much of their propaganda. But he is the first one—no other Russian leader has ever agreed to eliminate weapons they already have. He is the first one to do that. Now, there is one other thing I'm watching. He is also the first Russian leader who has never reiterated before the great national Communist congress that the Soviets are pledged to a world expansion—a one-world Communist state. That has been the stated goal of previous leaders. He has said no such thing.

And I know when we first met, my first words to him—just the two of us in the room and an interpreter—and I said we're very unique in this moment. Here we are in a room, the two of us, and literally in our hands could be the peace of the world or war for the world. No other two nations could bring that about but us. And he agreed that, yes, that we should start working for peace. And, no, I don't resent his popularity or anything else. Good Lord, I costarred with Errol Flynn once. [*Laughter*]

Arms Reduction Verification

Q. Mr. President, my name is Michael Davis, from Robert E. Lee Senior High School. And my question is: If an agreement was reached on conventional or nuclear weapons, what actions would be taken to ensure that both sides upheld the agreement?

The President. I have to tell you, I have a little hearing problem. Try again.

Q. My question was: If an agreement on nuclear or conventional weapons was reached, what actions would be taken to ensure that both sides upheld the agreement?

The President. You have touched on what has been the touchiest point all the way: verification. And this is what's been going on now in these meetings between Foreign Minister Shevardnadze and our Secretary of State George Shultz—is to try and iron out this thing of, yes, how do we establish that there is no cheating and that we're really

destroying the weapons that we're supposed to destroy? And we apparently have worked out an agreement that is the strongest verification agreement that has ever been worked out in any kind of arms negotiations. It will have us with the ability to not only supervise areas where such things would be made but also to make spot checks—just decide we want to go and take a look. And they can do the same, of course, with us. And I think that that is—well, that was the absolute essential thing. As a matter of fact, I'm no linguist, but I did learn a very brief Soviet proverb, which I made it a point to recite to General Secretary Gorbachev when we first started negotiations. It goes: *Dovorey no provorey*—trust but verify.

Soviet Reforms

Q. Mr. President, I'm Stephanie Barnett, from Paxon Senior High School. And the question is: If you could ever give advice to Mr. Gorbachev, what would it be?

The President. If I could ever give advice to Mr. Gorbachev? To really stick with his program of *glasnost* and with this worry that they have about people wanting to emigrate from their country, to make their country like ours to the place that people don't want to leave. And I would begin with the most important part of that. I think when the day comes that the people of the Soviet Union can worship God as they please and in the way they want to that must be the first step toward that freedom. Today the Jewish emigration from there—those people are Russians. They love their country, their motherland. And I'm quite sure that if they were allowed to practice their religion, to have their synagogues, to allow rabbis to be taught in their country that not very many of them would want to emigrate.

And I happen to be a friend of a man—you all know the name—Billy Graham. Billy Graham, as you know, has been invited and has held great meetings there in the Soviet Union. And he has told me that he believes that underlying everything else among the Soviet people is the hunger for religion. And he says you become aware of it, even though they don't dare admit it. And he said sometime, if on television you see the little old ladies going to church, as they

do—the orthodox church is allowed to go on—and they're watched; the KGB watches to see who goes to church. And he said, look closely sometime at the faces under those babushkas of those little shuffling figures, and you'll find some very youthful faces—that the youth of the Soviet Union is hungry for God.

I have a little Bible in a plastic cover about that high and no thicker than my finger. And inside are some verses that are in there. When they can get their hands on a Bible—it is so difficult there, and they're not supposed to have them—they cut them up and make them into these little books so that everybody has just a few verses of their own of the Bible. And one of those was sent to me to show me what they do. So, efforts like that—they're going forward. And, yes, I may find myself bending his ear on that very subject and telling him maybe his problems would be a lot less.

Q. Thank you.

The President. Thank you all. Thank you, and God bless you all.

Mr. Sang. Mr. President, in appreciation of your being here, our students have a couple of presentations they'd like to make to you at this time.

Bonnie Dennard. Mr. President, we are sincerely grateful to you for coming to Jacksonville and addressing students and parents this afternoon. We'd like to present to you this plaque as a reminder of your stay here and a reminder of our appreciation and best wishes. And I'd like to read the inscription, "A salute to President Ronald Reagan for outstanding support of public education and the Jacksonville, Florida, public schools. Presented December 1st, 1987, by Herb A. Sang, superintendent of schools, and Wendell C. Parker, chairman, Duval County School Board, and students, faculty, and parents."

Thank you, sir.

The President. Thank you.

Ernst Bell. From the time of the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, the bell has served as a symbol of freedom and hope for the future. The bell has also been a symbol of education, since it was traditionally used to call the class to order, symbolizing the importance of education and representing our

best wishes for your success and your upcoming summit. The students of Jacksonville present you with this bell with the precious inscription: "Let freedom ring."

The President. Thank you very much. Class dismissed.

Note: The President spoke at 1:54 p.m. at Veterans' Memorial Coliseum to seniors in

the Duval County public schools. In his opening remarks, he referred to Herb Sang, superintendent of Duval County public schools, and Secretary of Education William J. Bennett. Prior to his remarks, the President attended a Florida State Republican Committee fundraiser. Following his remarks, he returned to Washington, DC.

Nomination of Thomas F. Faught, Jr., To Be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy

December 2, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Thomas F. Faught, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of the Navy (Research, Engineering and Systems). He would succeed Melvyn R. Paisley.

Since 1983, Mr. Faught has been chief executive officer of the Dravo Corp. in Pittsburgh, PA. He joined Dravo in 1974 and has served in the following capacities: president and chief operating officer, since 1982; executive vice president, operations, 1981; executive vice president, finance and corporate development, 1978; and was elected to the board of directors, 1977. Prior to this Mr. Faught was director and executive vice president for F&M Schaefer

Corp. in New York, NY, 1971-1974. Mr. Faught was appointed by the President to the Advisory Committee of the Export-Import Bank of the United States in 1985 and was named chairman of the Advisory Committee in 1986. He was also appointed to the President's Task Force on International Private Enterprise in 1983.

Mr. Faught graduated from Oregon State University (B.S., 1951) and Harvard Business School (M.B.A., 1953). He served in the Marine Corps, 1946-1948 and 1953-1962. Mr. Faught was born October 1, 1928, in Salem, OR. He is married, has six children, and resides in Murrysville, PA.

Appointment of David Martin McIntosh as Special Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs

December 2, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of David Martin McIntosh to be Special Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs.

Since July 1987 Mr. McIntosh has been working in the Office of Domestic Affairs. Previously he served as Special Assistant to the Attorney General from 1986 to 1987

and was an associate attorney with the firm of Sidley & Austin in Los Angeles from 1983 to 1986.

Mr. McIntosh received his J.D. from the University of Chicago Law School in 1983 and his B.A. from Yale College in 1980. He was born June 8, 1958, in Oakland, CA, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Designation of James C. Miller III as Vice Chairman of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States

December 2, 1987

The President today announced his intention to designate James C. Miller III to be Vice Chairman of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States. He would succeed Mark S. Fowler.

Since 1985 Mr. Miller has been the Director for the Office of Management and Budget, the White House, Washington, DC. Prior to this Mr. Miller was the Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission in Washington, DC, 1981-1985. From 1977 to 1981,

Mr. Miller was a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and codirector of AEI's Center for the Study of Government Regulation.

Mr. Miller graduated from the University of Georgia (B.B.A., 1964) and the University of Virginia (Ph.D., 1969). He was born June 25, 1942, in Atlanta, GA. Mr. Miller is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Designation of Juan G. Roederer as Chairperson of the Arctic Research Commission

December 2, 1987

The President today announced his intention to designate Juan G. Roederer to be the Chairperson of the Arctic Research Commission. He would succeed James Herbert Zumberge.

Mr. Roederer has served as a member of this Commission since 1985. Since 1977 Mr. Roederer has been a professor of physics and director of the Geophysical Institute at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks, AK.

From 1979 to 1982, he also served as the dean of environmental sciences at the University of Alaska. Prior to this he was a professor and senior research physicist at the University of Denver, 1967-1977.

Mr. Roederer graduated from the University of Buenos Aires (1951) as a doctor of physical-mathematical sciences. He was born on September 2, 1929, in Trieste, Italy, and resides in Fairbanks, AK.

Appointment of Roland R. Vautour as a Member of the National Commission on Agricultural Finance

December 2, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Roland R. Vautour to be a member of the National Commission on Agricultural Finance. This is a new position.

Mr. Vautour currently serves as Under Secretary for Small Community and Rural Development for the United States Department of Agriculture in Washington, DC. Since 1981 he has been the State Director

of the Farmer's Home Administration for Vermont, New Hampshire, and the Virgin Islands. Prior to this he was the founder and owner of Sterling Realty in Vermont.

Mr. Vautour graduated from the University of New Hampshire (B.S., 1952). He was born on January 20, 1929, in Berlin, NH. He is married, has four children, and currently resides in Jeffersonville, VT.

Nomination of Alvin H. Bernstein To Be a Member of the National Council on the Humanities

December 2, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Alvin H. Bernstein to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities, National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, for a term expiring January 26, 1992. He would succeed Charles Ray Ritcheson.

Since 1984 Mr. Bernstein has been chairman, department of strategy at the Naval War College in Newport, RI, and a professor of strategy since 1982. Prior to this, he was chairman, department of Near Eastern

studies at Cornell University, 1979–1983, and an associate professor of history and archeology, 1977–1983. Mr. Bernstein was visiting associate professor of history and classics at Yale University, 1974–1975.

Mr. Bernstein graduated from Cornell University (B.A., 1961; Ph.D., 1968) and Oxford University (B.A., 1964; M.A., 1969). He was born August 4, 1939, in Manhattan, NY. Mr. Bernstein is married, has two children, and resides in Newport, RI.

Appointment of Perry Joseph as a Member of the Advisory Committee to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation

December 2, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Perry Joseph to be a member of the Advisory Committee to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation for a term expiring February 19, 1990. This is a reappointment.

Since 1948 Mr. Joseph has been business manager for Carpet, Linoleum, Hardwood, & Resilient Tile Layers' Local Union, No. 1310 in St. Louis, MO. Mr. Joseph has been

with this union since 1941 and was elected financial secretary in 1947 and business manager in 1948.

Mr. Joseph attended specialty classes in labor law at St. Louis University night school. He served in the U.S. Navy, 1942–1945. Mr. Joseph was born April 28, 1922, in St. Louis, MO. He is married, has two children, and resides in St. Louis.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Transmitting a Report on Soviet Noncompliance With Arms Control Agreements

December 2, 1987

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

In response to congressional requests as set forth in Public Law 99-145, I am forwarding herewith classified and unclassified versions of the Administration's report to the Congress on Soviet noncompliance with arms control agreements. (Detailed classified briefings will be available to the Con-

gress in the near future.)

The information contained in this report, in addition to that provided in our previous reports, is essential to understanding the problems we face in seeking to achieve sound, equitable and verifiable agreements for arms reductions that will strengthen our security and that of our allies.

The Soviet Union to date has not corrected its noncompliance activities. Indeed, since the last report, there has been an additional case of Soviet violation of the ABM Treaty in the deployment of an ABM radar at Gomel, and other violations are continuing.

No violations of a treaty can be considered to be a minor matter, nor can there be confidence in agreements if a country can pick and choose which provisions of an agreement it will comply with. The Gomel violation can be quickly corrected by the Soviet Union if it so chooses. We are urging them to take the actions needed to do so, and to resolve other longstanding violations, especially that of their radar located at Krasnoyarsk. Correcting their violations will be a true test of Soviet willingness to enter a more constructive relationship and broaden the basis for cooperation between our two countries on security matters.

I am confident the Congress fully shares my concern about Soviet noncompliance. Congressional support and consensus on this issue is an essential element of our efforts to secure corrective actions, and pursue the kind of arms reductions agreements that will best serve the interests of the United States and the world.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

SOVIET NONCOMPLIANCE WITH ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS

At the request of Congress, I am submitting this report on Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements. This Report represents another in a series of reports to Congress by this Administration regarding this serious issue. The series includes Reports dated January 1984, February and December 1985, March 1987, and the 1984 Report on Soviet Noncompliance prepared for me by the independent General Advisory Committee on Arms Control. Each of these reports has enumerated and documented, in detail, issues of Soviet noncompliance and our attempts to resolve the issues. Likewise, this Report addresses questions of Soviet noncompliance with existing

arms control agreements, including the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, the Geneva Protocol on Chemical Weapons, and the Limited Test Ban Treaty. Now that we have put the SALT I Interim Agreement and the SALT II Treaty behind us, Soviet activities with respect to those agreements are not treated in this Report. I will report on the Threshold Test Ban Treaty at a later date. The provisions of the Helsinki Final Act that relate to military security and confidence-building have been superseded by the Stockholm Document, a development that is treated later in this introduction. When taken as a whole, this series of reports provides a clear picture of continuing Soviet violations and forms the basis for our concern that future agreements must be effectively verifiable and complied with.

In the December 23, 1985, Report, I stated:

The Administrations's most recent studies support its conclusion that there is a pattern of Soviet noncompliance. As documented in this and previous reports, the Soviet Union has violated its legal obligation under, or political commitment to, the SALT I ABM Treaty and Interim Agreement, the SALT II Agreement, the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963, the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, the Geneva Protocol on Chemical Weapons, and the Helsinki Final Act. In addition, the USSR has likely violated provisions of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty.

I further stated:

At the same time as the Administration has reported its concerns and findings to the Congress, the United States has had extensive exchanges with the Soviet Union on Soviet noncompliance in the Standing Consultative Commission (SCC), where SALT-related issues (including ABM issues) are discussed, and through other appropriate diplomatic channels.

The compliance concerns enumerated in this Report are not unfamiliar to the Soviet Union. I expressed my personal interest in these issues directly to General Secretary Gorbachev during my meetings with him, both in 1985 in Geneva and then again in Reykjavik in October 1986. In addition, the Standing Consultative Commission discusses

compliance concerns in detail during its bi-annual sessions. The classified Report includes detailed summaries of this SCC dialogue. Most recently, Secretary of State Shultz raised U.S. concerns about Soviet noncompliance during his October 1987 visit to Moscow.

Additional time has passed and, despite these continuing intensive efforts and the critical stage we have entered in the negotiation of arms reductions of historic proportion, the Soviet Union has failed to correct its noncompliant activities; neither have they provided explanations sufficient to alleviate our concerns on other compliance issues. Indeed, recent Soviet activities at an electronics facility at Gomel have raised an additional compliance issue with regard to the ABM Treaty.

Compliance with treaty obligations is a cornerstone of international law; States are to observe and comply with obligations they have freely undertaken. In fact, in December 1985, the General Assembly of the United Nations recognized the importance of treaty compliance for future arms control, when, by a vote of 131-0 (with 16 abstentions), it passed a resolution that:

- Urges all parties to arms limitation and disarmament agreements to comply with their provisions;
- Calls upon those parties to consider the implications of noncompliance for international security and stability and for the prospects for further progress in the field of disarmament; and
- Appeals to all UN members to support efforts to resolve noncompliance questions "with a view toward encouraging strict observance of the provisions subscribed to and maintaining or restoring the integrity of arms limitation or disarmament agreements."

Congress has made clear its concern about Soviet noncompliance with arms control agreements. In February 1987, the Senate passed a resolution, by a vote of 93-2, which:

. . . Declares that an important obstacle to the achievement of acceptable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union has been its violation of existing agreements, and calls upon it to take steps to rectify its

violation of such agreements and, in particular, to dismantle the newly-constructed radar site at Krasnoyarsk, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, since it is a clear violation of the terms of the Anti-Ballistic Treaty . . .

The Senate repeated its call for dismantlement of the Krasnoyarsk radar in a resolution dated September 16, 1987. For its part, the House of Representatives, on May 6, 1987, voted 416-0 in support of a resolution recognizing that by constructing the Krasnoyarsk radar, the Soviet Union was in violation of its legal obligations under the ABM Treaty.

Compliance with arms control commitments remains an essential element of my arms control policy. As I have stated before:

In order for arms control to have meaning and credibly contribute to national security, it is essential that all parties to agreements fully comply with them. Strict compliance with all provisions of arms control agreements is fundamental, and this Administration will not accept anything less.

I have also said that:

Soviet noncompliance is a serious matter. It calls into question important security benefits from arms control, and could create new security risks. It undermines the confidence essential to an effective arms control process in the future . . . The United States Government has vigorously pressed, and will continue to press these compliance issues with the Soviet Union through diplomatic channels.

Despite these continuous efforts, I regret to report that during the period since my last Report, the Soviet Union has failed to correct its noncompliance activity or to provide explanations sufficient to alleviate our concerns. Soviet explanations and actions are fully described in the Report. The Report presents and distinguishes between both violations and possibly noncompliant actions which are historical in nature and instances of ongoing and new noncompliant behavior.

The ABM Treaty

We continue to have deep concerns

about Soviet noncompliance with the ABM Treaty. One of our principal concerns is with the Krasnoyarsk radar which is a clear violation of the Treaty. The radar demonstrates that the Soviets were designing and programming a prospective violation of the ABM Treaty even while they were negotiating a new agreement on strategic offensive weapons with the United States.

The only permitted functions for a large, phased-array radar (LPAR) with a location and orientation such as that of the Krasnoyarsk radar would be space-tracking and national technical means (NTM) of verification. Based on conclusive evidence, however, we judge that this radar is primarily designed for ballistic missile detection and tracking, not for space-tracking and NTM as the Soviets claim. Moreover, the coverage of the Krasnoyarsk radar closes a major gap in the coverage of the Soviet ballistic missile detection, warning, and tracking screen. Its location allows it to provide warning of a ballistic missile attack, to acquire attack characterization data that will enable the Soviet strategic forces to respond in a timely manner, and that could aid in planning the battle for Soviet defensive forces.

All LPARs, such as the Krasnoyarsk radar, have the inherent capability to track large numbers of objects accurately. Thus, they not only could perform as ballistic missile detection, warning, and tracking radars, but also have an inherent technical potential, depending on location and orientation, of contributing to ABM battle management.

LPARs have always been considered to be the long lead-time element of a possible territorial defense. Taken together, the Krasnoyarsk radar and other Soviet ABM-related activities give us concern that the Soviet Union may be preparing an ABM defense of its national territory. Some of the activities, such as the construction of new LPARs on the periphery of the Soviet Union and the upgrade of the Moscow ABM system, appear to be consistent with the ABM Treaty. The redundancy in coverage provided by these new radars and the disposition of these radars closely resembles the design of the U.S. Safeguard ABM program. The construction of the radar near Krasnoyarsk and the deployment of a Flat Twin and a Pawn Shop outside a permitted

ABM system deployment area or designated ABM test range are violations of the ABM Treaty. Other Soviet ABM-related activities involve potential or probable Soviet violations or other ambiguous activity. These other issues, discussed fully in the body of the report, are:

- The testing and development of components required for an ABM system that could be deployed to a site in months rather than years, and the movement of parts of Flat Twin and Pawn Shop to a new location;
- The concurrent operation of air defense components and ABM components;
- The development of modern air defense systems that may have some ABM capabilities;
- The demonstration of an ability to reload ABM launchers in a period of time short enough to cause us concern as to Soviet capabilities and intent; and
- The locating of parts of a Flat Twin and Pawn Shop at a location that is neither a permitted ABM deployment area nor an agreed test range.

Soviet activities during the past year have contributed to our concerns. Construction is continuing on three additional LPARs similar to the Krasnoyarsk radar. These new radars are located near the periphery of the western USSR and oriented consistent with the ABM Treaty's provisions on ballistic missile early warning radars (if they are for early warning). The primary mission of these radars is ballistic missile detection and tracking.

The Soviets have sought recently to convey the impression that they are addressing our concerns in a responsible fashion, but have not taken any actions which in fact redress our concerns regarding their possible preparation of a territorial defense. For example, on September 5, 1987, a U.S. Congressional Delegation was permitted to visit the Krasnoyarsk radar. Although the Soviet invitation represented a departure from the long Soviet history of secrecy in such matters, the observations of the Congressional Delegation regarding the stage of construction, the quality of construction,

and other features of the radar in no way change the assessment that the radar is designed for ballistic missile detection and tracking. The radar is unquestionably an LPAR, whose location and orientation are inconsistent with the ABM Treaty.

In recent years, we have gathered an increased amount of evidence on activities that could be associated with Soviet concurrent operations. This may or may not indicate an increase in Soviet concurrent operations. Also of significant concern is the initial deployment in the western USSR to Soviet ground forces of the SA-12 defensive system, a variant of which has been tested against tactical ballistic missiles and may have some ABM capability.

Our continuing reexamination of Soviet ABM-related activities demonstrates that the Soviets have not corrected their outstanding violation, the Krasnoyarsk radar. With regard to Krasnoyarsk, on October 23, General Secretary Gorbachev told Secretary of State Shultz that the Soviets were imposing a one-year construction moratorium on Krasnoyarsk. Although activities at Krasnoyarsk continue to be noted, the remaining work needed on the radar is interior work, so that it would be difficult to ascertain whether the Soviets have indeed ceased construction at the site.

The absence of Soviet dismantlement of the Krasnoyarsk radar, the new violation in the deployment of the Flat Twin and Pawn Shop observed at Gomel, and the totality of Soviet ABM-related activities in 1987 and previous years, suggest that the USSR may be preparing an ABM defense of its national territory.

The Soviet Union clearly continues to increase its capability to deploy an ABM defense. The Soviet programs involved a much greater investment of plant space, capital and manpower than comparable U.S. programs. As I said in the December 1985, Report, a unilateral Soviet ABM defense:

would have profound implications for the vital East-West balance. A unilateral Soviet territorial ABM capability acquired in violation of the ABM Treaty could erode our deterrent and leave doubts about its credibility.

Chemical, Biological and Toxin Weapons

The integrity of the arms control process is also hurt by Soviet violations of the 1925 Geneva Protocol on Chemical Weapons and the 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention. Information obtained in 1987 does nothing to allay our concern about Soviet noncompliance with these important agreements. Progress toward an agreement banning chemical weapons is affected by Soviet noncompliance with the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention. Because of the record of Soviet noncompliance with past agreements, we believe verification provisions are a matter of unprecedented importance in our efforts to rid the world of these heinous weapons—weapons of mass destruction under international law.

The U.S. has determined that the Soviet Union has maintained an active offensive biological warfare program and capability. Until recently, the Soviet Union has never acknowledged that it conducted even permitted BW-related activities other than to say that it had been in compliance with its obligations under the BWC.

As a result of the 1986 BWC Review Conference, States party to the Convention agreed to exchange information on facilities built for high-risk (high-containment) biological experiments and facilities engaged in other activities relating to the convention. The Soviet submission is an unprecedented public declaration of permitted Soviet BW-related facilities and is a welcome step.

An example of the discrepancy between Soviet public and private arms control diplomacy is the recent Soviet treatment of our concerns regarding an outbreak of anthrax in Sverdlovsk in 1979. The U.S. has evidence that the outbreak occurred as a result of an accidental release of large quantities of anthrax spores from a prohibited BW facility, contributing to our concerns about the Soviet BW program. We have raised the issue repeatedly with the Soviets as early as March 1980, and have been told that the outbreak stemmed from the consumption of contaminated meat.

Since the 1986 BWC Review Conference, the Soviets have provided additional details regarding the incident in various informal public fora. However, the Soviet account is

inconsistent with information available to us, and in many aspects is not consistent with a contaminated meat explanation.

Again, while we welcome the provision of new information and the opportunity to discuss these issues, our concerns regarding the Soviet biological warfare program and capability are unassuaged. The Soviets have maintained a prohibited offensive biological warfare capability. It may include advanced biological agents about which we have little knowledge and against which we have no defense. The Soviets continue to expand their chemical and toxin warfare capabilities, contrary to their public claims. Neither NATO retaliatory nor defensive programs can begin to match the Soviet effort. And, even though there have been no confirmed reports of attacks with lethal chemical, biological or toxin agents since 1984, previous activities have provided the Soviets with valuable testing, development, and operational experience.

Nuclear Testing

The record of Soviet noncompliance with the treaties on nuclear testing is of legal and military concern. Since the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) came into force over 20 years ago, the Soviet Union has conducted its nuclear weapons test program in a manner incompatible with the aims of the Treaty. That conduct regularly resulted in the release of nuclear debris into the atmosphere beyond the borders of the USSR. When the Soviets ended their unilateral nuclear testing moratorium on February 26, 1987, they resumed their pattern of noncompliance with treaties on nuclear testing by conducting the test in a way which resulted in the release of radioactive matter into the atmosphere beyond the borders of the USSR. Even though the material from these Soviet tests does not pose calculable health, safety or environmental risks, and these infractions have no apparent military significance, our repeated attempts to discuss these occurrences with Soviet authorities have been rebuffed. The United States presented demarches to the Soviets on two separate occasions of unambiguous venting in 1987 and received completely unacceptable explanations. Soviet refusal to discuss this matter calls into question their

sincerity on the whole range of arms control agreements.

During their 1985-86 moratorium, the Soviets undoubtedly maintained their test sites because they quickly resumed testing and have since conducted a series of tests. One of these tests raised sufficient concern about Soviet compliance with the 150 kt limit of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty (TTBT) that the U.S. raised the issue with the Soviets.

In the March 1987 Report we reaffirmed the December 1985 U.S. Government judgment that, "Soviet nuclear testing activities for a number of tests constitute a likely violation of legal obligations under the Threshold Test Ban Treaty." We also reported that the finding would stand until a number of studies, which had been initiated in an attempt to provide a somewhat improved basis for assessing Soviet compliance, could be completed. While significant progress has been made on those technically difficult issues, we do not expect to provide an update until next spring.

The United States and the Soviet Union have met several times at the experts level to discuss the broad range of issues relating to nuclear testing. In a joint statement issued at the time of the September 1987 meeting between Secretary of State Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, the two sides indicated their intention to design and conduct joint verification experiments at each other's test sites. On November 9, 1987, the United States and Soviet Union began full-scale, stage-by-stage negotiations in which the first step is to agree on effective verification measures which will make it possible to ratify the U.S-U.S.S.R. TTBT and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty (PNET). As a result of this first round of discussions, arrangements are being made for preliminary visits to each side's test sites.

The Helsinki Final Act

The Accord reached at the 1986 Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures containing new standards for notification, observation, and verification of military activities, including on-site inspection, went into effect January

1, 1987. To date, Soviet military activity forecasts, subsequent notifications, and the acceptance of requests for two inspections have been consistent with their obligations under the new agreement. The Soviets have provided the minimum information required and have, therefore, remained within the scope of their obligations. In view of this and without any new evidence, this compliance issue will not be treated in this report. However, we have exercised our prerogative for on-site inspection and will be carefully monitoring Soviet compliance with these new standards. While this Accord appears to be a step in the right direction, we must continue to seek further confidence and security building measures.

Compliance and Arms Control

A consistent and fundamental priority of my Administration has been achieving deep and equitable reductions in the nuclear offensive arsenals of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. That goal is closer to reality than it has ever been in the history of mankind, but it will be achieved only if effective verification and total compliance are integral elements of the process both with respect to existing arms control agreements and possible new ones.

We must insist on effective verification of the provisions of these new agreements, respond appropriately to any Soviet noncompliance, and continue to make our strategic decisions based on the nature and magnitude of the Soviet threat. A double standard of compliance with arms control obligations is unacceptable.

I look forward to continued close consultations with the Congress as we seek to make progress in resolving compliance issues and in negotiating sound arms control agreements.

The findings on Soviet noncompliance with arms control agreements follow.

THE FINDINGS

ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE (ABM) TREATY

Treaty Status: The 1972 ABM Treaty and its Protocol ban deployment of ABM systems except that each Party is permitted to deploy one ABM system around its national capital area or, alternatively, at a single

ICBM deployment area. The ABM Treaty is in force and is of indefinite duration. Soviet actions not in accord with the ABM Treaty are, therefore, violations of a legal obligation.

1. The Krasnoyarsk Radar

Obligation: To preclude the development of a territorial defense or providing the base for a territorial ABM defense, the ABM Treaty provides that radars for early warning of ballistic missile attack may be deployed only at locations along the periphery of the national territory of each Party and that they be oriented outward. The Treaty permits deployment (without regard to location or orientation) of large phased-array radars for purposes of tracking objects in outer space or for use as national technical means of verification of compliance with arms control agreements.

Issue: The March 1987 Report examined the issue of whether the Krasnoyarsk radar meets the provisions of the ABM Treaty governing phased-array radars. We have re-examined this issue.

Finding: The U.S. Government reaffirms the conclusion in the March 1987 Report that the new large phased-array radar under construction at Krasnoyarsk constitutes a violation of legal obligations under the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 in that in its associated siting, orientation, and capability, it is prohibited by this Treaty. Construction continued in 1987. The absence of credible alternative explanations have reinforced our assessment of its purpose. Despite U.S. requests, no corrective action has been taken. This and other ABM-related activities suggest that the USSR may be preparing an ABM defense of its national territory.

2. Mobility of ABM System Components

Obligation: Paragraph 1 of Article V of the ABM Treaty prohibits the development, testing, or deployment of mobile land-based ABM systems or components.

Issue: The March 1987 Report examined whether the Soviet Union has developed a mobile land-based ABM system, or components for such a system, in violation of its legal obligation under the ABM Treaty. We

have reexamined this issue and considered the impact of the Soviet actions at Gomel.

Finding: The U.S. Government reaffirms the judgment of the March 1987 Report that the evidence on Soviet actions with respect to ABM component mobility is ambiguous, but that the USSR's development and testing of components of an ABM system, which apparently are designed to be deployable at sites requiring relatively limited special-purpose site preparation, represent a potential violation of its legal obligation under the ABM Treaty. The recent movement of parts of a Flat Twin and Pawn Shop reinforces our concerns about ABM system component mobility. This and other ABM-related Soviet activities suggest that the USSR may be preparing an ABM defense of its national territory.

3. Concurrent Testing of ABM and Air Defense Components

Obligation: The ABM Treaty and its Protocol limit the Parties to one ABM deployment area. In addition to the ABM systems and components at that one deployment area, the Parties may have ABM systems and components for development and testing purposes so long as they are located at agreed test ranges. The Treaty also prohibits giving components, other than ABM system components, the capability "to counter strategic ballistic missiles or their elements in flight trajectory" and prohibits the Parties from testing them "in an ABM mode." The Parties agreed that the concurrent testing of SAM and ABM system components is prohibited.

Issue: The March 1987 Report examined whether the Soviet Union has concurrently tested SAM and ABM system components in violation of its legal obligation since 1978 not to do so. It was the purpose of that obligation to further constrain testing of air defense systems in an ABM mode. We have reexamined this issue.

Finding: The U.S. Government reaffirms the judgment made in the March 1987 Report that the evidence of Soviet actions with respect to concurrent operations is insufficient fully to assess compliance with Soviet obligations under the ABM Treaty. However, the Soviet Union has conducted tests that have involved air defense radars

in ABM-related activities. The large number, and consistency over time, of incidents of concurrent operation of ABM and SAM components, plus Soviet failure to accommodate fully U.S. concerns, indicate the USSR probably has violated the prohibition on testing SAM components in an ABM mode. In several cases this may be highly probable. This and other ABM-related activities suggest the USSR may be preparing an ABM defense of its national territory.

4. ABM Capability of Modern SAM Systems

Obligation: Under subparagraph (a) of Article VI of the ABM Treaty, each party undertakes not to give non-ABM interceptor missiles, launchers, or radars "capabilities to counter strategic ballistic missiles or their elements in flight trajectory, and not to test them in an ABM mode . . ."

Issue: The March 1987 Report examined whether the Soviet Union has tested a SAM system or component in an ABM mode or given it the capability to counter strategic ballistic missiles or their elements in flight trajectory in violation of their legal obligation under the ABM Treaty. We have reexamined this issue.

Finding: The U.S. Government reaffirms the judgment made in the March 1987 Report that the evidence of Soviet actions with respect to SAM upgrade is insufficient to assess compliance with the Soviet Union's obligations under the ABM Treaty. However, this and other ABM-related Soviet activities suggest that the USSR may be preparing an ABM defense of its national territory.

5. Rapid Reload of ABM Launchers

Obligation: The ABM Treaty limits to 100 the number of deployed ABM interceptor launchers and deployed interceptor missiles at launch sites. It does not limit the number of interceptor missiles that can be built and stockpiled. Paragraph 2, Article V, of the Treaty prohibits the development, testing or deployment of "automatic or semi-automatic or other similar systems for rapid reload" of the permitted launchers.

Issue: The March 1987 Report examined whether the Soviet Union has developed, tested or deployed automatic, semi-automatic, or other similar systems for rapid

reload of ABM launchers in violation of its legal obligations under the ABM Treaty. We have reexamined this issue.

Finding: The U.S. Government reaffirms the judgment made in the March 1987 Report that, on the basis of the evidence available, the USSR's actions with respect to the rapid reload of ABM launchers constitute an ambiguous situation as concerns its legal obligations under the ABM Treaty not to develop systems for rapid reload. The Soviet Union's reload capabilities are a serious concern. These and other ABM-related Soviet activities suggest that the USSR may be preparing an ABM defense of its national territory.

6. ABM Components at Gomel

Obligation: To preclude the deployment of a territorial defense or providing the base for a territorial defense, the ABM Treaty provides that ABM components cannot be deployed outside of the one permitted ABM system deployment area or designated ABM test ranges for any purpose.

Issue: In March 1987, the U.S. Government observed the appearance of major parts of the original Flat Twin radar, including all of the modular sections of the radar body, and a Pawn Shop van at an electronics plant in Gomel, about 550 kilometers southwest of Moscow. The timing of the arrival of parts of the Flat Twin and Pawn Shop indicates that they came from the radars that were removed from the Sary Shagan Missile Test Center where, by January 1987, the Soviets were observed disassembling a number of these ABM components. U.S. concern regarding the issue of mobile ABM components previously raised with the Soviets could be exacerbated by this Soviet action.

Finding: The U.S. Government finds that the USSR's activities with respect to moving a Flat Twin ABM radar and a Pawn Shop van, a component of an ABM system, from a test range and initiating deployment at a location outside of an ABM deployment area or ABM test range constitutes a violation of the ABM Treaty. While it is not likely that the actions at Gomel are to support an ABM defense at that locality, deployment of such radars at Gomel to carry

out any function is inconsistent with ABM Treaty obligations. This and other ABM-related Soviet activities suggest that the USSR may be preparing an ABM defense of its national territory.

7. ABM Territorial Defense

Obligation: The ABM Treaty and Protocol allow each Party a single deployment area, explicitly permit modernization and replacement of ABM systems or their components, and explicitly recognize the existence of ABM test ranges for the development and testing of ABM components. The ABM Treaty prohibits, however, the deployment of an ABM system for defense of the national territory of the Parties and prohibits the Parties from providing a base for such a defense.

Issue: The March 1987 Report examined whether the Soviets have deployed an ABM system for the defense of their territory or provided a base for such a defense. We have reexamined this issue.

Finding: The U.S. Government reaffirms the judgment of the March 1987 Report that the aggregate of the Soviet Union's ABM and ABM-related actions (e.g., radar construction, concurrent testing, SAM upgrade, ABM rapid reload, ABM mobility and deployment of ABM components to Gomel) suggests that the USSR may be preparing an ABM defense of its national territory.

BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION AND 1925 GENEVA PROTOCOL

Chemical, Biological and Toxin Weapons

Treaty Status: The 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention (BWC) and the 1925 Geneva Protocol are multilateral treaties to which both the United States and the Soviet Union are Parties. Soviet action not in accord with these treaties and customary international law relating to the 1925 Geneva Protocol are violations of legal obligations.

Obligation: The BWC bans the development, production, stockpiling or possession, and transfer of microbial or other biological toxins except for a small quantity for prophylactic, protective or other peaceful pur-

poses. It imposes the same obligations in relation to weapons, equipment and means of delivery of agents or toxins. The 1925 Geneva Protocol and related rules of customary international law prohibit the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases and of all analogous liquids, materials, or devices and prohibits use of bacteriological methods of warfare.

Issue: The March 1987 Report examined whether the Soviets are in violation of provisions that ban the development, production, transfer, possession, and use of biological and toxin weapons and whether they have been responsible for the use of lethal chemicals. We have reexamined this issue.

Finding: The U.S. Government judges that continued activity during 1987 at suspect biological and toxin weapon facilities in the Soviet Union, and reports that a Soviet BW program may now include investigation of new classes of BW agents, confirm the conclusion of the March 1987 Report that the Soviet Union has maintained an offensive biological warfare program and capability in violation of its legal obligation under the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention of 1972.

There have been no confirmed attacks with lethal chemical or toxins in Cambodia, Laos, or Afghanistan in 1987 according to our strict standards of evidence. Nonetheless, there is no basis for amending the March 1987 conclusion that, prior to this time, the Soviet Union has been involved in the production, transfer, and use of trichothecene mycotoxins for hostile purposes in Laos, Cambodia, and Afghanistan in violation of its legal obligation under international law as codified in the Geneva Protocol of 1925 and the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention of 1972.

LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY

Underground Nuclear Test Venting

Treaty Status: The Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water (Limited

Test Ban Treaty) (LTBT) is a multilateral treaty that entered into force for the United States and the Soviet Union in 1963. Soviet actions not in accord with this treaty are violations of a legal obligation.

Obligation: The LTBT specifically prohibits nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. It also prohibits nuclear explosions in any other environment "if such explosions cause radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial limits of the State under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted."

Issue: The March 1987 Report examined whether the USSR's underground nuclear tests have caused radioactive debris to be present outside of its territorial limits. We have reexamined this issue including evidence obtained since the Soviets resumed nuclear underground testing in February 1987.

Finding: The U.S. Government reaffirms the judgment made in the March 1987 Report that the Soviet Union's underground nuclear test practices resulted in the venting of radioactive matter on numerous occasions and caused radioactive matter to be present outside the Soviet Union's territorial limits in violation of its legal obligation under the Limited Test Ban Treaty. The Soviet Union failed to take the precautions necessary to minimize the contamination of man's environment by radioactive substances despite numerous U.S. demarches and requests for corrective action. This practice has continued. Since the resumption of Soviet underground testing in February 1987 the United States has presented demarches to the Soviet Union on two separate occasions when unambiguously attributable venting has occurred.

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and George Bush, President of the Senate. The unclassified version of the report which was required by Public Law No. 99-145, followed the President's letter.

**Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on Soviet Noncompliance With Arms Control Agreements
*December 2, 1987***

The President today sent to the Congress the classified and unclassified versions of the annual report on Soviet noncompliance with arms control agreements mandated by Public Law 99-145.

The analysis and findings contained in this report are an important element of our approach to strengthening U.S. and allied security. Sound agreements that result in genuine reductions, equality of U.S. and Soviet forces, and are effectively verifiable contribute to our security if they are faithfully carried out. All treaty violations are significant, because they undermine confidence in the process of arms control if a country can pick and choose with which provisions of treaties it will comply.

This year's report reaffirms the findings

of the March 1987 report with respect to Soviet violation of the ABM treaty, the biological and toxin weapons convention, the Geneva protocol on chemical weapons, and the limited test ban treaty. In addition, we have evidence of an additional Soviet violation of the ABM treaty in the deployment of an ABM radar at Gomel.

Previous Soviet violations are continuing. All of these violations are a matter of serious concern to us, and we have urged the Soviets to do what is necessary to end them. Correcting their violations will be a true test of Soviet willingness to enter a more constructive relationship and broaden the basis for cooperation between our two countries on security matters.

**Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on the Arms Sale to Bahrain
*December 2, 1987***

The success of our policy and naval presence in the Persian Gulf is reflected in the action of the Arab States at their summit meeting in Amman, their unprecedented cooperation with us in the Gulf, and the presence in the Gulf of naval forces from five of our NATO allies. [Israeli] Prime Minister Shamir's recent statements strongly supporting our Gulf posture and its contribution to stability and greater realism in the area also bear testimony to the wisdom of our approach. A critical element in the success of our policy is that our moderate Arab friends and our allies see the United States as being reliable.

The emergence of legislation in the Congress that would prohibit the sale of STINGER air defense missiles to countries with a legitimate need for them is a source of serious concern. The immediate target of the proposed amendment is a limited sale of STINGER's to Bahrain.

For the past 40 years, Bahrain has been a good friend to the United States, consistently hosting our regional naval presence. In fact, it would have been impossible to accomplish the recent naval buildup in the Gulf to protect U.S. flag ships from Iranian attack without the help of Bahrain. At the same time, Bahrain's extraordinary support for the United States has made it even more vulnerable to Iranian military threats.

Attacks against Bahrain could hit either U.S. or Bahraini targets, since U.S. ships and aircraft are frequent visitors at Bahrain's port and airfield. Improved Bahraini defense against such attacks would protect American forces as well as Bahrain. The STINGER system is precisely what Bahrain needs to fill gaps in its defenses against the most likely threat, and no other system can do the job as well. U.S. Navy ships in the Gulf are equipped with STINGER's to

defend against the very same Iranian aerial threat.

We fully share congressional concerns about preventing diversion of STINGER's into hostile or terrorist hands, and so does Bahrain. That is why we have always insisted on reliable safeguards that rule out the possibility of transfer or diversion as an absolute precondition for any STINGER sale. Any government that will not accept such safeguards will not be sold STINGER's. We must not forget that the likely alternative to careful, tightly controlled and monitored STINGER sales to states who legitimately

need them and with whom we have important defense relationships is a further proliferation of unsafeguarded, man-portable Soviet systems. That would increase, not decrease, the terrorist threat in the area.

The administration is actively seeking to work with Congress on this important issue to develop a mutually acceptable solution. The more we can cooperate in projecting an image of steadiness and resolve in the Gulf, the more progress we are likely to make in reassuring our friends, deterring our adversaries, and defending our vital interests in that critical region.

Statement on Signing the Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988

December 2, 1987

I am pleased to sign H.R. 2112, the Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988. This legislation authorizes the appropriation of funds for United States intelligence and intelligence-related activities. It represents the combined efforts of the Senate and House Intelligence and Armed Services Committees as well as the various agencies in the intelligence community to assure adequate funding for these important activities. The bill also contains many positive legislative initiatives that are the product of cooperation between these committees and the community. I am gratified to see the results of this cooperation and will work to ensure that it continues in the future.

I was disappointed that the authorization levels in this bill are less than I had requested. However, the intelligence community will do everything possible to meet the complex and diverse challenges it faces within current budgetary limits. In these times of fiscal constraint, it is necessary for all agencies to share in budget reductions, and the community stands ready to do its part. I will continue to work with the Congress to ensure the continuation of a strong intelligence capability for the United States.

Finally, I must express my view that section 501 of the bill is unconstitutional. This

section would require the Attorney General to report to the Congress internal disagreements between executive officials about the admission of foreign officials to the United States. These internal disagreements reflect communications and deliberations that are protected from disclosure because of the need for candor and objectivity among executive officials. The President, of course, has the exclusive constitutional authority to "receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers." Since the Presidency of George Washington, it has been consistently recognized that the executive branch cannot be made to disclose to the Congress information relating to actions taken pursuant to an authority assigned by the Constitution exclusively to the President. Accordingly, requiring this annual report by the Attorney General would violate long-established constitutional principles and, pursuant to my constitutional authority, I will instruct the Attorney General not to submit an annual report to the Congress pursuant to section 501. I do not, however, believe the unconstitutionality of section 501 affects the validity of the remainder of the bill.

Note: H.R. 2112, approved December 2, was assigned Public Law No. 100-178.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the Monetary Exchange Rate

December 2, 1987

A Market News Service report published about 3:30 p.m. today quotes an unnamed senior administration official concerning White House views on the dollar. No one who speaks for the administration would

make these comments. As we have often said, only the President or the Secretary of the Treasury speak for the administration on this issue.

Remarks at a White House Briefing for Human Rights Supporters

December 3, 1987

Thank you, and I appreciate all of you being here. You represent groups that have a keen interest in the discussions that will be taking place during the upcoming visit of General Secretary Gorbachev. And I'm happy to have this opportunity to confirm to you that, although we're making a serious effort to improve relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, we will not do it by compromising our national interests or diminishing our commitment to the universality of human rights.

Our dedication to liberty and justice for all is not negotiable, not to this generation or not to any generation of Americans. This year we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the signing of our Constitution, which of course contains not just an organizational structure for the Federal Government but also the Bill of Rights. The structure divides power so that no person or group can be so powerful that they can trample on the rights of the people. And I think it's interesting to note that the reason the Bill of Rights was added to the document was that some believed the Constitution might not have been ratified otherwise. Such was our forefathers' devotion to liberty.

The United States declared its independence with a document that proclaimed rights to be inalienable gifts from God, not just those who could make it to our shores but to all people, everywhere. Ben Franklin, the grand old man of the Revolution, once said: "God, grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of

the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the Earth so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say, 'This is my country.'"

Well, 200 years later liberty has not spread as wide as Franklin would have wished but, consistent with his vision, is a spirit of solidarity that exists between the free peoples of the world. We see the violation of anyone's human rights, acts of repression or brutality, as attacks on civilization itself. The United States, as the most powerful of the free nations, is looked to for leadership by those who live in freedom and as a mighty source of hope to those who languish under tyranny. This is a weighty responsibility that no American, especially a President, can take lightly.

In my upcoming meetings, I know that sitting next to me will be unseen guests, men and women whose only hope is that they're not forgotten here in the West: dissidents who are inhumanely committed to mental institutions, often subdued with mind-altering drugs; Soviet Jews, Armenians, Germans, and others who have applied to emigrate and have endured incredible hardships as a result; divided families and spouses who are cruelly separated from their loved ones. These people are not now, nor will they ever be, forgotten by our administration. Well, let me assure you and, through you, all those whose cause you champion, we deeply care about the well-being of these unseen guests, and their presence will be felt throughout my summit

discussions. The goal of this visit and any subsequent visits is not simply arms reduction. Certainly, that's one priority, yet it remains on a par with solving certain bilateral issues: ending regional conflicts and of course improving human rights.

It wasn't long ago that a story was making the rounds in the Soviet underground about the dissident who was condemned by the Soviet judge to a Siberian work camp. "The sentence is too light," the dissident protested. "What do you mean?" asked the judge. "Well, if America is so bad, why don't you send me there?" [Laughter] Seriously though, much has been said about *glasnost* and reforms in the Soviet Union, and there does seem to have been modest progress. Soviet officials not that long ago refused to discuss human rights, claiming it was their internal affair. General Secretary Gorbachev even told a French newsmen shortly after the Geneva summit that there were no political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

Well, today our discussions on this issue are wide-ranging, and human rights is accepted as an integral component of our bilateral discussions. In the last 2 years we've witnessed a loosening of the grip. Over 200 political prisoners have been released from the *gulag*. There's a higher rate of emigration. Some long-divided families have been reunited. There has even been a relaxing of some of the controls on freedom of expression. Earlier this year, for example, there were demonstrations in the Baltic nations on the anniversaries of the Hitler-Stalin pact and the day marking the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1940. The fact that these protests were permitted at all was heartening.

The free people of the West are watching to see if the emigration doors, now cracked, will continue to open. And inside we wait and pray for believers, people of every creed. All prisoners of faith have not been released, and clearly religious freedom is still an aspiration yet to be achieved. We care about people whose human rights are

violated and who are abused or imprisoned in every country. We care of what they symbolize and because they're human beings. And we're outraged at the way they're being treated.

George Bernard Shaw once wrote: "The worst sin towards our fellow creatures is not to hate them but to be indifferent to them: That is the essence of inhumanity." Well, today, we're pleased with any releases, any unification of separated families, any lessening of the iron grip on the freedoms of expression and religion. But we will not be indifferent to those who are left behind, and we will not be lulled into ignoring the fact that the apparatus of the state repression remains intact in the Soviet Union. The real joy will come, and trust between East and West will flourish, not only when prisoners are released but when the instruments of repression are dismantled and repressive laws and practices are abolished.

Early in this century, President Teddy Roosevelt said: ". . . for the world has set its face hopefully toward our democracy; and, O my fellow citizens, each one of you carries on your shoulders not only the burden of doing well for the sake of your own country but the burden of doing well and seeing that this nation does well for the sake of mankind . . ." So, it's not just up to any one government official: It's up to all of us. I'd like to thank each of you for participating in this discussion and the exchange of ideas with members of the administration in preparation for the upcoming summit. We need your involvement, your continued support, and your stalwart commitment to our country's ideals.

Now, I thank you for all you're doing. God bless you all. And now, I'd like to turn over this meeting to Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead. Thank you again.

Note: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for James H. Burnley IV as Secretary of Transportation

December 3, 1987

The President. Well, let me begin by welcoming all of you here today, with a special greeting of course to the members of the Burnley family. This is a proud moment for our administration, but I know that nothing can quite match the pride that each of you must feel.

I've called James Burnley a Washington success story, and he truly is. Jim came to Washington in 1981, first serving as Director of VISTA. The following year Jim went to the Department of Justice as an Associate Deputy Attorney General. In 1983 he joined the Department of Transportation, first as General Counsel, then as Deputy Secretary, a position in which Jim served in effect as chief operating officer of this Department that employs 100,000 and has an annual budget of more than \$25 billion. Today we've heard Jim take his oath as a member of my Cabinet and Secretary of Transportation.

One of Jim's highest recommendations came from former Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole, although after having distinguished himself as Deputy Secretary, Jim didn't need much recommending. Mrs. Dole described Jim as "an outstanding public servant, a very able lawyer." And Secretary Dole's predecessor, my first Secretary of Transportation, Drew Lewis, has praised Jim as, "a strong deregulator with a commitment to rebuild America's infrastructure while recognizing the importance of safety in all modes of transportation."

Well, I'm proud to have nominated Jim to become this country's ninth Secretary of Transportation. Jim is well-prepared and highly qualified to lead this Department, which has just celebrated its 20th anniversary. And I know that he'll do a great job in working to ensure us of a safe and efficient transportation system.

Jim shares my vision for a transportation policy that will remove government barriers to the private sector so it can provide the transportation service that America needs. Much has been done to continue de-

regulation of these industries, particularly in the airline, railroad, and trucking industries. But there's even more to be done in the next 14 months to return control to the private sector.

Jim, throughout your life you've demonstrated a dedication to the life of the Nation and to the ideals for which America stands. And now that you've taken your oath of office, I would only observe: This is a duty for which you're fully prepared and an honor that you fully deserve. Congratulations!

Secretary Burnley. Thank you very much, Mr. President, for your faith in me as I begin the challenge of being your Secretary of Transportation. And also let me say thank you to all of you for being here.

America's economy and its ability to compete in world markets depend on a dynamic and growing transportation industry. And I recognize the tremendous responsibility that I'm assuming to continue your administration's efforts to be sure that government is not impeding such growth while, at the same time, continuing to provide the traveling public with the highest level of safety. And I have the great advantage of being able to build upon the very solid foundation laid by Drew Lewis and Elizabeth Dole, clearly the two most successful Secretaries of Transportation in the Department's 20-year history.

And I am privileged to have an extremely talented and capable team of individuals working with me: the 100,000 men and women that you made reference to who are the Department of Transportation. With millions of Americans on our roads, trains, airways, and waterways every day, their safety is a responsibility that I and the people of the Department take very personally and seriously.

Since I am no stranger to the Department, I'm ready to begin immediately to lead them in making the last year of your administration one of continuing substantial progress in assuring the American people

the safest, most efficient transportation system in the world. So, it's with deep, personal gratitude to you, Mr. President, that I assume this office, and I look forward to working with you and the Congress and the

Cabinet in the year ahead.

Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:50 a.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

Nomination of T.S. Ary To Be Director of the Bureau of Mines *December 3, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate T.S. Ary to be Director of the Bureau of Mines at the Department of the Interior. He would succeed Robert Carlton Horton.

Since 1980 Mr. Ary has been president of minerals exploration division at Kerr-McGee Corp. in Oklahoma City, OK. Prior to this Mr. Ary was vice president and director of development at Utah Exploration, Inc., in San Francisco, CA, 1975-1980. Mr. Ary has served with Union Carbide Explo-

ration Corp., New York, NY, and Grand Junction, CO; vice president, Worldwide Exploration in New York City, 1967-1974; corporate land manager in Grand Junction, 1960-1967; domestic exploration manager and assistant manager exploration in Grand Junction, 1955-1960.

Mr. Ary graduated from Stanford University (B.S., 1951). He was born March 30, 1925, in Eldorado, IL. Mr. Ary is married, has one child, and resides in Oklahoma City, OK.

Nomination of Wendy Lee Gramm To Be a Commissioner and Chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission *December 3, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Wendy Lee Gramm to be a Commissioner of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission for the remainder of the term expiring April 13, 1990, and to be Chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission. She would succeed Susan Meredith Phillips in both capacities.

Since 1985 Dr. Gramm has been Associate Director for Information and Regulatory Affairs at the Office of Management and Budget in Washington, DC. She is currently the Executive Director of the Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief, which was reestablished in 1986. Prior to this, she was Director for the Division of Consumer Protection at the Federal Trade Commission's Bureau of Economics, 1983 to August 1984,

and returned to that position in November 1984 until October 1985; and Assistant Director, 1982-1983. From 1979 to 1982, Dr. Gramm was a research staff member for the Institute for Defense Analyses in Alexandria, VA. She has served with Texas A&M University in various capacities: director of undergraduate programs, department of economics, 1974-1977; associate professor, 1975-1979; and assistant professor, 1970-1975.

Dr. Gramm graduated from Wellesley College (B.A., 1966) and Northwestern University (Ph.D., 1971). She was born January 10, 1945, in Wailua, HI. Dr. Gramm is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Warren Lloyd Miller as a Member of the District of Columbia Law Revision Commission

December 3, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Warren Lloyd Miller to be a member of the District of Columbia Law Revision Commission for a term of 4 years. This is a new position.

Since 1986 Mr. Miller has been president of Warren L. Miller, P.C., in Washington, DC. Prior to this Mr. Miller was a partner in Stein, Miller & Brodsky in Washington,

1974–1985. Mr. Miller has served as Assistant United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, 1969–1974.

Mr. Miller graduated from American University (B.A., 1966) and George Washington University (J.D., 1969). He was born July 18, 1944, in New York, NY. He is married, has two children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Appointment of Beny J. Primm as a Member of the White House Conference for a Drug Free America

December 3, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Beny J. Primm, M.D., to be a member of the White House Conference for a Drug Free America. This is a new position.

Since 1983 Dr. Primm has been president of the Urban Resource Institute in Brooklyn, NY. Prior to this he was medical director for the Bay Area Addiction Research and Treatment of the Los Angeles Clinics, 1981–1982, and medical director of the New Rochelle Guidance Center, Methadone

Maintenance Treatment Program, 1977–1982. He has served as president and executive director of the Addiction Research and Treatment Corp. since 1969.

Dr. Primm received his medical degree from the University of Geneva, in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1959 and his bachelors degree from West Virginia State College in 1950. Dr. Primm was born on May 21, 1928. He has three children and currently resides in New Rochelle, NY.

Nomination of Susan E. Phillips To Be a Member of the Federal Trade Commission

December 3, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Susan E. Phillips to be a member of the Federal Trade Commission for the term of 7 years from September 26, 1987. She would succeed Patricia Price Bailey.

Since 1985 Ms. Phillips has been Associate Director of the Office of Presidential Personnel at the White House in Washington, DC. Prior to this she was Director of the

Institute of Museum Services, 1983–1985. Ms. Phillips was Director of Intergovernmental and Interagency Affairs at the United States Department of Education, 1982–1983; and director of research and publications at the Conservative Caucus, Inc., and the Conservative Caucus Research, Analysis, and Education Foundation, Inc., 1976–1982.

Ms. Phillips graduated from the Universi-

ty of Massachusetts (B.A., 1967) and Virginia Polytechnic University (M.B.A., 1985). She was born June 23, 1945, in Cambridge, MA, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Interview With Television Network Broadcasters December 3, 1987

INF Treaty

Q. Mr. President, by the luck of the draw, I have the first question this evening. Next week Mikhail Gorbachev will be in Washington. The two of you are expected to sign an agreement for the elimination of all medium-range nuclear missiles in the world, even though this week you are accusing the Soviets of violating the antiballistic missile treaty, and even though a lot of people say that that will leave the Soviets in a superior position in Europe, because they have more men, more tanks, more helicopters. Now, if this were another President making this deal, wouldn't the old Ronald Reagan be the first to speak out against it?

The President. No, because I think this deal is different than anything that's ever been attempted before in arms negotiations between our two countries. For one thing, this is the first Russian leader—or Soviet leader, I should say, that has ever expressed a willingness to eliminate weapons they already have. But as to whether this changes the military balance, you're absolutely right that in conventional weapons—tanks, artillery, and so forth—the Soviet Union does have tremendous advantage over the NATO countries and over the United States as a member of NATO.

But there are still thousands and thousands of nuclear weapons—tactical weapons, battlefield weapons—that can be fired from artillery and so forth that still exist. These weapons that are disappearing were weapons that—if the Soviet Union used them, they wouldn't be hitting military targets, they would be hitting the capital cities of all of Europe. And if it comes to the point of us negotiating, as I hope it does one day, on those battlefield tactical weapons, then conventional weapons must be negotiated, as well. There would be no point then in removing those weapons,

which now do give us a balance and counter their conventional superiority, and leaving them with that other superiority. Both would have to be—one eliminated and the other brought down to parity.

And we're not anywhere near facing those yet. We're facing the terror weapons—first, these that we want to eliminate totally and that I asked for in 1981, and the next step, the so-called START agreement, where we are talking of starting with eliminating 50 percent of the intercontinental ballistic missiles. Those are the destabilizing weapons that bring terror to the world. Those are the weapons that threaten us with mutual destruction if they're ever loosed—someone pushes a button and within 30 minutes there is devastation and horror in our country, or, if we've done it to them, in their country. And that would be the next step.

Q. Mr. President, on this treaty, you've not even signed on the dotted line, and yet five of the Republican Presidential candidates have deserted you. The conservatives, the right wing of your party, are after your scalp. My question is: If you are not a lame-duck President, would this INF treaty sail through the Senate?

The President. Well, I hope it is going to sail through anyway. I think that the objections that we are hearing—and, yes, from some of our own, you might say, allies and own forces—they're based on a lack of knowledge as to what this treaty contains, and particularly are they ignorant of the advances that have been made in verification. No treaty before has ever been based on as much verification and on-site inspection and so forth as this one. This is what has been holding it up for so long until we finally got over that hurdle. And I think that this thing hinges something on the first question, also: that they think that somehow

this is leaving the Soviet Union with its superiority in conventional weapons. And I've just explained that it isn't. But also I think we have to look at the very fact that we have obtained apparently their agreement to a treaty in which they're destroying four times as many nuclear missiles or warheads as we are.

Q. Mr. President, Winston Churchill once said that trying to maintain a good relationship with the Communists was not unlike trying to woo a crocodile: that when it opened its mouth, you never could be quite certain whether it was trying to smile or eat you up. [Laughter] Now, Americans respect you, love you, and are pulling for; but they're concerned that perhaps you are going to—or already have allowed Gorbachev to eat you and us up. We have a new CBS News-New York Times poll out tonight, and it indicates that the majority of those polled, 45 percent, the largest number, are convinced that you'll make too many compromises to Gorbachev. And the question is: What assurances can you give—how can you convince Americans that you have the command of the kind of complex information that's necessary here?—not to have this young, energetic, intelligent, tough Marxist-Leninist eat you and us up?

The President. Well, I haven't changed from the time when I made a speech about an evil empire. And I think I could sum up my own position on this with the recitation of a very brief Russian proverb: *Dovorey no provorey*. It means trust, but verify. And there would be no way that I could sign a treaty just to be signing a treaty and with my fingers crossed that everything was all right. This is why it is hinged on arriving at solid verification measures and their agreement to them. And I think that in the past there has been a willingness on some to just look on the bright side and accept a treaty so that they could say, look, we've signed a treaty, whether the treaty worked or whether it benefited us or not. And there's no way that I could do that. And I assure the people now that that will never happen.

That's why I walked out of Reykjavik. In Reykjavik we had come to an agreement on literally total nuclear disarmament, except that at the very last minute they said it

could only take place if we gave up SDI. And that's when I came home.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, a point of information—this is not a followup—but did I understand you correctly to say that you have not changed your mind from the time you described the Soviet Union as the “evil empire”?

The President. The Soviet Union has, back through the years, made it plain, and certainly leader after leader has declared his pledge that they would observe the Marxian concept of expansionism: that the future lay in a one world, Communist state. All right, we now have a leader that is apparently willing to say—or has never made that claim, but is willing to say that he's prepared to live with other philosophies in other countries. But again, as I say, that doesn't mean that we take his word for that and sign a treaty he alone may not be able to deliver on something of that kind. We'll sign a treaty—as I've repeatedly said here—when we're sure that that treaty is as beneficial to us as it is to them.

And I would like to call your attention to the fact that in 1981, when I proposed the zero option of these intermediate weapons, they indignantly walked out of the negotiations and said they wouldn't be back. Well, they came back. And as a matter of fact, they came back and announced a zero-zero as their own idea. Now, I think that some of the people who are objecting the most and just refusing even to accede to the idea of ever getting any understanding, whether they realize it or not, those people, basically, down in their deepest thoughts, have accepted that war is inevitable and that there must come to be a war between the two superpowers.

Well, I think as long as you've got a chance to strive for peace you strive for peace. But you don't have peace and surrender. And there's no way that we're going to surrender, no way that we're going to sign a treaty that is not, as I say, to the benefit of all of us.

Public Opinion Polls

Q. Mr. President, in something of the

same vein about Mr. Gorbachev, I think all our polls this week may show the same thing. The ABC News-Washington Post polls show surprisingly that Mr. Gorbachev's favorable rating in this country is only 4 percent lower than your own. He's made a strong impression. The other day when you were asked about difficulties with him, you turned to the side with something of a joke. You said you'd played with Errol Flynn. Can you give us a more serious assessment now of Mr. Gorbachev and how tough he is to do business with?

The President. Well, all of you, in reporting my line about Errol Flynn, sort of skipped over what the young man had asked me. He had made it out that you'd all built up Mr. Gorbachev to the place that didn't I have some concern about sort of standing up there alongside him and being—well, he'd be the scene-stealer and so forth. And that's when I couldn't help but say I costarred with Errol Flynn. So, that's all that that was about.

But with regard to those poll figures and polls, I have to say, you have to know what questions are asked and how they're being asked. Because our Dr. Wirthlin, that I think is probably the finest on-the-record pollster in the Nation, has more recently taken a poll, and he found that 56 percent of the people in America support the treaty and SDI. And then when they heard his interview and him admitting that they, too, were working on an SDI, that figure went up to 71 percent of the American people want Strategic Defense Initiative.

Human Rights

Q. Mr. President, we learned again this week that Mikhail Gorbachev has a very hard-line view about human rights in his country and a very distorted view about the human rights equation in this country. He seems not to understand, firsthand, the depth of feeling in America, and even in his own country, about the need for people to have freedom to come and go as they please, to live in dignity. Could you not bring that feeling to him by inviting some refuseniks to the State dinner next week, so that when he is your guest he can meet them firsthand?

The President. Well, I'm sure that there

are going to be a number of people at that dinner who have different views from him. Whether that's the place, though, for what you're suggesting, I don't know. But I do know that we've talked all this time here on disarmament and virtually this single treaty, but that is only one of the four major courses that we're going to be discussing with him, as we have on all the other occasions—and that is human rights—one of them—and we have made some headway. There has been an increase. A number of the so-called refuseniks who have been allowed to come to this country have been requests by us by name in which we have named individuals that have come to our attention. And we've got to go further.

What you first suggested there—we've got to make them see that the full human rights, the rights that they agreed to in the Helsinki pact, have got to be observed: the right of people to live where they want to live. And perhaps we can point out in our discussions that we're not trying to interfere with their internal workings. That's the answer that they've given so many times to us on this particular subject. But maybe we could make them see that if their people had more of that *glasnost* that he's been talking about they wouldn't want to emigrate.

I'm quite sure that there are people there who love their country, but it's the manner in which it is being run that makes them think they have to go someplace else. But how much emigration on the basis of religious beliefs would there be if they would simply repeal the restrictions that they've imposed on various religions and admit that people can believe in God and worship God in their own way, whatever their denomination might be. As a matter of fact, people who have been there and people who have a reason to know, not just tourists, have said that there is a growing desire on the part of the Soviet people for the right to worship. And maybe in all of our meetings—maybe we could help him understand that and help him get his *glasnost*.

Q. But part of the problem on human rights, it seems to a lot of people, is that we have no effective pressure on them, no linkage. And you have been talking here again

today about the need to reduce long-range missiles by 50 percent. Plainly, Gorbachev is interested in that. If you can work out an accommodation on SDI, the Strategic Defense Initiative, and work your way toward a 50-percent reduction in long-range missiles, would you sign that if there were no measurable significant progress as well in human rights by a set standard?

The President. Well, as I have to say, I think you shouldn't link these various programs, but we will be working just as hard with regard to human rights, just as hard with regard to the regional things, such as getting out of Afghanistan, and pointing out that if he means his desire for a better, more open relationship between the two countries, then these are things that are essential to that and that he can come closer to what he expresses as his desire if he meets us halfway on these other issues.

Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, do you suspect that Gorbachev thinks he can do a snow job on the American people?

The President. I would have no way of knowing that. I have to say this in favor of him on this thing: that having been born and raised within the Soviet framework, I have felt that he sincerely believes in that philosophy and also believes a lot of the propaganda about the Western World and about our country—that it isn't just spouting off about shortcomings here in this country; he really believes them.

That's why I am desirous of having him be able to come to our country—he has never been here before—to come to our country when it is not a summit, but when he would be free to see what there is to see in this country. I'm a little frustrated when I think you couldn't take him to see it, because then he'd think it was all staged, because he sincerely believes the shortcomings that he discusses of ours. And I'm still going to hope that the other can take place.

Soviet-U.S. Summit Meeting in Moscow

Q. Because arms control is such a crucial part of your legacy—INF here in Washington, possibly, possibly, a START agreement in Moscow—if you do not go to Moscow next summer, given your legacy, will it

break your heart?

The President. Well, I think I'd stop short of that, but I'd be very disappointed. And I just don't think it's going to happen. I think that we're going to have a meeting in Moscow, and I think there is a reasonably good chance that we will make another gigantic step forward in the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Q. Mr. President, you said that you watched Tom's [Tom Brokaw, NBC News] fascinating interview with Mr. Gorbachev the other evening.

The President. Yes.

Afghanistan

Q. Would you assess for me your personal opinion of his truthfulness when he talked about Afghanistan and the extent and causes of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union?

The President. Well, as I say, I have to believe that he believes their own propaganda. He grew up with this and hearing this.

Q. You believe that he believes that he has 115,000 troops in Afghanistan, committing genocide almost daily, simply because they were invited in there?

The President. Well, you must remember that there were other leaders under which this happened. He inherited that. And those leaders are the ones who had created the puppet government. Now, whether he knows to what extent they did that, I don't know. But I'm quite sure, on the other hand, that he feels comfortable with the idea that if they left Afghanistan that there would be a government similar to the Eastern-bloc nations in Afghanistan, not necessarily a government that was chosen by the people of Afghanistan.

Well, on our side, our job is to make him see that not only must their troops leave Afghanistan but that the people of Afghanistan, just as the people of Nicaragua, must have the right to determine the government that they're going to have in those countries and not simply accept the present stooges or the Communist world.

Q. There's a lot of talk, Mr. President, about you facilitating a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Would you, for example, make a commitment not to supply the anti-

government forces for a year if the Soviets committed to get out of Afghanistan within that period of time?

The President. I don't think we could do anything of that kind, because the puppet government that has been left there has a military, and it would be the same as what I'm arguing about with regard to the freedom fighters in Nicaragua. You can't suddenly disarm them and leave them prey to the other government—and this is p-r-e-y, not p-r-a-y. No, the people of Afghanistan must be assured of the right of all of them to participate in establishing the government they want, and that requires more than just getting his forces out of there. But I think that we have to look at one other thing here. You spoke of the need for pressure sometimes to get some of the things we want. The pressure on him, and on the Soviet Union, is that that great military power in some almost 8 years has been unable to overpower the freedom fighters there. They're fighting on literally even terms. And it must be quite an embarrassment.

Withdrawal of U.S. Forces From Europe

Q. Another question, sir, about withdrawal. You're very up about the INF agreement. You're optimistic about the possibility of getting your reduction in strategic nuclear weapons. The Soviets have talked a lot about reducing their conventional forces in Europe. Is it time to consider bringing some American troops home from Europe?

The President. Well, not at a time when we already are outweighed by the opposition. That would come as part of an agreement if you were coming down to parity so that there would not be anyone with a great superiority. So, no, they would have to come down quite a ways by themselves before they would reach our level. I think if you look at the figures on tanks, mechanized warfare, artillery pieces, they outnumber the NATO forces by as much as three times as many weapons in those fields as NATO has.

Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy

Q. Mr. President, there is some feeling, as I'm sure you're aware, that you're eager to make this arms control deal in part because

you need a political victory, especially after the Iran-*contra* affair. There is some unfinished business. There are some open questions around Washington and the country. One of the principal ones is that if Colonel North and Admiral Poindexter are indicted would you pardon them?

The President. That's a question that I don't think anyone should try to answer at a time like this. You tempt me into remarking something about the Iran-*contra* affair. I refuse to believe that accepting a request from individuals not in the government—or not government forces of Iran to discuss the possibilities of a future government of Iran having a better relationship with the United States—that it was a scandal for me to accept that invitation and have some people make contact with them.

Q. But it went a lot deeper than that, Mr. President. It was not just the initial contacts about future relations. There was money diverted, and there was, as you know—

The President. Yes, I'm the one that told all of you that there was money diverted, and I didn't know it until after that leak in a paper in Beirut exposed the meeting we were having. We were having a covert operation there, because we didn't want to cause the death of the people who had wanted to talk to us.

George Bush

Q. Mr. President, in 1980 George Bush was put on your ticket. It was a shotgun marriage. Is that one of the reasons why now you can't find the will to embrace him, to endorse his candidacy? Some people say if you don't speak out, in effect, it will be the kiss of death.

The President. No, I think most people would overlook then that the President is really the titular head of his party, whichever party he belongs to. And therefore, while it is a party choice that must be made as to who a nominee is—I had to be this way when I was a Governor. I have to be this way as President. But I can only tell you that whichever individual the party chooses I will wholeheartedly support them as obviously the best choice for this office, having viewed the candidates of the other party. But I can say this: The Vice President, I

think, has been the finest Vice President in my memory in this country. He has participated in all the major operations that—I had that belief when I came here, and I'd had it when I was a Governor with a Lieutenant Governor—that it isn't someone just sitting there waiting to see if you get up in the morning, whether they've got another job. He's an executive Vice President. He's a major part. He's one of only two of us that are chosen by all the people in this country for the jobs that we hold. And so, he understands that—but I have to remain neutral until the decision is made by the party as to who their nominee will be.

Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy

Q. Mr. President, Bernie's [Bernard Shaw, Cable News Network] question raises an interesting point. Vice President Bush has said a number of times that he gave you some counsel about the secret shipment of some of our best missiles to the Ayatollah and sending the Ayatollah a birthday cake and that whole thing. But he hasn't said what it was. Don't you feel—or do you feel that the American people are entitled to know, given the fact that Vice President Bush wants to be President, what that advice was and will you tell us?

The President. Well, Dan, [Dan Rather, CBS News], George and I—not every Thursday now, but for several years every Thursday until this campaign got underway—we have lunch together, just the two of us. And we discuss, as you can imagine, all the things that are going on and so forth. And he does not hesitate, when I ask, to give me his opinion on something. But here again, you've tempted me into another direction. Because again, that misunderstanding out of the Iran—*contra* so-called affair—that missiles to the Ayatollah—the people that contacted us from Iran—the people we were dealing with—if the Ayatollah found out, they'd be dead before nightfall. We weren't dealing at all with the Ayatollah. Now, I think he's as big a Satan as he thinks I am.

This came as a request from those individuals: that if we could do that, first of all, it would assure them that the people they were dealing with surreptitiously were speaking for the Government, had some

standing here in our country. And also, if they could provide those to the military—not to the revolutionary guard—to the military, it would give them the prestige.

The thing that's been overlooked in all of the examinations was that when all of that was happening virtually every day you and others in the press were commenting on how long the Ayatollah was going to live. It sounded as if he wouldn't be around by the next week. And there was factionalism rising in Iran as to who then was going to take over. Well, this is what this operation was about. These people were an element that wanted to have the kind of government that we once were closely allied to in Iran. And this was why we started doing business with them.

Now, when they asked for that token shipment of arms to verify and so forth our credentials, we turned around and cited that we didn't go along with governments that supported terrorism. They made it pretty plain they didn't support terrorism either. And we then—or I said, well, all right, let them prove their good faith if we do this in using whatever influence they have to see if they could get those terrorists to release our hostages.

Never at any time did we view this as trading weapons for hostages, because we weren't doing anything for the kidnapers. But we knew someone that evidently might have an ability to open a door, and they did get two of them out. And when the news broke that blew the whole thing over, we were expecting two more in the next 48 hours that are still hostages.

Q. Mr. President, respectfully—

Q. I'm sorry, we don't have much time—

The President. But now, your question—

Q. I want to give way to Peter [Peter Jennings, ABC News], because—want to get his question—

The President. Well, wait a minute. Let me just finish, and then I will—but what you said about George. I don't think it'd be right for me to discuss what his position was on things. But there was a disagreement among our people that they—not that I was trading arms for hostages, but that that, if it

became known, what we were doing, it would be viewed as that. And those individuals were absolutely right, because everybody has viewed it since and misconstrued it that we were trading, as a ransom, hostages for arms.

Q. Let's talk—because we're short of time.

The President. All right.

Q. Give way to Pete.

Value of the Dollar

Q. My last question: I think a lot of people's, of mine, sir, is about the dollar. You said not very long ago that the dollar had fallen as far as you thought it should go, and it continued to fall. What would you like to say or do now to stop it from falling further?

The President. Well, I don't think we've done anything to contribute to its falling further. It isn't a case at where sometimes in the past when it was certainly overpriced that we have made efforts to balance it up.

I've often wondered sometimes—they keep talking about the government—or the dollar falling, or is it maybe that some of those foreign currencies that were way below value have come up to where they properly should be. But it is fluctuating, and we're interested in stabilization. And I think that some of the things we've done are leading, and have led to, that. A sudden surge of cutting interest rates in some of our trading allies abroad did have the effect again of making the dollar fall, but that was their doing, not ours.

Q. Mr. President, covered some ground—more to cover. We'd like to thank you very much for joining us.

The President. Well, thank you.

Note: The interview began at 2:35 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House and was broadcast at 8 p.m. Participants in the interview included Peter Jennings, ABC News; Dan Rather, CBS News; Bernard Shaw, Cable News Network; and Tom Brokaw, NBC News.

Nomination of Mark Sullivan III To Be General Counsel of the Department of the Treasury

December 4, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Mark Sullivan III to be General Counsel for the Department of the Treasury. He would succeed Robert Michael Kimmitt.

Since 1985 Mr. Sullivan has been Associate Director for Legal and Financial Affairs for the Office of Presidential Personnel at the White House, Washington, DC. Mr. Sullivan is also a member of the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States, 1986–1987. Prior to this he was a partner with Baker & Hostetler in Washing-

ton, DC, 1984–1985. Mr. Sullivan was Special Counsel to the Federal National Mortgage Association, 1979–1985. He was a partner with Hamel & Park in Washington, DC, 1975–1985, and an associate with Hamel, Park, McCabe & Saunders, 1969–1975.

Mr. Sullivan graduated from Yale University (B.A., 1964) and the University of Virginia (LL.B., 1967). He was born December 18, 1941, in Washington, DC. Mr. Sullivan is married, has two children, and resides in Bethesda, MD.

**Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on the Unemployment Rate and Deficit Reduction
December 4, 1987**

Total employment in November rose by 327,000, and the unemployment rate declined by .1 percent to 5.8 percent. Especially encouraging is that manufacturing employment rose by 69,000 jobs, with widespread gains in most industrial categories. The economic expansion continues into its 60th month, and the signs indicate that the expansion will continue much longer. The strong employment growth in November is one sign that confidence in the economy remains steadfast. This is especially encouraging in view of the recent stock market declines.

As the unemployment rate continues to improve, the new deficit reduction agreement keeps swiftly making its way through the legislative process. The Senate Finance Committee has reported out a revenue package that is in keeping with the budget agreement approved by the President.

While we do have some reservations about some of the provisions, we commend Senator Lloyd Bentsen and his committee for their quick and dedicated action on this important piece of the economic puzzle.

On the spending side, we have serious concerns about the omnibus spending bill. First, it does not specifically include the \$2.6 billion in discretionary spending cuts called for by the agreement between the President and congressional leadership. Second, it does not continue the important aid to the Nicaraguan resistance. And it contains various extraneous provisions that do not belong.

The administration is continuing to work closely with the appropriate committees to ensure a responsible budget package, one that maintains the integrity of the deficit reduction package. We urge the leadership to quickly and fully implement all aspects of the budget agreement.

**Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations
Fitzwater on the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal
Years 1988 and 1989
December 4, 1987**

The President today signed into law H.R. 1748, the Department of Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989.

The President is pleased that the objectionable provisions of this bill pertaining to arms control have been deleted or modified in an acceptable form. We hope that partisan or unilateral action can be avoided in this area in the future and that the Congress will work cooperatively with the executive branch as we continue high-level discussions with the Soviet Union. It is imperative that our government speak with one voice in order to protect and advance U.S. interests in these negotiations. The authorization bill allows \$3.9 billion for the Strategic

Defense Initiative, up slightly from \$3.6 billion in 1987. This funding level will permit a strong technology program, however there will be delays in important experiments in both space- and ground-based technologies.

We are also pleased to note that yesterday the Senate Appropriations Committee showed bipartisan support for the Strategic Defense Initiative by approving the same \$3.9 billion level and by passing language unanimously that supports the program fully. Their bill also contains no harmful arms control provisions.

Note: H.R. 1748, approved December 4, was assigned Public Law No. 100-180.

Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony of Don W. Wilson as Archivist of the United States December 4, 1987

The President. It's an honor to be here in this place dedicated to our history with all of you who do so much to preserve the record of that history and to make it come alive for your fellow Americans. Special greetings to the Wilson family. We all share your pride and joy at this moment. And if I could just interject a word to all of you who work in this building, I want you to know that I have a special fondness for this place. You see, behind me is the Constitution—200 years old, and also behind me, the Declaration of Independence—211 years old. And I can't help thinking that around here I'm just a young whippersnapper. [*Laughter*]

But we've come together today to witness an important event in the history of our National Archives: the swearing-in of Don W. Wilson as the first Archivist selected to manage the National Archives as an independent agency. Mr. Wilson is more than qualified, as you've already heard, for this high post, both by academic background and years of experience. He holds a doctorate in American history. He served as Historian and Deputy Director of the Eisenhower Library in Abilene. He has held the post of associate director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. And since 1981, Mr. Wilson has served as the Director of the Gerald Ford Library and Museum in Grand Rapids.

Perhaps most important, Mr. Wilson has a vision—a vision of what the National Archives can become. He has said that he would like the Archives to grow into a national cultural resource as treasured as the Smithsonian and the Library of Congress. And he has stated—and here I quote: "Traditionally, our foremost concern in the National Archives has been the historical researcher. While this will, and should, remain undisturbed as a basic mission,

many of us recognize that the Archives could serve a larger audience—a history-minded public excited about their country's past." With that in mind and conscious of the documents that are with us in this room, I wonder whether you would join me in considering three moments in the history of our nation.

First, it is 1787. Fifty-five delegates have gathered in Philadelphia from the newly independent and united States, charged with revising the weak Articles of Confederation. The men inside Independence Hall are worried. Just a few years before, many had risked property and life itself in signing the Declaration of Independence—that very document. And now they faced a sobering question: Had they and their countrymen overreached? Could this raw, new Republic survive? Or would it be torn apart by disputes between the States, lack of finance, pressure from the great powers of Europe? The delegates faced those challenges and surmounted them, producing the Constitution of the United States—that very document—now two centuries old, in reverence and honor.

Now it is February 1861. Abraham Lincoln has been making his way slowly eastward from Springfield to Washington to take the oath of office as President. And like the men of 1787, Lincoln faced a question. Once again, that question: Could the Republic survive? Before dawn on the 22d, he spoke to a crowd that had gathered to catch a glimpse of him. He had often asked himself, Mr. Lincoln said, what great principle or idea it was that had held the Union together for so long. "It was not," he said, "the mere matter of the separation of the Colonies from the motherland." And as the great man pondered the deeper meaning on America, he referred to a document. Instead, he said, it was "something in that

declaration giving liberty not alone to the people of this country but hope to the world. It was that which gave promise that in due course the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men."

Well, the final moment that I'd like you to join me in considering requires no imagining. It is now, the present. Like the men of 1787, like Lincoln in 1861, indeed, like every generation of Americans throughout our history, we, too, face the question: Will this nation, founded in freedom, flourish? Will it continue to extend the hope of liberty to all the world?

It's my belief that during these past 7 years we've done much to restore our nation—restore our economy and defenses, restore our basic values, even restore a sense of our own fundamental goodness as a people. Yes, I feel certain that despite the challenges that beset us, this nation of freedom will flourish.

But if we're to succeed in the future, we must learn our own past and learn to look at these and other documents and hear the echoes and sense the greatness and draw strength. For to study American history is, in a sense, to study free will. It is to see that all our greatness has been built up by specific acts of choice and determination, and it is to see how very fragile our nation is, how very quickly so much that we cherish could be lost.

All this is really only a way of elaborating what I suggested at the beginning: that what you at the National Archives do is of tremendous significance and that Don Wilson's vision for the Archives is a vision of national importance. And to all of you, my thanks. And to Don Wilson, congratulations.

[At this point, the Archivist was sworn in.]

The Archivist. President Reagan, distinguished guests, colleagues, first let me say that I am both excited and very honored to assume this office as Archivist of the United States. I thank each and every one of you for being here today to share with me in this important occasion. I believe it pays tribute to the National Archives and honors it as an institution. A special thank you to President Reagan, to Dick Cheney, to David Matthews, and Bob Warner, for taking time out of their very busy schedules

to participate in this ceremony.

Before I give a very few brief remarks on a couple of goals that I have, there are two other people I want to publicly recognize today. The first is Dr. Frank Burke, whose able leadership as Acting Archivist over the last 32 months has kept the institution growing and has provided many strong foundations upon which we can continue to build. Thank you, Frank. The second person I want to recognize is my wife, Patsy, whose personal strength and confidence in my abilities have often times exceeded my own over the past few years. It is her love and faith that were major ingredients in making this day possible for us. Thank you.

Independence for the National Archives, I believe, provides an unparalleled opportunity to expand the agency's impact. To lead the National Archives at this important juncture is a personal and professional challenge which I accept enthusiastically. First and foremost, I believe we must remember that the National Archives is more than this beautiful building gracing Pennsylvania Avenue midway between the Capitol and the White House. It is truly a national agency, with over 3,000 dedicated employees in more than 30 locations in 14 States. It has the potential to influence every area of archives and manuscripts in the United States and most of the world. I believe the time has come for this important agency to serve a broader audience and develop an expanded mission. The bicentennial celebration of the birth of our government and our forms of government and their institutions provide a unique opportunity for the National Archives to begin to grow in this area.

Another future opportunity for the National Archives leadership lies in formulating a national archival collecting policy. It is, it seems to me, time for the Nation's largest and most significant archives to move beyond concern for its own records and play a leadership role in determining a policy for documenting our national heritage. I am convinced that the National Archives can articulate the national interest and identification preservation in making available the archival records at all levels of government. I think that the National Ar-

chives can energize. It can coordinate, promote, and consult without centralizing or seeking to control. Generations of specialized researchers and ordinary citizens will benefit if we are now able to establish a sound and thoughtful national records policy.

I believe all agree that the basic mission of the National Archives is to preserve for posterity our nation's most important documents. As Archivist of the United States, I intend to fulfill that mission by providing the agency with aggressive, creative, professional leadership, to work to give the staff of the National Archives the resources needed to carry out the responsibilities given us. I believe that innovation and the ability to adapt to present-day needs must be among the agency's highest priorities.

The tasks facing us are both enormous and challenging. The National Archives today requires leadership, ingenuity, and a

long-term professional commitment to recordskeeping and public service. Now is a time when there is a greater awareness than ever before of the needs of the National Archives. Today we have more concerted, collective support and appreciation of its mission by users, by constituent groups, by the White House, and by Congress, than any time in its history. That makes now a time of opportunity as well as great obligation. As seventh Archivist of the United States, I am prepared to fully commit myself to these challenges and these responsibilities. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:31 a.m. in the Rotunda at the National Archives. In his remarks, he referred to Representative Dick Cheney of Wyoming; David Matthews, director of the Kettering Foundation; and Robert M. Warner, former Archivist of the United States.

Remarks to Administration Supporters on Child Pornography and the Supreme Court Nomination of Anthony M. Kennedy December 4, 1987

Thank you all very much, and welcome to the White House complex. White House complex—that's what they call these buildings. Makes you wonder, can't anything in Washington ever be simple? [Laughter]

Seeing all of you here today is a particular pleasure for me, because together you speak for some of the causes that are closest to my heart, some of the most important reasons our administration came to Washington in the first place.

Some of you are law enforcement officers. Some are civilians who work for victims' rights. Some are fighting obscenity and the unspeakable evil of child pornography. Others are working to prevent drug abuse. In the past 4 or 5 months, I've heard a lot of talk—much of it, to put it most kindly, inaccurate—about our social agenda, particularly as it applies to the courts. Well, if anyone wants to know our true agenda, there's no need to go any farther than this room, because your agenda is our agenda.

I don't need to tell anyone here the sad, often tragic story of years of judicial solicitation for every conceivable right of criminals and neglect for the victims of crime, of playing fast and loose with first amendment rights in a way that gave too many pornographers free rein, of fanciful constitutional arguments used to throw out long and hard police work, and of the price our nation has paid for all of this.

One way, for example, that we've paid that price has been in the wider and wider availability of pornography. The sale of pornography was once said to be victimless. But common sense should have told us all along that pornography has many victims—among them, children. I read a statistic recently that, in a single day, one dial-a-porn company has received 800,000 calls. I'm told that the great proportion of those calls are thought to have been made by children. There's nothing victimless about those children. The time has come for this to stop.

Let me mention here—and I've recently sent Congress a bill that will make it easier for law enforcement officials to fight obscenity and child pornography. But incredible as it may seem, there are well-meaning people who will oppose it. The most extreme say that the first amendment protects child pornographers as they publish and distribute their products. However well-intended, that kind of extremism should not be allowed to prevail. It's not what the Constitution requires. I hope I can count on your support in getting this bill enacted into law. [Applause] I should have known you'd feel that way. [Laughter] By the way, we could also use a boost with our criminal justice reform legislation.

I hope I can count on your support on something else as well, and it's the principal reason that we're here today. I have nominated a judge to the Supreme Court who is realistic about pornography and crime in general: Judge Anthony M. Kennedy.

Judge Kennedy has been on my short list from the very start. A graduate of Stanford University and the Harvard Law School, he has served 12 years on the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. There he won the respect of his fellow jurists and the lawyers who practice before that court. He participated in over 1,400 decisions and wrote more than 400 opinions. He earned the reputation for being a balanced and fair judge and one who is tough on crime and concerned about the victims of crime. As he said earlier this year: Victims' "dissatisfaction with the criminal justice system represents a failure of the system to achieve its goals." And then he added: "The significant criminal law decisions of the Warren Court focused on the relation of the accused to the state, and the police as an instrument of the state. Little or no thought was given to the position of the victims." Well, that's a note of compassion and realism that is too often missing in our courts.

Realism runs through all his work on the bench. He argued in one dissent, for example, for a "good faith" exception to the exclusionary rule, and saw his position ultimately adopted by the Supreme Court. That was in a drug case, by the way. And for realism about police work, the opinion he wrote in that case sets a high standard.

He said, and I'll quote again: "You don't have to read many cases involving illegal drug traffic before it becomes clear exactly what was going on at the residences described by the officer's affidavit." And he concluded: "Whatever the merits of the exclusionary rule, its rigidities become compounded unacceptably when courts presume innocent conduct when the only commonsense explanation for it is ongoing criminal activity."

Another example of his realism—last year Judge Kennedy upheld a lower court when it imposed the maximum sentence allowed by law against a child pornographer. His opinion focused on the severe psychological harm victims of child pornography endure and the great likelihood that child pornographers will, when released, commit the same crimes again. We need more realism like that on the Nation's highest court. We need Judge Kennedy on our highest court.

But let me add another thought here. Being tough on crime doesn't require tortured constitutional reasoning. The Constitution itself is tough on crime; it was intended to "establish justice" and "ensure domestic tranquility." It provides a system for discovering the truth, releasing the innocent, and punishing the guilty, not for subjecting the police to an endless guessing game about the rules.

Not long ago, I heard about a case that involved a particularly horrible murder and that illustrates just what's too often wrong in our courts. A man threw his girlfriend's 10-month-old child down the trash chute of her 11-story apartment building. He was arrested, tried, and convicted. But the conviction was thrown out on appeal. Citing heavily from U.S. Supreme Court rulings, the State appeals court decided that the man had been denied equal justice under the law, because he was not taken before a court commissioner within 24 hours of arrest. No, he was taken 24 hours and 12 minutes after arrest. So, he's out walking the streets now. We've had enough decisions like that. The Supreme Court sets the tone for all courts in our land, as well as establishing precedence in the Federal judiciary. I hope we'll have your active support as the Senate deliberates on confirming

Judge Anthony Kennedy to the Supreme Court.

And now, I know you've heard a number of people, and you've heard enough from me. So, thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:04 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building.

Statement on the Cuban Inmate Riots in Georgia and Louisiana December 4, 1987

I want to commend Attorney General Meese for his handling of the prison disturbances in Georgia and Louisiana. I am extremely gratified that all of the hostages are now safe.

I would like to thank all of the law enforcement agencies involved, including the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the U.S. Marshals Service, the Community Relations Service, and the State and local law enforcement agencies in Georgia and Louisiana. The patience and professionalism demonstrated by all of the agencies involved have been rewarded.

I would also like to thank Bishop Roman

and the other members of the Cuban-American community for their assistance in addressing a very difficult problem.

Note: Cuban prisoners in Oakdale, LA, rioted on November 21 in response to a decision to deport 2,000 "undesirables" who had emigrated to the United States from Mariel, Cuba. Thirty hostages were seized in Louisiana, and the riots spread to the Federal prison in Atlanta, GA, where about 100 hostages were seized on November 23. The Attorney General agreed to the individual review of each case, which resolved the crisis.

Written Responses to Questions Submitted by the Soviet Newspaper Izvestiya December 3, 1987

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, this is your second interview with Izvestiya. General Secretary Gorbachev will soon be in Washington for a new meeting with you. Do you feel that since the first Soviet-American meeting (between you and Mr. Gorbachev) in Geneva, the world has become a slightly safer place and that something has changed for the better in relations between our countries?

The President. The world has unquestionably become safer, and the improvement in U.S.-Soviet relations has been a contributing factor. Both sides are pursuing a policy of ever-increasing dialog. In the 2 years since General Secretary Gorbachev and I first met in Geneva, our governments have

made important progress together on arms reductions, human rights issues, and bilateral exchanges. The world welcomes this.

We Americans have also noted with great interest the efforts at reform underway in your country. We wish the people of the Soviet Union well in all efforts to improve the quality of their lives and to liberalize the Soviet system. This is primarily your internal concern, of course, but there is no question that it can have international significance, as well. It could contribute to an improved international climate and a relaxation of tensions. The American political system is truly open; we are naturally sympathetic to movement in the same direction elsewhere.

Current trends can only be considered positive, but many problems continue to exist. Mistrust and suspicion have built up over many years, and they have their basis in history and current realities. Forty years after Hitler's defeat, Europe remains divided by artificial and inhumane barriers. In other regions of the globe, we are worried about the continuing Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and your government's support for repressive regimes in Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Cambodia, and elsewhere—regimes that are at war with their own people.

Nonetheless, I take satisfaction from the fact that we have established a dialog that deals candidly with the entire range of issues that concern, and often divide, our two countries. We need to continue that dialog and strengthen it in every way we can. That is what our meeting in Washington is all about.

INF Treaty

Q. The Soviet-American agreement on the complete elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons—medium-range missiles and operational, tactical missiles—stems from your negotiations with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva and, to an even greater degree, in Reykjavik. In your opinion, what is the significance of this agreement, important in and of itself, for the process of disarmament?

The President. The INF treaty is significant because for the first time in history the major nuclear powers have agreed to reduce, not simply limit, the buildup of nuclear weapons. It eliminates an entire class of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear weapons. This, of course, was the American proposal I put forward in 1981, the zero option.

The INF treaty specifies the most stringent verification regime ever. No longer shall we rely only upon national technical means to monitor compliance, for the treaty gives both sides the right to onsite inspection, including short-notice inspection of sites where activity forbidden by the treaty might be suspected. Both the United States and the U.S.S.R., moreover, will maintain inspectors on a continuous basis outside a relevant missile plant on each other's terri-

tory. This is a truly revolutionary concept and will increase confidence that the treaty is being complied with. Even today the United States has serious concerns about Soviet compliance with existing and earlier agreements, thus a new approach has been needed.

I hope the INF treaty will be a step toward more *glasnost* in Soviet military affairs. You should strive for broader disclosure to your own citizens of your military budgets, force structures, and weapons modernization programs. This could help to build confidence needed for more comprehensive arms reductions as well as better political relations. The INF treaty is a good omen, for it shows that through hard work and a realistic approach we can achieve positive results.

Future Arms Reductions

Q. Can we hope that a limit to the arms race will not stop with an agreement for medium- and short-range missiles? In particular, one is reminded of your joint statement with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva about the inadmissibility of transferring the arms race into space. What solution do you propose to this problem?

The President. I have no intention of stopping with the INF treaty. In fact, the United States and the U.S.S.R. have agreed to try to seek the earliest possible agreement on reducing U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arms by 50 percent, as the U.S. has proposed. Our Foreign Ministers agreed on October 30th that the Washington summit would consider thoroughly the development of instructions to our Geneva negotiators on a future agreement for 50-percent reductions in strategic offensive weapons and, given this, another agreement for the observance of and nonwithdrawal from the ABM treaty for an agreed period. There have been intensive discussions on this over the last few weeks, and I am optimistic. I am hopeful General Secretary Gorbachev and I will make progress in Washington.

From the beginning of my administration, I placed the highest priority on achieving deep and equitable cuts in strategic offensive arms. To ensure that such an agreement genuinely enhances strategic stability,

we have insisted that it reduce and limit the number of warheads on ballistic missiles. These weapons are particularly dangerous and destabilizing, because they can reach their targets in less than 30 minutes. We will also insist the treaty be effectively verifiable—an especially complex task. I am encouraged by the unprecedented scope of the verification measures agreed to in the INF treaty, but a START agreement would, of course, be more far-reaching.

Deep reductions in offensive weapons would significantly help reduce the danger of nuclear attack, so would further advances in the development of strategic defenses. I know your government claims that my Strategic Defense Initiative is a destabilizing “militarization of space,” but this, frankly, is a gross misrepresentation. The world will be a safer place if both superpowers shift toward strategic defenses while radically reducing strategic offensive arsenals. Strategic defenses can intercept an attacker’s missiles, but do not threaten people. They permit a military strategy that deters war by protecting people instead of targeting them. SDI is a scientific research and development program to explore whether new, advanced technologies might make effective defenses possible in the near future.

The whole world knows that the U.S.S.R. has pioneered the field of strategic defenses and has had a program to develop them long before my 1983 decision on SDI. In a recent interview on American television, General Secretary Gorbachev acknowledged that the Soviet Union is doing “all that the United States is doing” in this field. We estimate that over the past 10 years the Soviet Union has spent roughly as much of its military budget on strategic defense as it has on strategic offensive forces. Longstanding Soviet programs in this area include the world’s most extensive air and civil defenses and the world’s only active antiballistic missile system, deployed around Moscow and recently being modernized. Since both sides are determined to explore advanced strategic defenses, we propose that our two sides talk in practical terms about how we can make a transition jointly and safely to greater reliance on such defenses. It would make us all more secure.

In addition to achieving large reductions

in strategic nuclear forces, we should also move ahead to correct dangerous imbalances of conventional and chemical forces, where the U.S.S.R. enjoys large advantages. This will be a complex process, because allies are directly concerned, and because the military forces themselves are complicated. But I am happy to say that both sides express willingness to move forward.

Third World Economies

Q. One of the most dramatic and potentially explosive problems of our time is the enormous external debt of many developing countries. Many experts believe that this cannot possibly end well. In general, if one looks at the situation more broadly, without a solution to the problems of the developing world, there is not, nor can there be, genuine security for anyone. What solution do you see to the problem of debts of developing countries?

The President. In recent decades, the developing world has been the scene of a more fundamental trend, namely, the flourishing of economies that have avoided the rigidities of centralized planning and given full scope to individual initiative and entrepreneurship. For instance, many of the developing economies of the Asia-Pacific region are booming, particularly in those nations where economic freedom provides people with the incentive to better their lives. And some African countries have recently experienced accelerated growth, particularly in agriculture, as a result of easing centralized restrictions.

Foreign borrowing in itself is not a problem. Countries need foreign and domestic capital to make the investments that will lead to economic growth and development. The United States and other successful industrialized countries have prospered in part because of the inflow of foreign capital to finance factories, mines, and other investments essential for long-term growth. Today some developing countries have difficulty servicing their debt, because this borrowed capital was used to increase consumption and finance capital flight rather than for investment.

The United States remains committed to a cooperative solution to the debt problem.

Such a solution involves a partnership among developed and developing nations, commercial banks, and international financial institutions. The United States has proposed a positive program built on the need to increase the level of economic activity in developing nations.

A key to success in this effort continues to be a greater opening of markets. Lasting growth can only be achieved by allowing more scope at home for individual initiative and entrepreneurship. And the United States and our partners in the industrialized world are making a crucial contribution to these efforts by providing a growing market for the products of developing countries.

Since World War II, we have seen a remarkable trend toward interdependence among national economies. Combined with policy reforms to liberate the creative potential of individual men and women, policies that foster open competition and free trade can create a favorable environment for developed and developing nations to solve economic problems and to raise standards of living for their people.

We also recognize that the developing world needs special assistance to promote economic development. No country has been more generous than America in helping others. In 1987 alone, the U.S. Government has given about \$9 billion in development assistance to developing countries and international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

U.S. Stock Market

Q. Mr. President, if we say that the most important international affairs topic for American public opinion is the upcoming meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev, then, judging by the American press, the number one domestic concern right now is the recent crash of the stock market, its consequences for Americans and for the economy of the country. Please explain to our readers what, in your opinion, is the cause of the crash? How serious is it?

The President. Let me begin by saying that the American economy is currently stronger and healthier than ever. We are experiencing the longest economic expansion since World War II. As we speak, the

standard of living of the average American is among the highest in the world. Nearly two-thirds of American households own their own homes. Americans drive more than 160 million motor vehicles, more than 1½ cars per driver. The overwhelming majority of Americans have private telephones and televisions which in most areas of the country can pick up dozens, and in some cases hundreds, of television stations. We are in the midst of a high-tech explosion with computer home shopping, compact disc stereo, and modular car telephones, to name a few—all available to consumers. Mr. Gorbachev will be able to see the results of this sustained prosperity when he comes to Washington.

The stock market today is at roughly the same level it was throughout 1986, and at that time, it had never been higher. The continuing high level of stock and bond assets represents real wealth for millions of Americans. More than 70 percent of American households own interest-earning assets at financial institutions, and one-fifth own stocks and mutual funds. As a result, millions of ordinary people have a stake in the economic growth and prosperity of their country.

It is important to recognize the role that stock markets play in the global economy. Stock ownership entitles individuals to vote in selecting the management of a company and to share in the profits of the enterprise. Institutions such as labor union pension funds also own and trade shares for the benefit of millions of workers. This system of open markets, built upon the principles of entrepreneurship and stock ownership, has resulted in average income levels in non-Communist developed countries some 60 percent higher per capita than that in East-bloc countries. And it is why per capita consumption in the United States is three times higher than that in the Soviet Union by the most conservative estimates.

It is the nature of markets to fluctuate, both up and down. But it is the sharing of both the risks and rewards in markets that provides the foundation for the creation of wealth and a higher standard of living. Through public stock markets, any individual can sell his idea and raise money to

pursue it by starting his own company. Larger enterprises can raise needed capital only by convincing the marketplace of the economic value of their planned investments. The fact that our economy has remained on a healthy growth path throughout the recent adjustment in stock markets is testimony to the strength of economics based on individual initiative and open competition.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. In your speeches, you have more than once stated that improvement of Soviet-American relations depends on fulfilling certain demands concerning changes in our society. The correctness and the fairness of these questions is something that can be argued. Our question concerns something else: What, in your opinion, can and must the United States itself do for the improvement and development of relations between our countries?

The President. You are wrong to speak of American "demands." Who can doubt the interest that the world community has in the changes taking place inside the Soviet Union? Moreover, the obligations of states are codified in international agreements, such as the Helsinki Final Act and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The possibility of reform and liberalization in your country is of interest to the world. We need to have a full understanding of these dynamics within your society.

The Western World, and increasingly the outside world, has a well-developed and tested concept of democracy. Democracy means the rule of law, a system of checks and balances that limits the power of the state and protects the rights of individual citizens. It means regular elections contested by different parties presenting competing programs for the people's choice and mandate. It requires an independent judiciary that effectively protects due process of law and the inalienable rights to freedom of speech, conscience, press, assembly, and worship.

Americans fiercely defend our democracy, and we sincerely believe every person

on Earth is entitled to liberty and human and political rights. We do not try to force our system on others. But we also cannot ignore the clear lesson of history: Countries which respect the rights and freedoms of their own citizens are more likely to respect the rights and freedoms of other nations. Real peace and real democracy, therefore, go hand in hand.

You ask what the United States can do to improve relations. First, let me say that all Americans join me in seeking improved relations. We know that our two systems, however different, must and can coexist. We can coexist as do two wrestlers in a ring if necessary, but we would much prefer to coexist as partners and as friends. We want, therefore, to expand the educational, cultural, and people-to-people exchanges that lead to broader cooperation between our two nations.

Since General Secretary Gorbachev and I announced a new agreement on exchanges 2 years ago in Geneva, well over a hundred thousand Americans have come to the U.S.S.R. to see and learn about your country, many of them young people. Many more of your citizens have visited America than in the past, but we would love to see a hundred thousand Soviets from all walks of life come to the United States over the next few years to get to know us better. I believe you have a saying: "Better to see something once than hear about it a hundred times."

I can assure you that I and my successors, too, will continue to confront the problems in our relations both realistically and constructively. We shall maintain and build upon the engagement we have begun. The American people will remain as they have always been: peaceloving, generous, and friendly—extending a warm welcome to visitors to our shores. As we greet General Secretary Gorbachev and his delegation, we shall be reaching out our hand to all the people of the Soviet Union.

Note: The questions and answers were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 5.

Radio Address to the Nation on Deficit Reduction and Soviet-United States Relations

December 5, 1987

My fellow Americans:

In a moment I'd like to discuss the coming summit meeting between myself and General Secretary Gorbachev. But first, let me tell you about a pressing domestic matter: the recent budget agreement between our administration and congressional leaders that will soon go before the full Congress for a vote.

As I've said since I announced it 2 weeks ago, this budget agreement is not perfect, but it happens to be both adequate and the best we were able to get. The agreement will cut the Federal deficit by some \$76 billion over the next 2 years and will put a cap on spending for fiscal year 1989. That's a considerable achievement, and one that reassures the financial markets about the determination and willingness of your leaders here in Washington to get the budget process back under control.

It's important to keep in mind that this agreement preserves our national security and protects vital domestic programs, such as air safety. But perhaps the best aspect of the entire budget agreement is what it doesn't do. You see, it doesn't impose any new across-the-board taxes, and that means it doesn't touch marginal income tax rates, the very heart and soul of economic incentives. So, our tax reforms of 1981 and 1986 will remain in effect, and your income tax rates will stay low—and in some cases, drop even lower with the beginning of the new year.

What does this mean for the economy as a whole? The answer lies in one word: growth. After all, it was in 1982, after our administration's first tax rate cuts had gone into effect that today's economic expansion began. The current budget agreement will protect your low tax rates and keep our economy growing strong. So, I urge you to join me in asking Congress to vote yes on this budget agreement with all due speed.

Let me turn now to the summit meeting. The agenda for talks between myself and Mr. Gorbachev will be determined by the

four-part agenda for United States-Soviet relations that our administration has always insisted on: human rights; bilateral relations, in particular, people-to-people contacts; regional conflicts; and arms reductions. I've spoken of this four-part agenda before, but it seems to me that, especially now, it needs to be restated.

On human rights, yes, we've seen the Soviet Union release some political prisoners, but thousands more remain in prison. And political, religious, and economic oppression remains a solemn concern of the United States. So, I will raise human rights forcefully during our meetings. And it's one of my deepest hopes that during this, his first visit to America, Mr. Gorbachev will have an opportunity to sense something of the dignity and power of human liberty.

People-to-people contacts between our two countries have already been expanded, but I will ask Mr. Gorbachev: Why not more? Why should the people of America and the Soviet Union not travel as freely to each others' countries as do, for example, the people of America and Western Europe?

On regional conflicts, the peoples of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, and Cambodia are entitled to free, independent, and democratically chosen governments. And I will make it unmistakably clear that we view the freedom and independence of Nicaragua—a country on our very own continent—as vital to our own national security. Regarding Afghanistan, the Soviets assure us of their intention to get out. Well, we'll ask them to set a date certain for their withdrawal and talk to the freedom fighters. And I will assure Mr. Gorbachev that the United States will do all it can to help speed a Soviet withdrawal.

On arms reductions, Mr. Gorbachev and I will be able to celebrate a joint achievement: the signing of a treaty completely eliminating an entire class of American and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles. You'll be hearing much about the details of

this treaty in coming days. For now, permit me to say only that it represents a good bargain, one that completely meets the longstanding goals of the United States and our allies, and advances the interests of peace.

And this brings me to the final thought I'd like to share. Yes, deep, fundamental differences separate us from the Soviets, differences that center upon our own belief in God and human freedom, differences that we cannot compromise. Yet even as we Americans strive to spread freedom

through the world, we must also recognize our obligation to ensure the peace, in particular, to search for areas where America and the Soviet Union can act together to reduce the risk of war. This summit meeting and treaty represent just that: steps taken together to ensure the peace.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Proclamation 5748—Law and Order in the State of Georgia November 24, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

I have been informed that certain persons, in unlawful combination and conspiracy, have engaged in the violent criminal seizure and detention of persons and property in the vicinity of Atlanta, Georgia. Their actions have made it impracticable to enforce certain laws of the United States there by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, do command all persons engaged in such acts of violence to cease and desist therefrom and to disperse and retire peaceably to their abodes forthwith.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 24th day of November, in the

year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:51 a.m., December 8, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 7. An accompanying statement printed in the "Federal Register" of December 9 with the proclamation and Executive Order 12616 indicated that they "were signed by the President because of the possibility that existed on November 24, 1987, that the situation at the Federal prison in Atlanta would deteriorate further and that the use of force to free the hostages would be necessary. That situation never arose, and a negotiated settlement was reached. Therefore, the use of units and members of the Armed Forces of the United States to suppress the violence described in the proclamation and Executive order was never required."

Executive Order 12616—Providing for the Restoration of Law and Order in the State of Georgia

November 24, 1987

Whereas I have today issued Proclamation No. 5748 pursuant in part to the provisions of Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code; and

Whereas the conditions of domestic violence and disorder described therein continue, and the persons engaging in such acts of violence have not dispersed;

Now, Therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States and as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, and Section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Units and members of the Armed Forces of the United States will be used to suppress the violence described in the proclamation and to restore law and order in the vicinity of Atlanta, Georgia.

Section 2. The Secretary of Defense is authorized to use such of the Armed Forces as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of Section 1. To that end, he is authorized to call into the active military service of the United States units or members of the National Guard, as authorized by law, to serve in an active duty status for an indefinite period and until relieved by appropriate orders. Units or members may be relieved subject to recall at the discretion of the Secretary of Defense.

In carrying out the provisions of this order, the Secretary of Defense shall observe such law enforcement policies as the Attorney General may determine.

Section 3. Until such time as the Armed Forces shall have been withdrawn pursuant to Section 4 of this order, the Attorney General is further authorized (1) to coordi-

nate the activities of all Federal agencies assisting in the suppression of violence and in the administration of justice in the vicinity of Atlanta, Georgia and (2) to coordinate the activities of all such agencies with those of state and local agencies similarly engaged.

Section 4. The Secretary of Defense is authorized to determine when Federal military forces shall be withdrawn from the disturbance area. Such determinations shall be made in the light of the Attorney General's recommendations as to the ability of civil authorities to resume full responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the affected area.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
November 24, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:52 a.m., December 8, 1987]

Note: The Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 7. An accompanying statement printed in the "Federal Register" of December 9 with the Executive order and Proclamation 5748 indicated that they "were signed by the President because of the possibility that existed on November 24, 1987, that the situation at the Federal prison in Atlanta would deteriorate further and that the use of force to free the hostages would be necessary. That situation never arose, and a negotiated settlement was reached. Therefore, the use of units and members of the Armed Forces of the United States to suppress the violence described in the proclamation and Executive order was never required."

Written Responses to Questions Submitted by Asia-Pacific News Organizations

December 4, 1987

U.S. Role in the Asia-Pacific Region

Q. Do you envisage an expansion of the U.S. role in the Asia-Pacific region? If so, how will the U.S. help ensure stability, security, and prosperity in the region?

The President. The nations of East Asia are becoming increasingly prosperous and politically stable. This is in our interest as well as theirs, and our aim is to work with the region's nations as partners in promoting prosperity and stability. All partnerships require a balancing of benefits and burdens. For example, U.S. diplomatic efforts and military presence contribute directly to the region's peace and stability, which in turn foster economic prosperity. We look to our East Asian allies to share with us this mutually beneficial burden according to their means. Of course, we will maintain our commitments to defend their security.

Likewise, East Asia's prosperity depends significantly on continuing the liberal world trading system we and our trading partners have enjoyed for the last 20 years, but there are threats appearing to this system. Some of our major trading partners still maintain restrictive trade policies, and there is rising protectionist sentiment in the United States. My efforts to resist this protectionist pressure will succeed only so long as our major trading partners take some steps themselves toward structural adjustment of their economies. These steps include strengthening domestic demand, dismantling trade barriers that discourage U.S. exports, and adopting exchange rate policies that reflect their economies' underlying strength.

I am confident your readers recognize that working together to keep the peace and promote everyone's prosperity benefits all of us. The United States has been active on the East Asian scene for more than 100 years, and we look forward to continuing our productive cooperation with friends and allies in the region.

Japanese Prime Minister Takeshita

Q. The newly appointed Prime Minister

of Japan, Mr. Noboru Takeshita, plans to come to Washington in January 1988 to have his first summit meeting with you. In view of the ongoing serious bilateral problems confronting our two nations, what would you expect out of that January meeting? And what kind of feeling do you have toward a new Japanese Prime Minister who has been almost unknown to the Western World?

The President. First, I am very pleased that Prime Minister Takeshita has accepted my invitation to visit Washington. I look forward to seeing him again, this time in his new capacity. I recall that we met in January 1986, when he was visiting the United States to receive an honorary doctorate from Columbia University, and we met again at the Tokyo Economic Summit, when Mr. Takeshita was Finance Minister.

To answer your second question first, I would like to point out that people who are "almost unknown to the Western World" do not normally meet with Western heads of state and receive honorary degrees from leading Western universities. I have known the Prime Minister for some time now, and I look forward to getting to know him better in his new position. I think that what we can all expect to come out of the January meeting is a reaffirmation of the importance of U.S.-Japan relations, not only to our two countries but to the world, and a renewed commitment to pursue our many common interests and tackle our bilateral problems in the spirit of cooperation.

Arms Control

Q. You have said that this INF agreement and the progress made towards a strategic arms reduction treaty would not have been possible without the Strategic Defense Initiative. Do you also think it would have been possible without the change in the Soviet leadership? Realistically, what are the chances of reaching an agreement on strategic nuclear forces—reducing them by 50 percent by next spring?

The President. The prospective INF treaty—the first agreement in history actually to reduce, not simply limit, offensive nuclear weapons—is a direct result of U.S. and allied unity and steadfastness in the face of unilateral Soviet SS-20 deployments. It is inconceivable that the Soviets would have considered eliminating their SS-20's had the United States not followed through with its deployments of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. In addition, it is probably no coincidence that Soviet willingness to reenter the Geneva nuclear arms negotiations occurred subsequent to my declaration of our intent to pursue the SDI program. I cannot speculate on whether the change in Soviet leadership has affected the course of our negotiations.

We have made considerable progress toward agreement on our proposal to reduce U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arsenals by 50 percent. We believe such an agreement can be concluded next year if the Soviets apply themselves with the same seriousness as the United States and if they abandon their effort to hold it hostage to crippling restrictions on our Strategic Defense Initiative.

Philippines-U.S. Relations

Q. The Congress mandates cutting off aid if there is a coup in Manila. Would you accept that such a cut-off include compensation for the bases in the Philippines?

The President. We fully support President Aquino and the government she heads. We are unalterably opposed to any attempts to destabilize her government. As a matter of law, the United States must cut off foreign assistance to any country whose duly elected leader is overthrown by a military coup. That said, I see no need to speculate on what would happen if there is a coup in Manila.

Q. At the forthcoming review of the military bases agreement with the Philippines, Manila is certain to ask for a much larger compensation than currently allowed. In view of the shrinking foreign aid budget, how would you accommodate such a request?

The President. The forthcoming review of the military bases agreement will offer us the chance to go over security as well as

economic aspects of the agreement. Both sides are well aware of the severe pressures on the U.S. foreign assistance budget. Nevertheless, I am confident that in the review, as well as in the renegotiation which will follow the review and address the post-1991 period, we can work out arrangements which will be in our two countries' mutual interests.

U.S. Forces in Japan and South Korea

Q. Some in Congress and elsewhere are calling for the United States to scale down its Armed Forces' strength in Japan and South Korea as retaliation for their refusal to open their markets more to exports from the United States and elsewhere. Do you believe this would be an appropriate response to East Asian protectionism if other means of persuasion fail?

The President. Successive administrations have maintained our military presence in Japan and Korea, because our mutual security interests are served by keeping a credible deterrent against aggression in northeast Asia. It is important to keep security interests in mind and separate from detailed trade concerns.

Thus it would not be in our national interest to reduce our military strength in Japan or South Korea for any such reason, including as retaliation for difficulties in opening markets in those countries. We will, of course, continue to seek further opening of markets in Japan and South Korea. After all, open markets are also in our mutual interest—they are necessary to preserve the world's free trade system—and are a pillar of our strength.

Soviet Role in the Pacific Region

Q. What kind of steps would you take to counterbalance Soviet initiatives in the Pacific region? Do you think there is scope to renegotiate mutual reductions of Armed Force strengths in East Asia with the Soviet Union, as proposed in Europe?

The President. The Soviet Union's interest in the Pacific region has waxed and waned through history. Following a period of neglect under General Secretary Brezhnev and his immediate successors, the Soviets apparently have decided again to pay atten-

tion to this important area, one in which the United States has been actively engaged for more than 100 years.

Unlike the United States, however, which has extensive trade, investment, cultural, political, and military links with almost all the countries of the Pacific, the Soviets need to create reasons to become involved. In the absence of solid relationships in most of the region, it is perhaps understandable that the Soviets have to fall back on high-sounding rhetoric and vague generalities, but that kind of thing does not meet the concrete and pressing needs of the region.

The United States and most Asian nations are firmly in agreement about what needs to be done on a large number of real issues, like getting Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, stopping Soviet support for the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, stopping the Soviet buildup of military facilities at Cam Ranh Bay, encouraging North Korea to talk sensibly to the South Koreans to reduce tensions on the peninsula, resolving the northern territories dispute with Japan, and reducing the military threat to China.

The Soviets already know that they can do a great deal for peace and stability in Asia by resolving these important, tangible problems, and we take almost every opportunity to remind them of that. Moreover, the United States is working hand in glove with almost every country in Asia and the Pacific on real world issues, like economic development, collective security, the almost universal longing for greater democracy, the growth of trade in free market conditions, and humanitarian issues. We think that real contributions to human welfare beat lofty phrases every time.

South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone

Q. Why did you not sign the protocols to the SPNFZ treaty? Will you reconsider your decision, as the House of Representatives requested last month?

The President. A world free of nuclear weapons would be a much less frightened world, and I think that nothing is more important than working to make that goal a reality. But achieving that goal safely demands a massive amount of work which cannot be short-circuited.

Nuclear free zone treaties are at their

best when they provide a bulwark against nuclear proliferation, as might be the case in South Asia or Latin America, for example. Where that is not the case, however—and I think that the South Pacific is not such a case—we have to be a little careful about encouraging growth of the notion that writing a treaty that would wall off a portion of the world from nuclear weapons somehow makes a contribution to world peace. It might do exactly the opposite.

Since the Soviet Union exploded its first nuclear weapon in 1949, the world has been saved from nuclear warfare and, indeed, from major conventional aggression by the credible threat of the Western nuclear powers to use all means necessary to defend themselves against aggression. This is how deterrence works. Anything that may weaken deterrence does a disservice to the cause of world peace, because it is on deterrence that world peace since the start of the nuclear age has been based. The spread of nuclear free zones can make the job of maintaining deterrence much harder.

In regard to the resolution that has passed the House of Representatives, if it becomes a “sense of the Congress” resolution, of course we will give it careful consideration when it arrives here. From what I have said about nuclear free zones in general, however, it should be apparent that our reconsideration of the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone issue is unlikely, in current circumstances, to produce a change of our policy.

South Korea

Q. What do you think is the prospect for the democratization of South Korea? How will this affect the success of the Seoul Olympics in 1988?

The President. Korea is about to hold its first direct Presidential elections in well over a decade. The campaign is being contested vigorously. This is a sign, I think, of a new, more open political system. Koreans have shown they are a can-do people—look at their economic achievement. I believe they will be equally successful in their efforts at democratic political development.

As for the Olympics, the Koreans are working hard to make the games a success.

I am sure they will be. We hope that all the nations of the world will attend and make the games the international celebration they should be.

Note: The questions were submitted by Yo-

miuri Shimbun, the Far Eastern Economic Review, the Hankuk Ilbo, the Melbourne Age, and the Singapore Straits Times. The questions and answers were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 7.

Proclamation 5750—Wright Brothers Day, 1987 December 5, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

On December 17, 1903, on the beaches of Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, Wilbur and Orville Wright ushered in the age of modern aviation with an accomplishment unprecedented in history—a manned flight in a powered, winged aircraft. Aviation has progressed much since that all-important first step; man has not only spanned the globe with air travel but has also reached into space, and Americans have set foot on the moon.

This year more than 450 million American passengers will use aircraft, the world's fastest and safest transportation. In the 84 years since the Wright Brothers' first flight, American aviation, in cooperation with the Federal government, has continued to improve the safety and the efficiency of air travel. Thanks to both industry and the Federal Aviation Administration, this effort goes on today.

On Wright Brothers Day we recall and revere not only the ability and the inventiveness of Wilbur and Orville Wright but also the unshakable conviction that led them into the skies and into history's pantheon of explorers, discoverers, and benefactors of mankind.

The Congress, by a joint resolution approved December 17, 1963 (77 Stat. 402; 36 U.S.C. 169), has designated the seventeenth day of December of each year as Wright Brothers Day and requested the President to issue annually a proclamation inviting the people of the United States to observe that day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim December 17, 1987, as Wright Brothers Day, and I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities, both to recall the achievements of the Wright Brothers and to stimulate aviation in this country and throughout the world.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this fifth day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:11 p.m., December 8, 1987]

Note: The proclamation was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 7.

Informal Exchange With Reporters on the Soviet-United States Summit Meeting

December 7, 1987

Q. Mr. President, do you think that Gorbachev will be willing to pursue START negotiations without linking it to Star Wars?

The President. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I don't want to make any comments on that right now. It all begins in the morning, and I have some opening remarks here for our meeting here that I want to get—

Q. Okay.

The President. So, anyway, well, thank you all for coming.

Q. What are your opening remarks?

The President. And in less than 24 hours, I'll be welcoming General Secretary Gorbachev. With our earlier meeting, we will pursue a broad range of issues. The highlights of the summit will be the signing, I think, of the INF treaty. I've always said that I'd rather have no treaty than one that doesn't add to our security and that of our allies, and the INF treaty meets that test. It's an accomplishment of the United States and our allies. And for the first time, we will reduce nuclear weapons rather than just limit their building. By having global limits, we'll make Asia as well as Europe more secure. We've done this without weakening the other elements of our defensive posture in Europe, and we'll have the toughest verification provisions of any treaty on the books.

It's only because I know that I can get the candid views of America's military leaders that I can have confidence in the wisdom of going forward with this agreement. Our regular meetings to discuss our national security have been invaluable to me. I remember we talked about the issue of European security at our last meeting, when we were joined by General Galvin, the NATO Supreme Allied Commander; and I am looking forward to continuing that discussion. What I get from such discussions is that our security and Europe's remain firmly linked, and we're going to keep it

that way.

In addition to signing a treaty that will eliminate an entire class of offensive nuclear missiles, I want to use the summit to move forward in other areas. I want a START agreement, but only if it's a good one—one we can verify and which enhances our security. At the same time, I want to set the stage for one day deploying effective defenses in a manner that will strengthen our strategic stability. Admiral Crowe has given me your thoughts on how to move toward these goals in several recent meetings.

And now, that's enough from me. I think it's time for me to listen to you.

Q. What are the prospects for a START agreement—progress on a START agreement, Mr. President?

The President. You know me, I'm always optimistic.

Q. Are you up to going one-on-one with Mr. Gorbachev? How are you feeling?

The President. What's that?

Q. Are you up to going one-on-one with Mr. Gorbachev? Feeling spunky?

The President. As I told you, he can't be tougher than Errol Flynn. [Laughter]

Q. What do you make of some of the ugly things that the conservatives said last week about you?

The President. I don't think I better comment on that.

Q. What do you think of books being written about you and your wife by your former aides?

The President. I'm not going to comment on that either right now. [Laughter] But I think that it's time for us to start this meeting.

Note: The exchange began at 2 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. Following the exchange, the President met with the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Statement on Signing the Sentencing Act of 1987

December 7, 1987

I am pleased to sign S. 1822, the Sentencing Act of 1987. The bill amends the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984, the goals of which are to reduce unwarranted sentencing disparity and to bring about certainty and fairness in sentencing. Many of the bill's provisions are aimed at improving the implementation of the act and easing the transition to the new sentencing reform system.

Section 2 of S. 1822 provides that the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984 applies only to offenses committed after it took effect on November 1, 1987. The purpose of this provision is to preclude potential litigation regarding the applicability of the Sentencing Reform Act to offenses that occurred before the act's effective date of November 1, 1987. Consistent with past law on the subject, I understand section 2 of S. 1822 to mean that the Sentencing Reform Act applies to offenses completed after it took effect. Offenses begun prior to, but not completed until on or after November 1, 1987, will be subject to the Sentencing Reform Act.

Moreover, I do not understand section 26 of S. 1822, which makes S. 1822 applicable to offenses committed after its enactment, to affect the more specific language of section 2. Therefore, I understand that the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984 applies to offenses completed after it took effect on

November 1, 1987, and that section 26 does not have the effect of delaying implementation of the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984.

The bill modifies, in section 3, the standard for imposing a sentence that departs from the applicable sentencing guidelines. The Sentencing Reform Act as originally enacted requires the court to impose a sentence within the applicable guideline range "unless the court finds that an aggravating or mitigating circumstance exists that was not adequately taken into consideration by the Sentencing Commission in formulating the guidelines and that should result in a sentence different from that described." The amendment authorizes the court to depart from the guidelines if there exists such a circumstance "of a kind or to a degree" not adequately taken into consideration by the Commission. I understand this amendment merely to clarify the intent behind the past standard for sentencing outside the applicable sentencing guidelines and not to expand the extremely limited basis for such sentencing. Any other construction would undermine the guidelines and the purpose of the underlying statute of reducing unwarranted sentencing disparity. A narrow reading of the departure standard is vital to the proper implementation of the Sentencing Reform Act.

Note: S. 1822, approved December 7, was assigned Public Law No. 100-182.

Proclamation 5751—National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day, 1987

December 7, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

On December 7, Americans everywhere commemorate the 46th anniversary of the morning in 1941 when our Armed Forces

at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, were subjected to a surprise aerial strike by the Imperial Japanese Navy. That attack killed 2,403 Americans and wounded 1,178 others—and caused our Nation to enter World War II.

America was unprepared for war, but we quickly resolved to do what must be done

in defense of our country. Knowing that in war there can be no substitute for victory, the American people summoned a great national effort in military strength and industrial activity. The sacrifices of our military personnel at Pearl Harbor became the prelude to those our brave fighting forces were to endure around the globe for the next three and one-half years. When the terrible conflict ceased and the peace was won, America's freedom remained intact and we had taken on a crucial role as the leader of the world's democracies and bulwark of international peace.

On December 7, America remembers much and resolves much. We remember Pearl Harbor's dead and wounded and its courageous survivors who fought that day and many other days as well. We remember too one of history's clearest lessons, that weakness and unpreparedness do not build peace but invite aggression. We remember that our freedom, purchased at so dear a price, can be taken from us. And we resolve that that shall never be. We resolve that our strength, our vigilance, and our devotion will forever keep America the land of the free and the home of the brave. We resolve that we will keep faith with those

we have loved and lost. And we resolve that, always, we will remember Pearl Harbor.

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 105, has designated December 7, 1987, as "National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim December 7, 1987, as National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day, and I call upon the people of the United States to observe this solemn occasion with appropriate ceremonies and activities and to pledge eternal vigilance and strong resolve to defend our Nation and its allies from all future aggression.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this seventh day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 12:12 p.m., December 8, 1987]

Remarks on Lighting the National Christmas Tree *December 7, 1987*

My fellow citizens, the 1987 Pageant of Peace has a special significance this year. The lighting of the National Christmas Tree with its Star of Peace atop could not come at a more symbolic moment. Two hours ago, General Secretary Gorbachev's plane touched down on American soil. I invited him to come and discuss ways in which we can reduce the tensions between our two countries. He and I will meet in hopes of promoting peace for our peoples and all the people of the Earth.

I hope the General Secretary is watching this on TV. I'd like him to see what we're celebrating, because for us, Christmas celebrates the cause of peace on Earth, good will toward men.

Peace on Earth, good will toward men—I cannot think of a better spirit in which to begin the meetings of the next several days. As a small reminder of that spirit, the Star of Peace atop the National Christmas Tree will be lit day and night during the time our Soviet guests are here. And as we look out from the White House during our discussions, let the star remind us why we've gathered and what we seek.

In Luke, chapter 10, verse 5, we read: "Peace be to this house." That blessing is most appropriate over the next several days. And with that said, Tommy Valente will light the National Christmas Tree, and let the Star of Peace shine for all of us.

[At this point, the National Christmas Tree, which was located on the Ellipse, south of the White House grounds, was lighted.]

Reporter. Mr. President, did you watch the arrival?

The President. Yes.

Q. Do you have some new words for him?

The President. No. He'll hear them in the morning.

Q. Bye.

Q. What will they be about, sir? New words on what?

The President. Our meetings.

Q. Do you want a second treaty for a Christmas gift?

The President. I'll take what we're going to have.

Note: The President spoke at 6:50 p.m. from the South Balcony of the White House during the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace. Prior to the ceremony the President met with pageant organizers in the Oval Office. Tommy Valente, a 5-year-old from Jackson, NJ, lighted the tree as a part of the Make-a-Wish program sponsored by the Starlight Foundation.

Remarks at the Welcoming Ceremony for General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union

December 8, 1987

The President. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, I've welcomed a good number of foreign leaders to the White House in these last 7 years. And today marks a visit that is perhaps more momentous than many which have preceded it, because it represents a coming together not of allies but of adversaries. And yet I think you'll find during your stay that the American people believe that a stranger is a friend they have yet to meet and that there is still a wellspring of good will here.

Indeed, I know that many of our citizens have written to you and Mrs. Gorbachev and have even sent to you the keys to their homes. That honest gesture certainly reflects the feelings of many Americans toward you and Mrs. Gorbachev and toward your people. I have often felt that our peoples should have been better friends long ago.

But let us have the courage to recognize that there are weighty differences between our governments and systems, differences that will not go away by wishful thinking or expressions of good will no matter how sincerely delivered. This uncomfortable reality need not be reason for pessimism, however; it should provide us with a challenge, an opportunity to move from confrontation toward cooperation.

Mr. General Secretary, there is a saying in your country that a poor peace is better than a good quarrel. Well, it's up to us, with hard work, commitment, and a heavy dose of realism, to change the poor peace that has existed between our countries and make it into a good one. Today we will take a giant step in that direction by signing an historic treaty that will rid the world of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. Mr. Gorbachev: *mir na nas smotrit*, the world is watching, and we've got something to show them. And over the next few days, it is my hope that progress will be made toward achieving another agreement that will lead to the cutting in half of our strategic nuclear arsenals.

Well, during the Second World War, Soviet General—later Marshal—Chuikov, a frontline commander, liked to tell the story of a soldier who said he had captured a bear. And he was asked to bring it along. "I can't," replied the soldier, "the bear won't let me." Well, General Secretary Gorbachev, like the soldier in Marshal Chuikov's story, our peoples for too long have been both the masters and the captives of a deadly arms race. This situation is not pre-ordained and not part of some inevitable course of history. We make history. Chang-

ing its direction is within our power. However, such change is not easy and can be accomplished only when leaders of both sides have no illusions, talk with candor, and meet differences head on. Such, I hope, will be the spirit of our upcoming meetings.

On the table will be not only arms reduction but also human rights issues about which the American people and their government are deeply committed. These are fundamental issues of political morality that touch on the most basic of human concerns. I would hope we will also candidly discuss regional conflicts. The parties to these conflicts should negotiate solutions that restore the peace and advance the rights and freedom of the peoples involved. We cannot afford to view these as far away brushfires. Even small flames risk larger conflagrations and undermine positive developments between our two countries.

Let us also consider ways to expand the contact between our own citizens. The Soviet and American peoples can and should know more about each other. The barriers between them should be taken down, restrictions on travel and communications lifted, personal relations between our young people fostered. Let disagreement between our governments not get in the way of friendships between our peoples.

Mr. Gorbachev, I hope that during your short time here you'll see that we Americans are a dynamic and energetic lot, people of enterprise and an abiding love of freedom. We believe in God and care about others who are in need. We are proud and independent. Like the peoples of your country, we believe our country should be strong, but we desire peace. Have no doubt about that. The longing for peace runs deep here, second only to our fervency for the preservation of our liberty. Americans believe people should be able to disagree and still respect one another, still live in peace with one another. That is the democratic spirit that I will bring to our meetings.

So, on behalf of myself and Mrs. Reagan, and on behalf of all the citizens of the United States, General Secretary Gorbachev, Mrs. Gorbachev: Welcome.

The General Secretary. Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentlemen, comrades: Thank you very

much, Mr. President, for the cordial welcome and kind words of greeting.

History has charged the governments of our countries and the two of us, Mr. President, with a solemn duty to justify the hopes of Americans and Soviet people and of people the world over to undo the logic of the arms race by working together in good faith. In the world's development, much will depend upon the choice that we are to make, upon what is to triumph: fears and prejudice inherited from the cold war and leading to confrontation or common sense which calls for action to ensure the survival of civilization. We in the Soviet Union have made our choice. We realize that we are divided not only by the oceans but also by profound historical, ideological, socioeconomic, and cultural differences. But the wisdom of politics today lies in not using those differences as a pretext for confrontation, enmity, and the arms race.

We are beginning our visit 46 years after the days when the United States entered the Second World War, and it was in those same days in 1941 that the rout of Nazi forces began near Moscow. That is symbolic. Those days mark the beginning of our common path to victory over the forces of evil in a war which we fought as allies. History is thus reminding us both of our opportunities and of our responsibility. Indeed, the very fact that we are about to sign a treaty eliminating Soviet and U.S. intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, which are now going to be scrapped, shows that at crucial phases in history our two nations are capable of shouldering their high responsibility.

This will, of course, be the first step down the road leading to a nuclear-free world, whose construction you, Mr. President, and I discussed at Reykjavik. Yet it is a great step into the future, the future to which our two peoples and the peoples of all countries aspire. I have come to Washington with the intention of advancing the next and more important goal of reaching agreement to reduce by half strategic offensive arms in the context of a firm guarantee of strategic stability. We are also looking forward to a most serious and frank dialog on other issues of Soviet-American relations.

Soviet foreign policy today is most intimately linked with *perestroika*, the domestic restructuring of Soviet society. The Soviet people have boldly taken the path of radical reform and development in all spheres—economic, social, political, and intellectual. Democratization and *glasnost* are the decisive prerequisites for the success of those reforms. They also provide the guarantee that we shall go a long way and that the course we are pursuing is irreversible. Such is the will of our people. In charting these ambitious plans, the Soviet people have a vital stake in preserving and strengthening peace everywhere on Earth.

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, may I express the hope that the Soviet Union and the United States, working together with all nations, will take their place in the

history of the outgoing 20th century not only as allies in the battle against nazism but also as nations that have paved mankind's way to a safe world, free from the threat of nuclear annihilation.

On behalf of the Soviet people, I declare that we are prepared to go all the way along our part of the road with the sincerity and responsibility that befit a great and peaceful power. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 10:10 a.m. at the South Portico of the White House, where the General Secretary was accorded a formal welcome with full military honors. The President spoke in English, and the General Secretary spoke in Russian. Their remarks were translated by interpreters.

Informal Exchange With Reporters on the Soviet-United States Summit Meeting December 8, 1987

Q. Mr. President, do you expect to break through on START or Star Wars during these talks for 3 days?

The President. Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I'm going to wait for the meetings here and not offer any—

Q. Well, do you think it is a great step forward to sign this treaty?

The President. Oh, yes, that I believe very much.

Q. But would you be totally satisfied with that, or would you like to make progress?

The President. Well, obviously, we want to make progress. I think both of us made that clear out there in our remarks.

Q. Mr. Secretary, your spokesman said that you are a man of surprises. Have you brought a surprise for President Reagan concerning the arms negotiations?

The General Secretary. Well, I don't think that policies are made with surprises. Responsible policies, particularly by countries such as the Soviet Union and the United States, have to be well thought over. And on the basis of that, responsible decisions

have to be taken.

Q. Mr. Gorbachev—

Q. Well, what are the new—

Q. —about Afghanistan, please. A date for withdrawal.

The General Secretary. As the President has said, you shouldn't rush.

Q. Mr. President, old friends or old enemies?

The President. Well, I think you can judge for yourself.

Q. What are the new words you want to hear?

The General Secretary. Well, I have heard some new words in the President's welcoming remarks, and I welcome this fact. And of course, there are political declarations, political statements, and then there is reality, real policies. And you might have noted that there is a great similarity in the outlook of things on the world in our remarks today, myself and the President. So, how to implement what we declared in our speeches? This is what we are getting to discuss with the President. We have five meetings planned with the President.

I think you have gotten quite a lot from me. [Laughter]

Note: The exchange began at 10:45 a.m. in

the Oval Office at the White House. Following the exchange, the President met with the General Secretary to discuss human rights.

Remarks on Signing the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty December 8, 1987

The President. Thank you all very much. Welcome to the White House. This ceremony and the treaty we're signing today are both excellent examples of the rewards of patience. It was over 6 years ago, November 18, 1981, that I first proposed what would come to be called the zero option. It was a simple proposal—one might say, disarmingly simple. [Laughter] Unlike treaties in the past, it didn't simply codify the status quo or a new arms buildup; it didn't simply talk of controlling an arms race.

For the first time in history, the language of "arms control" was replaced by "arms reduction"—in this case, the complete elimination of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles. Of course, this required a dramatic shift in thinking, and it took conventional wisdom some time to catch up. Reaction, to say the least, was mixed. To some the zero option was impossibly visionary and unrealistic; to others merely a propaganda ploy. Well, with patience, determination, and commitment, we've made this impossible vision a reality.

General Secretary Gorbachev, I'm sure you're familiar with Ivan Krylov's famous tale about the swan, the crawfish, and the pike. It seems that once upon a time these three were trying to move a wagonload together. They hitched and harnessed themselves to the wagon. It wasn't very heavy, but no matter how hard they worked, the wagon just wouldn't move. You see, the swan was flying upward; the crawfish kept crawling backward; the pike kept making for the water. The end result was that they got nowhere, and the wagon is still there to this day. Well, strong and fundamental moral differences continue to exist between our nations. But today, on this vital issue, at least, we've seen what can be accomplished

when we pull together.

The numbers alone demonstrate the value of this agreement. On the Soviet side, over 1,500 deployed warheads will be removed, and all ground-launched intermediate-range missiles, including the SS-20's, will be destroyed. On our side, our entire complement of Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles, with some 400 deployed warheads, will all be destroyed. Additional backup missiles on both sides will also be destroyed.

But the importance of this treaty transcends numbers. We have listened to the wisdom in an old Russian maxim. And I'm sure you're familiar with it, Mr. General Secretary, though my pronunciation may give you difficulty. The maxim is: *Dovorey no provorey*—trust, but verify.

The General Secretary. You repeat that at every meeting. [Laughter]

The President. I like it. [Laughter]

This agreement contains the most stringent verification regime in history, including provisions for inspection teams actually residing in each other's territory and several other forms of onsite inspection, as well. This treaty protects the interests of America's friends and allies. It also embodies another important principle: the need for *glasnost*, a greater openness in military programs and forces.

We can only hope that this historymaking agreement will not be an end in itself but the beginning of a working relationship that will enable us to tackle the other urgent issues before us: strategic offensive nuclear weapons, the balance of conventional forces in Europe, the destructive and tragic regional conflicts that beset so many parts of our globe, and respect for the human and natural rights God has granted to all men.

To all here who have worked so hard to make this vision a reality: Thank you, and congratulations—above all to Ambassadors Glitman and Obukhov. To quote another Russian proverb—as you can see, I'm becoming quite an expert—[*laughter*—in Russian proverbs: “The harvest comes more from sweat than from the dew.”

So, I'm going to propose to General Secretary Gorbachev that we issue one last instruction to you: Get some well-deserved rest. [*Laughter*]

The General Secretary. We're not going to do that. [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, now, Mr. General Secretary, would you like to say a few words before we sign the treaty?

The General Secretary. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, comrades, succeeding generations will hand down their verdict on the importance of the event which we are about to witness. But I will venture to say that what we are going to do, the signing of the first-ever agreement eliminating nuclear weapons, has a universal significance for mankind, both from the standpoint of world politics and from the standpoint of humanism.

For everyone, and above all, for our two great powers, the treaty whose text is on this table offers a big chance at last to get onto the road leading away from the threat of catastrophe. It is our duty to take full advantage of that chance and move togeth-

er toward a nuclear-free world, which holds out for our children and grandchildren and for their children and grandchildren the promise of a fulfilling and happy life without fear and without a senseless waste of resources on weapons of destruction.

We can be proud of planting this sapling, which may one day grow into a mighty tree of peace. But it is probably still too early to bestow laurels upon each other. As the great American poet and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson said: “The reward of a thing well done is to have done it.”

So, let us reward ourselves by getting down to business. We have covered a 7-year-long road, replete with intense work and debate. One last step towards this table, and the treaty will be signed.

May December 8, 1987, become a date that will be inscribed in the history books, a date that will mark the watershed separating the era of a mounting risk of nuclear war from the era of a demilitarization of human life.

Note: The President spoke at 1:45 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Ambassador Maynard W. Glitman, U.S. Negotiator on Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces, and Ambassador Aleksey Obukhov, Deputy Head of the Soviet Nuclear and Space Arms delegation. Following their remarks, the President and the General Secretary signed the treaty and the accompanying protocols.

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles

December 8, 1987

The United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

Conscious that nuclear war would have devastating consequences for all mankind,

Guided by the objective of strengthening strategic stability,

Convinced that the measures set forth in this Treaty will help to reduce the risk of

outbreak of war and strengthen international peace and security, and

Mindful of their obligations under Article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons,

Have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I

In accordance with the provisions of this

Treaty which includes the Memorandum of Understanding and Protocols which form an integral part thereof, each Party shall eliminate its intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, not have such systems thereafter, and carry out the other obligations set forth in this Treaty.

ARTICLE II

For the purposes of this Treaty:

1. The term "ballistic missile" means a missile that has a ballistic trajectory over most of its flight path. The term "ground-launched ballistic missile (GLBM)" means a ground-launched ballistic missile that is a weapon-delivery vehicle.

2. The term "cruise missile" means an unmanned, self-propelled vehicle that sustains flight through the use of aerodynamic lift over most of its flight path. The term "ground-launched cruise missile (GLCM)" means a ground-launched cruise missile that is a weapon-delivery vehicle.

3. The term "GLBM launcher" means a fixed launcher or a mobile land-based transporter-erector-launcher mechanism for launching a GLBM.

4. The term "GLCM launcher" means a fixed launcher or a mobile land-based transporter-erector-launcher mechanism for launching a GLCM.

5. The term "intermediate-range missile" means a GLBM or a GLCM having a range capability in excess of 1000 kilometers but not in excess of 5500 kilometers.

6. The term "shorter-range missile" means a GLBM or a GLCM having a range capability equal to or in excess of 500 kilometers but not in excess of 1000 kilometers.

7. The term "deployment area" means a designated area within which intermediate-range missiles and launchers of such missiles may operate and within which one or more missile operating bases are located.

8. The term "missile operating base" means:

(a) in the case of intermediate-range missiles, a complex of facilities, located within a deployment area, at which intermediate-range missiles and launchers of such missiles normally operate, in which support structures associated with such missiles and launchers are also located and in which support

equipment associated with such missiles and launchers is normally located; and
(b) in the case of shorter-range missiles, a complex of facilities, located any place, at which shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles normally operate and in which support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers is normally located.

9. The term "missile support facility," as regards intermediate-range or shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles, means a missile production facility or a launcher production facility, a missile repair facility or a launcher repair facility, a training facility, a missile storage facility or a launcher storage facility, a test range, or an elimination facility as those terms are defined in the Memorandum of Understanding.

10. The term "transit" means movement, notified in accordance with paragraph 5(f) of Article IX of this Treaty, of an intermediate-range missile or a launcher of such a missile between missile support facilities, between such a facility and a deployment area or between deployment areas, or of a shorter-range missile or a launcher of such a missile from a missile support facility or a missile operating base to an elimination facility.

11. The term "deployed missile" means an intermediate-range missile located within a deployment area or a shorter-range missile located at a missile operating base.

12. The term "non-deployed missile" means an intermediate-range missile located outside a deployment area or a shorter-range missile located outside a missile operating base.

13. The term "deployed launcher" means a launcher of an intermediate-range missile located within a deployment area or a launcher of a shorter-range missile located at a missile operating base.

14. The term "non-deployed launcher" means a launcher of an intermediate-range missile located outside a deployment area or a launcher of a shorter-range missile located outside a missile operating base.

15. The term "basing country" means a country other than the United States of

America or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on whose territory intermediate-range or shorter-range missiles of the Parties, launchers of such missiles or support structures associated with such missiles and launchers were located at any time after November 1, 1987. Missiles or launchers in transit are not considered to be "located."

ARTICLE III

1. For the purposes of this Treaty, existing types of intermediate-range missiles are:

- (a) for the United States of America, missiles of the types designated by the United States of America as the Pershing II and the BGM-109G, which are known to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the same designations; and
- (b) for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, missiles of the types designated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the RSD-10, the R-12 and the R-14, which are known to the United States of America as the SS-20, the SS-4 and the SS-5, respectively.

2. For the purposes of this Treaty, existing types of shorter-range missiles are:

- (a) for the United States of America, missiles of the type designated by the United States of America as the Pershing IA, which is known to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the same designation; and
- (b) for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, missiles of the types designated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the OTR-22 and the OTR-23, which are known to the United States of America as the SS-12 and the SS-23, respectively.

ARTICLE IV

1. Each Party shall eliminate all its intermediate-range missiles and launchers of such missiles, and all support structures and support equipment of the categories listed in the Memorandum of Understanding associated with such missiles and launchers, so that no later than three years after entry into force of this Treaty and thereafter no such missiles, launchers, support structures or support equipment shall be possessed by either Party.

2. To implement paragraph 1 of this Article, upon entry into force of this Treaty, both Parties shall begin and continue throughout the duration of each phase, the reduction of all types of their deployed and non-deployed intermediate-range missiles and deployed and non-deployed launchers of such missiles and support structures and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers in accordance with the provisions of this Treaty. These reductions shall be implemented in two phases so that:

- (a) by the end of the first phase, that is, no later than 29 months after entry into force of this Treaty:
 - (i) the number of deployed launchers of intermediate-range missiles for each Party shall not exceed the number of launchers that are capable of carrying or containing at one time missiles considered by the Parties to carry 171 warheads;
 - (ii) the number of deployed intermediate-range missiles for each Party shall not exceed the number of such missiles considered by the Parties to carry 180 warheads;
 - (iii) the aggregate number of deployed and non-deployed launchers of intermediate-range missiles for each Party shall not exceed the number of launchers that are capable of carrying or containing at one time missiles considered by the Parties to carry 200 warheads;
 - (iv) the aggregate number of deployed and non-deployed intermediate-range missiles for each Party shall not exceed the number of such missiles considered by the Parties to carry 200 warheads; and
 - (v) the ratio of the aggregate number of deployed and non-deployed intermediate-range GLBMs of existing types for each Party to the aggregate number of deployed and non-deployed intermediate-range missiles of existing types possessed by that Party shall not exceed the ratio of such intermediate-range GLBMs to such intermediate-range missiles for that Party as of November 1, 1987, as set

forth in the Memorandum of Understanding; and

- (b) by the end of the second phase, that is, no later than three years after entry into force of this Treaty, all intermediate-range missiles of each Party, launchers of such missiles and all support structures and support equipment of the categories listed in the Memorandum of Understanding associated with such missiles and launchers, shall be eliminated.

ARTICLE V

1. Each Party shall eliminate all its shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles, and all support equipment of the categories listed in the Memorandum of Understanding associated with such missiles and launchers, so that no later than 18 months after entry into force of this Treaty and thereafter no such missiles, launchers or support equipment shall be possessed by either Party.

2. No later than 90 days after entry into force of this Treaty, each Party shall complete the removal of all its deployed shorter-range missiles and deployed and non-deployed launchers of such missiles to elimination facilities and shall retain them at those locations until they are eliminated in accordance with the procedures set forth in the Protocol on Elimination. No later than 12 months after entry into force of this Treaty, each Party shall complete the removal of all its non-deployed shorter-range missiles to elimination facilities and shall retain them at those locations until they are eliminated in accordance with the procedures set forth in the Protocol on Elimination.

3. Shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles shall not be located at the same elimination facility. Such facilities shall be separated by no less than 1000 kilometers.

ARTICLE VI

1. Upon entry into force of this Treaty and thereafter, neither Party shall:

- (a) produce or flight-test any intermediate-range missiles or produce any stages of such missiles or any launchers of such missiles; or

- (b) produce, flight-test or launch any shorter-range missiles or produce any stages of such missiles or any launchers of such missiles.

2. Notwithstanding paragraph 1 of this Article, each Party shall have the right to produce a type of GLBM not limited by this Treaty which uses a stage which is outwardly similar to, but not interchangeable with, a stage of an existing type of intermediate-range GLBM having more than one stage, providing that that Party does not produce any other stage which is outwardly similar to, but not interchangeable with, any other stage of an existing type of intermediate-range GLBM.

ARTICLE VII

For the purposes of this Treaty:

1. If a ballistic missile or a cruise missile has been flight-tested or deployed for weapon delivery, all missiles of that type shall be considered to be weapon-delivery vehicles.

2. If a GLBM or GLCM is an intermediate-range missile, all GLBMs or GLCMs of that type shall be considered to be intermediate-range missiles. If a GLBM or GLCM is a shorter-range missile, all GLBMs or GLCMs of that type shall be considered to be shorter-range missiles.

3. If a GLBM is of a type developed and tested solely to intercept and counter objects not located on the surface of the earth, it shall not be considered to be a missile to which the limitations of this Treaty apply.

4. The range capability of a GLBM not listed in Article III of this Treaty shall be considered to be the maximum range to which it has been tested. The range capability of a GLCM not listed in Article III of this Treaty shall be considered to be the maximum distance which can be covered by the missile in its standard design mode flying until fuel exhaustion, determined by projecting its flight path onto the earth's sphere from the point of launch to the point of impact. GLBMs or GLCMs that have a range capability equal to or in excess of 500 kilometers but not in excess of 1000 kilometers shall be considered to be shorter-range missiles. GLBMs or GLCMs that have a range capability in excess of 1000

kilometers but not in excess of 500 kilometers shall be considered to be intermediate-range missiles.

5. The maximum number of warheads an existing type of intermediate-range missile or shorter-range missile carries shall be considered to be the number listed for missiles of that type in the Memorandum of Understanding.

6. Each GLBM or GLCM shall be considered to carry the maximum number of warheads listed for a GLBM or GLCM of that type in the Memorandum of Understanding.

7. If a launcher has been tested for launching a GLBM or a GLCM, all launchers of that type shall be considered to have been tested for launching GLBMs or GLCMs.

8. If a launcher has contained or launched a particular type of GLBM or GLCM, all launchers of that type shall be considered to be launchers of that type of GLBM or GLCM.

9. The number of missiles each launcher of an existing type of intermediate-range missile or shorter-range missile shall be considered to be capable of carrying or containing at one time is the number listed for launchers of missiles of that type in the Memorandum of Understanding.

10. Except in the case of elimination in accordance with the procedures set forth in the Protocol on Elimination, the following shall apply:

- (a) for GLBMs which are stored or moved in separate stages, the longest stage of an intermediate-range or shorter-range GLBM shall be counted as a complete missile;
- (b) for GLBMs which are not stored or moved in separate stages, a canister of the type used in the launch of an intermediate-range GLBM, unless a Party proves to the satisfaction of the other Party that it does not contain such a missile, or an assembled intermediate-range or shorter-range GLBM, shall be counted as a complete missile; and
- (c) for GLCMs, the airframe of an intermediate-range or shorter-range GLCM shall be counted as a complete missile.

11. A ballistic missile which is not a missile to be used in a ground-based mode shall

not be considered to be a GLBM if it is test-launched at a test site from a fixed land-based launcher which is used solely for test purposes and which is distinguishable from GLBM launchers. A cruise missile which is not a missile to be used in a ground-based mode shall not be considered to be a GLCM if it is test-launched at a test site from a fixed land-based launcher which is used solely for test purposes and which is distinguishable from GLCM launchers.

12. Each Party shall have the right to produce and use for booster systems, which might otherwise be considered to be intermediate-range or shorter-range missiles, only existing types of booster stages for such booster systems. Launches of such booster systems shall not be considered to be flight-testing of intermediate-range or shorter-range missiles provided that:

- (a) stages used in such booster systems are different from stages used in those missiles listed as existing types of intermediate-range or shorter-range missiles in Article III of this Treaty;
 - (b) such booster systems are used only for research and development purposes to test objects other than the booster systems themselves;
 - (c) the aggregate number of launchers for such booster systems shall not exceed 35 for each Party at any one time; and
 - (d) the launchers for such booster systems are fixed, emplaced above ground and located only at research and development launch sites which are specified in the Memorandum of Understanding.
- Research and development launch sites shall not be subject to inspection pursuant to Article XI of this Treaty.

ARTICLE VIII

1. All intermediate-range missiles and launchers of such missiles shall be located in deployment areas, at missile support facilities or shall be in transit. Intermediate-range missiles or launchers of such missiles shall not be located elsewhere.

2. Stages of intermediate-range missiles shall be located in deployment areas, at missile support facilities or moving between deployment areas, between missile support facilities or between missile support facilities

ties and deployment areas.

3. Until their removal to elimination facilities as required by paragraph 2 of Article V of this Treaty, all shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles shall be located at missile operating bases, at missile support facilities or shall be in transit. Shorter-range missiles or launchers of such missiles shall not be located elsewhere.

4. Transit of a missile or launcher subject to the provisions of this Treaty shall be completed within 25 days.

5. All deployment areas, missile operating bases and missile support facilities are specified in the Memorandum of Understanding or in subsequent updates of data pursuant to paragraphs 3, 5(a) or 5(b) of Article IX of this Treaty. Neither Party shall increase the number of, or change the location or boundaries of, deployment areas, missile operating bases or missile support facilities, except for elimination facilities, from those set forth in the Memorandum of Understanding. A missile support facility shall not be considered to be part of a deployment area even though it may be located within the geographic boundaries of a deployment area.

6. Beginning 30 days after entry into force of this Treaty, neither Party shall locate intermediate-range or shorter-range missiles, including stages of such missiles, or launchers of such missiles at missile production facilities, launcher production facilities or test ranges listed in the Memorandum of Understanding.

7. Neither Party shall locate any intermediate-range or shorter-range missiles at training facilities.

8. A non-deployed intermediate-range or shorter-range missile shall not be carried on or contained within a launcher of such a type of missile, except as required for maintenance conducted at repair facilities or for elimination by means of launching conducted at elimination facilities.

9. Training missiles and training launchers for intermediate-range or shorter-range missiles shall be subject to the same locational restrictions as are set forth for intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles in paragraph 1 and 3 of this Article.

ARTICLE IX

1. The Memorandum of Understanding contains categories of data relevant to obligations undertaken with regard to this Treaty and lists all intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, launchers of such missiles, and support structures and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers, possessed by the Parties as of November 1, 1987. Updates of that data and notifications required by this Article shall be provided according to the categories of data contained in the Memorandum of Understanding.

2. The Parties shall update that data and provide the notifications required by this Treaty through the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers, established pursuant to the Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Establishment of Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers of September 15, 1987.

3. No later than 30 days after entry into force of this Treaty, each Party shall provide the other Party with updated data, as of the date of entry into force of this Treaty, for all categories of data contained in the Memorandum of Understanding.

4. No later than 30 days after the end of each six-month interval following the entry into force of this Treaty, each Party shall provide updated data for all categories of data contained in the Memorandum of Understanding by informing the other Party of all changes, completed and in process, in that data, which have occurred during the six-month interval since the preceding data exchange, and the net effect of those changes.

5. Upon entry into force of this Treaty and thereafter, each Party shall provide the following notifications to the other Party:

- (a) notification, no less than 30 days in advance, of the scheduled date of the elimination of a specific deployment area, missile operating base or missile support facility;
- (b) notification, no less than 30 days in advance, of changes in the number or location of elimination facilities, including the location and scheduled date of each change;
- (c) notification, except with respect to

- launches of intermediate-range missiles for the purpose of their elimination, no less than 30 days in advance, of the scheduled date of the initiation of the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, and stages of such missiles, and launchers of such missiles and support structures and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers, including:
- (i) the number and type of items of missile systems to be eliminated;
 - (ii) the elimination site;
 - (iii) for intermediate-range missiles, the location from which such missiles, launchers of such missiles and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers are moved to the elimination facility; and
 - (iv) except in the case of support structures, the point of entry to be used by an inspection team conducting an inspection pursuant to paragraph 7 of Article XI of this Treaty and the estimated time of departure of an inspection team from the point of entry to the elimination facility;
- (d) notification, no less than ten days in advance, of the scheduled date of the launch, or the scheduled date of the initiation of a series of launches, of intermediate-range missiles for the purpose of their elimination, including:
- (i) the type of missiles to be eliminated;
 - (ii) the location of the launch, or, if elimination is by a series of launches, the location of such launches and the number of launches in the series;
 - (iii) the point of entry to be used by an inspection team conducting an inspection pursuant to paragraph 7 of Article XI of this Treaty; and
 - (iv) the estimated time of departure of an inspection team from the point of entry to the elimination facility;
- (e) notification, no later than 48 hours after they occur, of changes in the number of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, launchers of such missiles and support structures and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers resulting from elimination as described in the Protocol on Elimination, including:
- (i) the number and type of items of a missile system which were eliminated; and
 - (ii) the date and location of such elimination; and
- (f) notification of transit of intermediate-range or shorter-range missiles or launchers of such missiles, or the movement of training missiles or training launchers for such intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, no later than 48 hours after it has been completed, including:
- (i) the number of missiles or launchers;
 - (ii) the points, dates and times of departure and arrival;
 - (iii) the mode of transport; and
 - (iv) the location and time at that location at least once every four days during the period of transit.
6. Upon entry into force of this Treaty and thereafter, each Party shall notify the other Party, no less than ten days in advance, of the scheduled date and location of the launch of a research and development booster system as described in paragraph 12 of Article VII of this Treaty.

ARTICLE X

1. Each Party shall eliminate its intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles and support structures and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers in accordance with the procedures set forth in the Protocol on Elimination.

2. Verification by on-site inspection of the elimination of items of missile systems specified in the Protocol on Elimination shall be carried out in accordance with Article XI of this Treaty, the Protocol on Elimination and the Protocol on Inspection.

3. When a Party removes its intermediate-range missiles, launchers of such missiles and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers from deployment areas to elimination facilities for the purpose of their elimination, it shall do so in complete deployed organizational units. For the United States of America, these units shall be Pershing II batteries and BGM-109G flights. For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, these units shall be SS-20

regiments composed of two or three battalions.

4. Elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers shall be carried out at the facilities that are specified in the Memorandum of Understanding or notified in accordance with paragraph 5(b) of Article IX of this Treaty, unless eliminated in accordance with Sections IV or V of the Protocol on Elimination. Support structures, associated with the missiles and launchers subject to this Treaty, that are subject to elimination shall be eliminated *in situ*.

5. Each Party shall have the right, during the first six months after entry into force of this Treaty, to eliminate by means of launching no more than 100 of its intermediate-range missiles.

6. Intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles which have been tested prior to entry into force of this Treaty, but never deployed, and which are not existing types of intermediate-range or shorter-range missiles listed in Article III of this Treaty, and launchers of such missiles, shall be eliminated within six months after entry into force of this Treaty in accordance with the procedures set forth in the Protocol on Elimination. Such missiles are:

(a) for the United States of America, missiles of the type designated by the United States of America as the Pershing IB, which is known to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the same designation; and

(b) for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, missiles of the type designated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as the RK-55, which is known to the United States of America as the SSC-X-4.

7. Intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles and support structures and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers shall be considered to be eliminated after completion of the procedures set forth in the Protocol on Elimination and upon the notification provided for in paragraph 5(e) of Article IX of this Treaty.

8. Each Party shall eliminate its deploy-

ment areas, missile operating bases and missile support facilities. A Party shall notify the other Party pursuant to paragraph 5(a) of Article IX of this Treaty once the conditions set forth below are fulfilled:

(a) all intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, launchers of such missiles and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers located there have been removed;

(b) all support structures associated with such missiles and launchers located there have been eliminated; and

(c) all activity related to production, flight-testing, training, repair, storage or deployment of such missiles and launchers has ceased there.

Such deployment areas, missile operating bases and missile support facilities shall be considered to be eliminated either when they have been inspected pursuant to paragraph 4 of Article XI of this Treaty or when 60 days have elapsed since the date of the scheduled elimination which was notified pursuant to paragraph 5(a) of Article IX of this Treaty. A deployment area, missile operating base or missile support facility listed in the Memorandum of Understanding that met the above conditions prior to entry into force of this Treaty, and is not included in the initial data exchange pursuant to paragraph 3 of Article IX of this Treaty, shall be considered to be eliminated.

9. If a Party intends to convert a missile operating base listed in the Memorandum of Understanding for use as a base associated with GLBM or GLCM systems not subject to this Treaty, then that Party shall notify the other Party, no less than 30 days in advance of the scheduled date of the initiation of the conversion, of the scheduled date and the purpose for which the base will be converted.

ARTICLE XI

1. For the purpose of ensuring verification of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty, each Party shall have the right to conduct on-site inspections. The Parties shall implement on-site inspections in accordance with this Article, the Protocol on Inspection and the Protocol on Elimination.

2. Each Party shall have the right to con-

duct inspections provided for by this Article both within the territory of the other Party and within the territories of basing countries.

3. Beginning 30 days after entry into force of this Treaty, each Party shall have the right to conduct inspections at all missile operating bases and missile support facilities specified in the Memorandum of Understanding other than missile production facilities, and at all elimination facilities included in the initial data update required by paragraph 3 of Article IX of this Treaty. These inspections shall be completed no later than 90 days after entry into force of this Treaty. The purpose of these inspections shall be to verify the number of missiles, launchers, support structures and support equipment and other data, as of the date of entry into force of this Treaty, provided pursuant to paragraph 3 of Article IX of this Treaty.

4. Each Party shall have the right to conduct inspections to verify the elimination, notified pursuant to paragraph 5(a) of Article IX of this Treaty, of missile operating bases and missile support facilities other than missile production facilities, which are thus no longer subject to inspections pursuant to paragraph 5(a) of this Article. Such an inspection shall be carried out within 60 days after the scheduled date of the elimination of that facility. If a Party conducts an inspection at a particular facility pursuant to paragraph 3 of this Article after the scheduled date of the elimination of that facility, then no additional inspection of that facility pursuant to this paragraph shall be permitted.

5. Each Party shall have the right to conduct inspections pursuant to this paragraph for 13 years after entry into force of this Treaty. Each Party shall have the right to conduct 20 such inspections per calendar year during the first three years after entry into force of this Treaty, 15 such inspections per calendar year during the subsequent five years, and ten such inspections per calendar year during the last five years. Neither Party shall use more than half of its total number of these inspections per calendar year within the territory of any one basing country. Each Party shall have the right to conduct:

- (a) inspections, beginning 90 days after entry into force of this Treaty, of missile operating bases and missile support facilities other than elimination facilities and missile production facilities, to ascertain, according to the categories of data specified in the Memorandum of Understanding, the numbers of missiles, launchers, support structures and support equipment located at each missile operating base or missile support facility at the time of the inspection; and
- (b) inspections of former missile operating bases and former missile support facilities eliminated pursuant to paragraph 8 of Article X of this Treaty other than former missile production facilities.

6. Beginning 30 days after entry into force of this Treaty, each Party shall have the right, for 13 years after entry into force of this Treaty, to inspect by means of continuous monitoring:

- (a) the portals of any facility of the other Party at which the final assembly of a GLBM using stages, any of which is outwardly similar to a stage of a solid-propellant GLBM listed in Article III of this Treaty, is accomplished; or
- (b) if a Party has no such facility, the portals of an agreed former missile production facility at which existing types of intermediate-range or shorter-range GLBMs were produced.

The Party whose facility is to be inspected pursuant to this paragraph shall ensure that the other Party is able to establish a permanent continuous monitoring system at that facility within six months after entry into force of this Treaty or within six months of initiation of the process of final assembly described in subparagraph (a). If, after the end of the second year after entry into force of this Treaty, neither Party conducts the process of final assembly described in subparagraph (a) for a period of 12 consecutive months, then neither Party shall have the right to inspect by means of continuous monitoring any missile production facility of the other Party unless the process of final assembly as described in subparagraph (a) is initiated again. Upon entry into force of this Treaty, the facilities to be inspected by continuous monitoring shall be: in accordance

with subparagraph (b), for the United States of America, Hercules Plant Number 1, at Magna, Utah; in accordance with subparagraph (a), for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Votkinsk Machine Building Plant, Udmurt Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

7. Each Party shall conduct inspections of the process of elimination, including elimination of intermediate-range missiles by means of launching, of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers carried out at elimination facilities in accordance with Article X of this Treaty and the Protocol on Elimination. Inspectors conducting inspections provided for in this paragraph shall determine that the processes specified for the elimination of the missiles, launchers and support equipment have been completed.

8. Each Party shall have the right to conduct inspections to confirm the completion of the process of elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and launchers of such missiles and support equipment associated with such missiles and launchers eliminated pursuant to Section V of the Protocol on Elimination, and of training missiles, training missile stages, training launch canisters and training launchers eliminated pursuant to Sections II, IV and V of the Protocol on Elimination.

ARTICLE XII

1. For the purpose of ensuring verification of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty, each Party shall use national technical means of verification at its disposal in a manner consistent with generally recognized principles of international law.

2. Neither Party shall:

- (a) interfere with national technical means of verification of the other Party operating in accordance with paragraph 1 of this Article; or
- (b) use concealment measures which impede verification of compliance with the provisions of this Treaty by national technical means of verification carried out in accordance with paragraph 1 of this Article. This obligation does not

apply to cover or concealment practices, within a deployment area, associated with normal training, maintenance and operations, including the use of environmental shelters to protect missiles and launchers.

3. To enhance observation by national technical means of verification, each Party shall have the right until a treaty between the Parties reducing and limiting strategic offensive arms enters into force, but in any event for no more than three years after entry into force of this Treaty, to request the implementation of cooperative measures at deployment bases for road-mobile GLBMs with a range capability in excess of 5500 kilometers, which are not former missile operating bases eliminated pursuant to paragraph 8 of Article X of this Treaty. The Party making such a request shall inform the other Party of the deployment base at which cooperative measures shall be implemented. The Party whose base is to be observed shall carry out the following cooperative measures:

- (a) no later than six hours after such a request, the Party shall have opened the roofs of all fixed structures for launchers located at the base, removed completely all missiles on launchers from such fixed structures for launchers and displayed such missiles on launchers in the open without using concealment measures; and
- (b) the Party shall leave the roofs open and the missiles on launchers in place until twelve hours have elapsed from the time of the receipt of a request for such an observation.

Each Party shall have the right to make six such requests per calendar year. Only one deployment base shall be subject to these cooperative measures at any one time.

ARTICLE XIII

1. To promote the objectives and implementation of the provisions of this Treaty, the Parties hereby establish the Special Verification Commission. The Parties agree that, if either Party so requests, they shall meet within the framework of the Special Verification Commission to:

- (a) resolve questions relating to compli-

ance with the obligations assumed; and
(b) agree upon such measures as may be necessary to improve the viability and effectiveness of this Treaty.

2. The Parties shall use the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers, which provide for continuous communication between the Parties, to:

- (a) exchange data and provide notifications as required by paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Article IX of this Treaty and the Protocol on Elimination;
- (b) provide and receive the information required by paragraph 9 of Article X of this Treaty;
- (c) provide and receive notifications of inspections as required by Article XI of this Treaty and the Protocol on Inspection; and
- (d) provide and receive requests for cooperative measures as provided for in paragraph 3 of Article XII of this Treaty.

ARTICLE XIV

The Parties shall comply with this Treaty and shall not assume any international obligations or undertakings which would conflict with its provisions.

ARTICLE XV

1. This Treaty shall be of unlimited duration.

2. Each Party shall, in exercising its national sovereignty, have the right to withdraw from this Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events related to the subject matter of this Treaty have jeopardized its supreme interests. It shall give notice of its decision to withdraw to the other Party six months prior to withdrawal from this Treaty. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events the notifying Party regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.

ARTICLE XVI

Each Party may propose amendments to this Treaty. Agreed amendments shall enter into force in accordance with the procedures set forth in Article XVII governing the entry into force of this Treaty.

ARTICLE XVII

1. This Treaty, including the Memorandum of Understanding and Protocols, which form an integral part thereof, shall be subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each Party. This Treaty shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification.

2. This Treaty shall be registered pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

Done at Washington on December 8, 1987, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the United States of America:

RONALD REAGAN

President of the United States of America

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

M. GORBACHEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU

Protocol on Procedures Governing the Elimination of the Missile Systems Subject to the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-range and Shorter-range Missiles

Pursuant to and in implementation of the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles of December 8, 1987, hereinafter referred to as the Treaty, the Parties hereby agree upon procedures governing the elimination of the missile systems subject to the Treaty.

I. Items of Missile Systems Subject to Elimination

The specific items for each type of missile system to be eliminated are:

1. For the United States of America:

Pershing II: missile, launcher and launch pad shelter;

BGM-109G: missile, launch canister and launcher;

Pershing IA: missile and launcher; and

Pershing IB: missile.

2. For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

SS-20: missile, launch canister, launcher, missile transporter vehicle and fixed structure for a launcher;

SS-4: missile, missile transporter vehicle, missile erector, launch stand and propellant tanks;

SS-5: missile;

SSC-X-4: missile, launch canister and launcher;

SS-12: missile, launcher and missile transporter vehicle; and

SS-23: missile, launcher and missile transporter vehicle.

3. For both Parties, all training missiles, training missile stages, training launch canisters and training launchers shall be subject to elimination.

4. For both Parties, all stages of intermediate-range and shorter-range GLBMs shall be subject to elimination.

5. For both Parties, all front sections of deployed intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles shall be subject to elimination.

II. Procedures for Elimination at Elimination Facilities

1. In order to ensure the reliable determination of the type and number of missiles, missile stages, front sections, launch canisters, launchers, missile transporter vehicles, missile erectors and launch stands, as well as training missiles, training missile stages, training launch canisters and training launchers, indicated in Section I of this Protocol, being eliminated at elimination facilities, and to preclude the possibility of restoration of such items for purposes inconsistent with the provisions of the Treaty, the Parties shall fulfill the requirements below.

2. The conduct of the elimination procedures for the items of missile systems listed in paragraph 1 of this Section, except for training missiles, training missile stages, training launch canisters and training launchers, shall be subject to on-site inspection in accordance with Article XI of the of

the Treaty and the Protocol on Inspection. The Parties shall have the right to conduct on-site inspections to confirm the completion of the elimination procedures set forth in paragraph 11 of this Section for training missiles, training missile stages, training launch canisters and training launchers. The Party possessing such a training missile, training missile stage, training launch canister or training launcher shall inform the other Party of the name and coordinates of the elimination facility at which the on-site inspection may be conducted as well as the date on which it may be conducted. Such information shall be provided no less than 30 days in advance of that date.

3. Prior to a missile's arrival at the elimination facility, its nuclear warhead device and guidance elements may be removed.

4. Each Party shall select the particular technological means necessary to implement the procedures required in paragraphs 10 and 11 of this Section and to allow for on-site inspection of the conduct of the elimination procedures required in paragraph 10 of this Section in accordance with Article XI of the Treaty, this Protocol and the Protocol on Inspection.

5. The initiation of the elimination of the items of missile systems subject to this Section shall be considered to be the commencement of the procedures set forth in paragraph 10 or 11 of this Section.

6. Immediately prior to the initiation of the elimination procedures set forth in paragraph 10 of this Section, an inspector from the Party receiving the pertinent notification required by paragraph 5(c) of Article IX of the Treaty shall confirm and record the type and number of items of missile systems, listed in paragraph 1 of this Section, which are to be eliminated. If the inspecting Party deems it necessary, this shall include a visual inspection of the contents of launch canisters.

7. A missile stage being eliminated by burning in accordance with the procedures set forth in paragraph 10 of this Section shall not be instrumented for data collection. Prior to the initiation of the elimination procedures set forth in paragraph 10 of this Section, an inspector from the inspecting Party shall confirm that such missile

stages are not instrumented for data collection. Those missile stages shall be subject to continuous observation by such an inspector from the time of that inspection until the burning is completed.

8. The completion of the elimination procedures set forth in this Section, except those for training missiles, training missile stages, training launch canisters and training launchers, along with the type and number of items of missile systems for which those procedures have been completed, shall be confirmed in writing by the representative of the Party carrying out the elimination and by the inspection team leader of the other Party. The elimination of a training missile, training missile stage, training launch canister or training launcher shall be considered to have been completed upon completion of the procedures set forth in paragraph 11 of this Section and notification as required by paragraph 5(e) of Article IX of the Treaty following the date specified pursuant to paragraph 2 of this Section.

9. The Parties agree that all United States and Soviet intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and their associated reentry vehicles shall be eliminated within an agreed overall period of elimination. It is further agreed that all such missiles shall, in fact, be eliminated fifteen days prior to the end of the overall period of elimination. During the last fifteen days, a Party shall withdraw to its national territory reentry vehicles which, by unilateral decision, have been released from existing programs of cooperation and eliminate them during the same timeframe in accordance with the procedures set forth in this Section.

10. The specific procedures for the elimination of the items of missile systems listed in paragraph 1 of this Section shall be as follows, unless the Parties agree upon different procedures to achieve the same result as the procedures identified in this paragraph:

For the Pershing II:

Missile:

- (a) missile stages shall be eliminated by explosive demolition or burning;
- (b) solid fuel, rocket nozzles and motor cases not destroyed in this process shall

be burned, crushed, flattened or destroyed by explosion; and

- (c) front section, minus nuclear warhead device and guidance elements, shall be crushed or flattened.

Launcher:

- (a) erector-launcher mechanism shall be removed from launcher chassis;
- (b) all components of erector-launcher mechanism shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size;
- (c) missile launch support equipment, including external instrumentation compartments, shall be removed from launcher chassis; and
- (d) launcher chassis shall be cut at a location that is not an assembly joint into two pieces of approximately equal size.

For the BGM-109G:

Missile:

- (a) missile airframe shall be cut longitudinally into two pieces;
- (b) wings and tail section shall be severed from missile airframe at locations that are not assembly joints; and
- (c) front section, minus nuclear warhead device and guidance elements, shall be crushed or flattened.

Launch Canister: launch canister shall be crushed, flattened, cut into two pieces of approximately equal size or destroyed by explosion.

Launcher:

- (a) erector-launcher mechanism shall be removed from launcher chassis;
- (b) all components of erector-launcher mechanism shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size;
- (c) missile launch support equipment, including external instrumentation compartments, shall be removed from launcher chassis; and
- (d) launcher chassis shall be cut at a location that is not an assembly joint into two pieces of approximately equal size.

For the Pershing IA:

Missile:

- (a) missile stages shall be eliminated by explosive demolition or burning;

- (b) solid fuel, rocket nozzles and motor cases not destroyed in this process shall be burned, crushed, flattened or destroyed by explosion; and
- (c) front section, minus nuclear warhead device and guidance elements, shall be crushed or flattened.

Launcher:

- (a) erector-launcher mechanism shall be removed from launcher chassis;
- (b) all components of erector-launcher mechanism shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size;
- (c) missile launch support equipment, including external instrumentation compartments, shall be removed from launcher chassis; and
- (d) launcher chassis shall be cut at a location that is not an assembly joint into two pieces of approximately equal size.

For the Pershing IB:

Missile:

- (a) missile stage shall be eliminated by explosive demolition or burning;
- (b) solid fuel, rocket nozzle and motor case not destroyed in this process shall be burned, crushed, flattened or destroyed by explosion; and
- (c) front section, minus nuclear warhead device and guidance elements, shall be crushed or flattened.

For the SS-20:

Missile:

- (a) missile shall be eliminated by explosive demolition of the missile in its launch canister or by burning missile stages;
- (b) solid fuel, rocket nozzles and motor cases not destroyed in this process shall be burned, crushed, flattened or destroyed by explosion; and
- (c) front section, including reentry vehicles, minus nuclear warhead devices, and instrumentation compartment, minus guidance elements, shall be crushed or flattened.

Launch Canister: launch canister shall be destroyed by explosive demolition together with a missile, or shall be destroyed separately by explosion, cut into two pieces of approximately equal size, crushed or flattened.

Launcher:

- (a) erector-launcher mechanism shall be removed from launcher chassis;
- (b) all components of erector-launcher mechanism shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size;
- (c) missile launch support equipment, including external instrumentation compartments, shall be removed from launcher chassis;
- (d) mountings of erector-launcher mechanism and launcher leveling supports shall be cut off launcher chassis;
- (e) launcher leveling supports shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size; and
- (f) a portion of the launcher chassis, at least 0.78 meters in length, shall be cut off aft of the rear axle.

Missile Transporter Vehicle:

- (a) all mechanisms associated with missile loading and mounting shall be removed from transporter vehicle chassis;
- (b) all mountings of such mechanisms shall be cut off transporter vehicle chassis;
- (c) all components of the mechanisms associated with missile loading and mounting shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size;
- (d) external instrumentation compartments shall be removed from transporter vehicle chassis;
- (e) transporter vehicle leveling supports shall be cut off transporter vehicle chassis and cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size; and
- (f) a portion of the transporter vehicle chassis, at least 0.78 meters in length, shall be cut off aft of the rear axle.

For the SS-4:

Missile:

- (a) nozzles of propulsion system shall be cut off at locations that are not assembly joints;
- (b) all propellant tanks shall be cut into two pieces of approximately equal size;
- (c) instrumentation compartment, minus

guidance elements, shall be cut into two pieces of approximately equal size; and

- (d) front section, minus nuclear warhead device, shall be crushed or flattened.

Launch Stand: launch stand components shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size.

Missile Erector:

- (a) jib, missile erector leveling supports and missile erector mechanism shall be cut off missile erector at locations that are not assembly joints; and
- (b) jib and missile erector leveling supports shall be cut into two pieces of approximately equal size.

Missile Transporter Vehicle: mounting components for a missile and for a missile's erector mechanism as well as supports for erecting a missile onto a launcher shall be cut off transporter vehicle at locations that are not assembly joints.

For the SS-5:

Missile:

- (a) nozzles of propulsion system shall be cut off at locations that are not assembly joints;
- (b) all propellant tanks shall be cut into two pieces of approximately equal size; and
- (c) instrumentation compartment, minus guidance elements, shall be cut into two pieces of approximately equal size.

For the SSC-X-4:

Missile:

- (a) missile airframe shall be cut longitudinally into two pieces;
- (b) wings and tail section shall be severed from missile airframe at locations that are not assembly joints; and
- (c) front section, minus nuclear warhead device and guidance elements, shall be crushed or flattened.

Launch Canister: launch canister shall be crushed, flattened, cut into two pieces of approximately equal size or destroyed by explosion.

Launcher:

- (a) erector-launcher mechanism shall be removed from launcher chassis;
- (b) all components of erector-launcher

mechanism shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size;

- (c) missile launch support equipment, including external instrumentation compartments, shall be removed from launcher chassis;
- (d) mountings of erector-launcher mechanism and launcher leveling supports shall be cut off launcher chassis;
- (e) launcher leveling supports shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size; and
- (f) the launcher chassis shall be severed at a location determined by measuring no more than 0.70 meters rearward from the rear axle.

For the SS-12:

Missile:

- (a) missile shall be eliminated by explosive demolition or by burning missile stages;
- (b) solid fuel, rocket nozzles and motor cases not destroyed in this process shall be burned, crushed, flattened or destroyed by explosion; and
- (c) front section, minus nuclear warhead device, and instrumentation compartment, minus guidance elements, shall be crushed, flattened or destroyed by explosive demolition together with a missile.

Launcher:

- (a) erector-launcher mechanism shall be removed from launcher chassis;
- (b) all components of erector-launcher mechanism shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size;
- (c) missile launch support equipment, including external instrumentation compartments, shall be removed from launcher chassis;
- (d) mountings of erector-launcher mechanism and launcher leveling supports shall be cut off launcher chassis;
- (e) launcher leveling supports shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size; and
- (f) a portion of the launcher chassis, at least 1.10 meters in length, shall be cut

off aft of the rear axle.

Missile Transporter Vehicle:

- (a) all mechanisms associated with missile loading and mounting shall be removed from transporter vehicle chassis;
- (b) all mountings of such mechanisms shall be cut off transporter vehicle chassis;
- (c) all components of the mechanisms associated with missile loading and mounting shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size;
- (d) external instrumentation compartments shall be removed from transporter vehicle chassis;
- (e) transporter vehicle leveling supports shall be cut off transporter vehicle chassis and cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size; and
- (f) a portion of the transporter vehicle chassis, at least 1.10 meters in length, shall be cut off aft of the rear axle.

For the SS-23:

Missile:

- (a) missile shall be eliminated by explosive demolition or by burning the missile stage;
- (b) solid fuel, rocket nozzle and motor case not destroyed in this process shall be burned, crushed, flattened or destroyed by explosion; and
- (c) front section, minus nuclear warhead device, and instrumentation compartment, minus guidance elements, shall be crushed, flattened, or destroyed by explosive demolition together with a missile.

Launcher:

- (a) erector-launcher mechanism shall be removed from launcher body;
- (b) all components of erector-launcher mechanism shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size;
- (c) missile launch support equipment shall be removed from launcher body;
- (d) mountings of erector-launcher mechanism and launcher leveling supports shall be cut off launcher body;
- (e) launcher leveling supports shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints

into two pieces of approximately equal size;

- (f) each environmental cover of the launcher body shall be removed and cut into two pieces of approximately equal size; and
- (g) a portion of the launcher body, at least 0.85 meters in length, shall be cut off aft of the rear axle.

Missile Transporter Vehicle:

- (a) all mechanisms associated with missile loading and mounting shall be removed from transporter vehicle body;
- (b) all mountings of such mechanisms shall be cut off transporter vehicle body;
- (c) all components of mechanisms associated with missile loading and mounting shall be cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size;
- (d) control equipment of the mechanism associated with missile loading shall be removed from transporter vehicle body;
- (e) transporter vehicle leveling supports shall be cut off transporter vehicle body and cut at locations that are not assembly joints into two pieces of approximately equal size; and
- (f) a portion of the transporter vehicle body, at least 0.85 meters in length, shall be cut off aft of the rear axle.

11. The specific procedures for the elimination of the training missiles, training missile stages, training launch canisters and training launchers indicated in paragraph 1 of this Section shall be as follows:

Training Missile and Training Missile Stage: training missile and training missile stage shall be crushed, flattened, cut into two pieces of approximately equal size or destroyed by explosion.

Training Launch Canister: training launch canister shall be crushed, flattened, cut into two pieces of approximately equal size or destroyed by explosion.

Training Launcher: training launcher chassis shall be cut at the same location designated in paragraph 10 of this Section for launcher of the same type of missile.

III. Elimination of Missiles by Means of Launching

1. Elimination of missiles by means of launching pursuant to paragraph 5 of Article X of the Treaty shall be subject to on-site inspection in accordance with paragraph 7 of Article XI of the Treaty and the Protocol on Inspection. Immediately prior to each launch conducted for the purpose of elimination, an inspector from the inspecting Party shall confirm by visual observation the type of missile to be launched.

2. All missiles being eliminated by means of launching shall be launched from designated elimination facilities to existing impact areas for such missiles. No such missile shall be used as a target vehicle for a ballistic missile interceptor.

3. Missiles being eliminated by means of launching shall be launched one at a time, and no less than six hours shall elapse between such launches.

4. Such launches shall involve ignition of all missile stages. Neither Party shall transmit or recover data from missiles being eliminated by means of launching except for unencrypted data used for range safety purposes.

5. The completion of the elimination procedures set forth in this Section, and the type and number of missiles for which those procedures have been completed, shall be confirmed in writing by the representative of the Party carrying out the elimination and by the inspection team leader of the other Party.

6. A missile shall be considered to be eliminated by means of launching after completion of the procedures set forth in this Section and upon notification required by paragraph 5(e) of Article IX of the Treaty.

IV. Procedures for Elimination In Situ

1. Support Structures

- (a) Support structures listed in Section I of this Protocol shall be eliminated *in situ*.
- (b) The initiation of the elimination of support structures shall be considered to be the commencement of the elimination procedures required in paragraph 1(d) of this Section.
- (c) The elimination of support structures

shall be subject to verification by on-site inspection in accordance with paragraph 4 of Article XI of the Treaty.

- (d) The specific elimination procedures for support structures shall be as follows:
 - (i) the superstructure of the fixed structure or shelter shall be dismantled or demolished, and removed from its base or foundation;
 - (ii) the base or foundation of the fixed structure or shelter shall be destroyed by excavation or explosion;
 - (iii) the destroyed base or foundation of a fixed structure or shelter shall remain visible to national technical means of verification for six months or until completion of an on-site inspection conducted in accordance with Article XI of the Treaty; and
 - (iv) upon completion of the above requirements, the elimination procedures shall be considered to have been completed.

2. *Propellant Tanks for SS-4 Missiles*
Fixed and transportable propellant tanks for SS-4 missiles shall be removed from launch sites.

3. *Training Missiles, Training Missile Stages, Training Launch Canisters and Training Launchers*

- (a) Training missiles, training missile stages, training launch canisters and training launchers not eliminated at elimination facilities shall be eliminated *in situ*.
- (b) Training missiles, training missile stages, training launch canisters and training launchers being eliminated *in situ* shall be eliminated in accordance with the specific procedures set forth in paragraph 11 of Section II of this Protocol.
- (c) Each Party shall have the right to conduct an on-site inspection to confirm the completion of the elimination procedures for training missiles, training missile stages, training launch canisters and training launchers.
- (d) The Party possessing such a training missile, training missile stage, training launch canister or training launcher shall inform the other Party of the

place-name and coordinates of the location at which the on-site inspection provided for in paragraph 3(c) of this Section may be conducted as well as the date on which it may be conducted. Such information shall be provided no less than 30 days in advance of that date.

- (e) Elimination of a training missile, training missile stage, training launch canister or training launcher shall be considered to have been completed upon the completion of the procedures required by this paragraph and upon notification as required by paragraph 5(e) of Article IX of the Treaty following the date specified pursuant to paragraph 3(d) of this Section.

V. Other Types of Elimination

1. Loss or Accidental Destruction

- (a) If an item listed in Section I of this Protocol is lost or destroyed as a result of an accident, the possessing Party shall notify the other Party within 48 hours, as required in paragraph 5(e) of Article IX of the Treaty, that the item has been eliminated.
- (b) Such notification shall include the type of the eliminated item, its approximate or assumed location and the circumstances related to the loss or accidental destruction.
- (c) In such a case, the other Party shall have the right to conduct an inspection of the specific point at which the accident occurred to provide confidence that the item has been eliminated.

2. Static Display

- (a) The Parties shall have the right to eliminate missiles, launch canisters and launchers, as well as training missiles, training launch canisters and training launchers, listed in Section I of this Protocol by placing them on static display. Each Party shall be limited to a total of 15 missiles, 15 launch canisters and 15 launchers on such static display.
- (b) Prior to being placed on static display, a missile, launch canister or launcher shall be rendered unusable for purposes inconsistent with the Treaty. Missile propellant shall be removed and erector-launcher mechanisms shall be rendered inoperative.

- (c) The Party possessing a missile, launch canister or launcher, as well as a training missile, training launch canister or training launcher that is to be eliminated by placing it on static display shall provide the other Party with the place-name and coordinates of the location at which such a missile, launch canister or launcher is to be on static display, as well as the location at which the on-site inspection provided for in paragraph 2(d) of this Section, may take place.
- (d) Each Party shall have the right to conduct an on-site inspection of such a missile, launch canister or launcher within 60 days of receipt of the notification required in paragraph 2(c) of this Section.
- (e) Elimination of a missile, launch canister or launcher, as well as a training missile, training launch canister or training launcher, by placing it on static display shall be considered to have been completed upon completion of the procedures required by this paragraph and notification as required by paragraph 5(e) of Article IX of the Treaty.

This Protocol is an integral part of the Treaty. It shall enter into force on the date of the entry into force of the Treaty and shall remain in force so long as the Treaty remains in force. As provided for in paragraph 1(b) of Article XIII of the Treaty, the Parties may agree upon such measures as may be necessary to improve the viability and effectiveness of this Protocol. Such measures shall not be deemed amendments to the Treaty.

Done at Washington on December 8, 1987, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the United States of America:

RONALD REAGAN

President of the United States of America

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

M. GORBACHEV

*General Secretary of the Central
Committee of the CPSU*

*Protocol Regarding Inspections Relating to
the Treaty Between the United States of
America and the Union of Soviet Socialist
Republics on the Elimination of Their
Intermediate-range and Shorter-range
Missiles*

Pursuant to and in implementation of the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles of December 8, 1987, hereinafter referred to as the Treaty, the Parties hereby agree upon procedures governing the conduct of inspections provided for in Article XI of the Treaty.

I. Definitions

For the purposes of this Protocol, the Treaty, the Memorandum of Understanding and the Protocol on Elimination:

1. The term "inspected Party" means the Party to the Treaty whose sites are subject to inspection as provided for by Article XI of the Treaty.

2. The term "inspecting Party" means the Party to the Treaty carrying out an inspection.

3. The term "inspector" means an individual designated by one of the Parties to carry out inspections and included on that Party's list of inspectors in accordance with the provisions of Section III of this Protocol.

4. The term "inspection team" means the group of inspectors assigned by the inspecting Party to conduct a particular inspection.

5. The term "inspection site" means an area, location or facility at which an inspection is carried out.

6. The term "period of inspection" means the period of time from arrival of the inspection team at the inspection site until its departure from the inspection site, exclusive of time spent on any pre- and post-inspection procedures.

7. The term "point of entry" means: Washington, D.C., or San Francisco, California, the United States of America; Brussels

(National Airport), The Kingdom of Belgium; Frankfurt (Rhein Main Airbase), The Federal Republic of Germany; Rome (Ciampino), The Republic of Italy; Schiphol, The Kingdom of the Netherlands; RAF Greenham Common, The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; Moscow, or Irkutsk, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; Schkeuditz Airport, the German Democratic Republic; and International Airport Ruzhyn, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

8. The term "in-country period" means the period from the arrival of the inspection team at the point of entry until its departure from the country through the point of entry.

9. The term "in-country escort" means individuals specified by the inspected Party to accompany and assist inspectors and aircrew members as necessary throughout the in-country period.

10. The term "aircrew member" means an individual who performs duties related to the operation of an airplane and who is included on a Party's list of aircrew members in accordance with the provisions of Section III of this Protocol.

II. General Obligations

1. For the purpose of ensuring verification of compliance with the provisions of the Treaty, each Party shall facilitate inspection by the other Party pursuant to this Protocol.

2. Each Party takes note of the assurances received from the other Party regarding understandings reached between the other Party and the basing countries to the effect that the basing countries have agreed to the conduct of inspections, in accordance with the provisions of this Protocol, on their territories.

III. Pre-Inspection Requirements

1. Inspections to ensure verification of compliance by the Parties with the obligations assumed under the Treaty shall be carried out by inspectors designated in accordance with paragraphs 3 and 4 of this Section.

2. No later than one day after entry into

force of the Treaty, each Party shall provide to the other Party: a list of its proposed aircrew members; a list of its proposed inspectors who will carry out inspections pursuant to paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 of Article XI of the Treaty; and a list of its proposed inspectors who will carry out inspection activities pursuant to paragraph 6 of Article XI of the Treaty. None of these lists shall contain at any time more than 200 individuals.

3. Each Party shall review the lists of inspectors and aircrew members proposed by the other Party. With respect to an individual included on the list of proposed inspectors who will carry out inspection activities pursuant to paragraph 6 of Article XI of the Treaty, if such an individual is unacceptable to the Party reviewing the list, that Party shall, within 20 days, so inform the Party providing the list, and the individual shall be deemed not accepted and shall be deleted from the list. With respect to an individual on the list of proposed aircrew members or the list of proposed inspectors who will carry out inspections pursuant to paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8 of Article XI of the Treaty, each Party, within 20 days after the receipt of such lists, shall inform the other Party of its agreement to the designation of each inspector and aircrew member proposed. Inspectors shall be citizens of the inspecting Party.

4. Each Party shall have the right to amend its lists of inspectors and aircrew members. New inspectors and aircrew members shall be designated in the same manner as set forth in paragraph 3 of this Section with respect to the initial lists.

5. Within 30 days of receipt of the initial lists of inspectors and aircrew members, or of subsequent changes thereto, the Party receiving such information shall provide, or shall ensure the provision of, such visas and other documents to each individual to whom it has agreed as may be required to ensure that each inspector or aircrew member may enter and remain in the territory of the Party or basing country in which an inspection site is located throughout the in-country period for the purpose of carrying out inspection activities in accordance with the provisions of this Protocol. Such visas and documents shall be valid for a

period of at least 24 months.

6. To exercise their functions effectively, inspectors and aircrew members shall be accorded, throughout the in-country period, privileges and immunities in the country of the inspection site as set forth in the Annex to this Protocol.

7. Without prejudice to their privileges and immunities, inspectors and aircrew members shall be obliged to respect the laws and regulations of the State on whose territory an inspection is carried out and shall be obliged not to interfere in the internal affairs of that State. In the event the inspected Party determines that an inspector or aircrew member of the other Party has violated the conditions governing inspection activities set forth in this Protocol, or has ever committed a criminal offense on the territory of the inspected Party or a basing country, or has ever been sentenced for committing a criminal offense or expelled by the inspected Party or a basing country, the inspected Party making such a determination shall so notify the inspecting Party, which shall immediately strike the individual from the lists of inspectors or the list of aircrew members. If, at that time, the individual is on the territory of the inspected Party or a basing country, the inspecting Party shall immediately remove that individual from the country.

8. Within 30 days after entry into force of the Treaty, each Party shall inform the other Party of the standing diplomatic clearance number for airplanes of the Party transporting inspectors and equipment necessary for inspection into and out of the territory of the Party or basing country in which an inspection site is located. Aircraft routings to and from the designated point of entry shall be along established international airways that are agreed upon by the Parties as the basis for such diplomatic clearance.

IV. Notifications

1. Notification of an intention to conduct an inspection shall be made through the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers. The receipt of this notification shall be acknowledged through the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers by the inspected Party within one

hour of its receipt.

- (a) For inspections conducted pursuant to paragraphs 3, 4 or 5 of Article XI of the Treaty, such notifications shall be made no less than 16 hours in advance of the estimated time of arrival of the inspection team at the point of entry and shall include:
 - (i) the point of entry;
 - (ii) the date and estimated time of arrival at the point of entry;
 - (iii) the date and time when the specification of the inspection site will be provided; and
 - (iv) the names of inspectors and aircrew members.
- (b) For inspections conducted pursuant to paragraphs 7 or 8 of Article XI of the Treaty, such notifications shall be made no less than 72 hours in advance of the estimated time of arrival of the inspection team at the point of entry and shall include:
 - (i) the point of entry;
 - (ii) the date and estimated time of arrival at the point of entry;
 - (iii) the site to be inspected and the type of inspection; and
 - (iv) the names of inspectors and aircrew members.

2. The date and time of the specification of the inspection site as notified pursuant to paragraph 1(a) of this Section shall fall within the following time intervals:

- (a) for inspections conducted pursuant to paragraphs 4 or 5 of Article XI of the Treaty, neither less than four hours nor more than 24 hours after the estimated date and time of arrival at the point of entry; and
- (b) for inspections conducted pursuant to paragraph 3 of Article XI of the Treaty, neither less than four hours nor more than 48 hours after the estimated date and time of arrival at the point of entry.

3. The inspecting Party shall provide the inspected Party with a flight plan, through the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers, for its flight from the last airfield prior to entering the airspace of the country in which the inspection site is located to the point of entry, no less than six hours before the scheduled departure time from that airfield.

Such a plan shall be filed in accordance with the procedures of the International Civil Aviation Organization applicable to civil aircraft. The inspecting Party shall include in the remarks section of each flight plan the standing diplomatic clearance number and the notation: "Inspection aircraft. Priority clearance processing required."

4. No less than three hours prior to the scheduled departure of the inspection team from the last airfield prior to entering the airspace of the country in which the inspection is to take place, the inspected Party shall ensure that the flight plan filed in accordance with paragraph 3 of this Section is approved so that the inspection team may arrive at the point of entry by the estimated arrival time.

5. Either Party may change the point or points of entry to the territories of the countries within which its deployment areas, missile operating bases or missile support facilities are located, by giving notice of such change to the other Party. A change in a point of entry shall become effective five months after receipt of such notification by the other Party.

V. Activities Beginning Upon Arrival at the Point of Entry

1. The in-country escort and a diplomatic aircrew escort accredited to the Government of either the inspected Party or the basing country in which the inspection site is located shall meet the inspection team and aircrew members at the point of entry as soon as the airplane of the inspecting Party lands. The number of aircrew members for each airplane shall not exceed ten. The in-country escort shall expedite the entry of the inspection team and aircrew, their baggage, and equipment and supplies necessary for inspection, into the country in which the inspection site is located. A diplomatic aircrew escort shall have the right to accompany and assist aircrew members throughout the in-country period. In the case of an inspection taking place on the territory of a basing country, the in-country escort may include representatives of that basing country.

2. An inspector shall be considered to

have assumed his duties upon arrival at the point of entry on the territory of the inspected Party or a basing country, and shall be considered to have ceased performing those duties when he has left the territory of the inspected Party or basing country.

3. Each Party shall ensure that equipment and supplies are exempt from all customs duties.

4. Equipment and supplies which the inspecting Party brings into the country in which an inspection site is located shall be subject to examination at the point of entry each time they are brought into that country. This examination shall be completed prior to the departure of the inspection team from the point of entry to conduct an inspection. Such equipment and supplies shall be examined by the in-country escort in the presence of the inspection team members to ascertain to the satisfaction of each Party that the equipment and supplies cannot perform functions unconnected with the inspection requirements of the Treaty. If it is established upon examination that the equipment or supplies are unconnected with these inspection requirements, then they shall not be cleared for use and shall be impounded at the point of entry until the departure of the inspection team from the country where the inspection is conducted. Storage of the inspecting Party's equipment and supplies at each point of entry shall be within tamper-proof containers within a secure facility. Access to each secure facility shall be controlled by a "dual key" system requiring the presence of both Parties to gain access to the equipment and supplies.

5. Throughout the in-country period, the inspected Party shall provide, or arrange for the provision of, meals, lodging, work space, transportation and, as necessary, medical care for the inspection team and aircrew of the inspecting Party. All the costs in connection with the stay of inspectors carrying out inspection activities pursuant to paragraph 6 of Article XI of the Treaty, on the territory of the inspected Party, including meals, services, lodging, work space, transportation and medical care shall be borne by the inspecting Party.

6. The inspected Party shall provide parking, security protection, servicing, and

fuel for the airplane of the inspecting Party at the point of entry. The inspecting Party shall bear the cost of such fuel and servicing.

7. For inspections conducted on the territory of the Parties, the inspection team shall enter at the point of entry on the territory of the inspected Party that is closest to the inspection site. In the case of inspections carried out in accordance with paragraphs 3, 4 or 5 of Article XI of the Treaty, the inspection team leader shall, at or before the time notified pursuant to paragraph 1(a)(iii) of Section IV of this Protocol, inform the inspected Party at the point of entry through the in-country escort of the type of inspection and the inspection site, by place-name and geographic coordinates.

VI. General Rules for Conducting Inspections

1. Inspectors shall discharge their functions in accordance with this Protocol.

2. Inspectors shall not disclose information received during inspections except with the express permission of the inspecting Party. They shall remain bound by this obligation after their assignment as inspectors has ended.

3. In discharging their functions, inspectors shall not interfere directly with ongoing activities at the inspection site and shall avoid unnecessarily hampering or delaying the operation of a facility or taking actions affecting its safe operation.

4. Inspections shall be conducted in accordance with the objectives set forth in Article XI of the Treaty as applicable for the type of inspection specified by the inspecting Party under paragraph 1(b) of Section IV or paragraph 7 of Section V of this Protocol.

5. The in-country escort shall have the right to accompany and assist inspectors and aircrew members as considered necessary by the inspected Party throughout the in-country period. Except as otherwise provided in this Protocol, the movement and travel of inspectors and aircrew members shall be at the discretion of the in-country escort.

6. Inspectors carrying out inspection activities pursuant to paragraph 6 of Article

XI of the Treaty shall be allowed to travel within 50 kilometers from the inspection site with the permission of the in-country escort, and as considered necessary by the inspected Party, shall be accompanied by the in-country escort. Such travel shall be taken solely as a leisure activity.

7. Inspectors shall have the right throughout the period of inspection to be in communication with the embassy of the inspecting Party located within the territory of the country where the inspection is taking place using the telephone communications provided by the inspected Party.

8. At the inspection site, representatives of the inspected facility shall be included among the in-country escort.

9. The inspection team may bring onto the inspection site such documents as needed to conduct the inspection, as well as linear measurement devices; cameras; portable weighing devices; radiation detection devices; and other equipment, as agreed by the Parties. The characteristics and method of use of the equipment listed above, shall also be agreed upon within 30 days after entry into force of the Treaty. During inspections conducted pursuant to paragraphs 3, 4, 5(a), 7 or 8 of Article XI of the Treaty, the inspection team may use any of the equipment listed above, except for cameras, which shall be for use only by the inspected Party at the request of the inspecting Party. During inspections conducted pursuant to paragraph 5(b) of Article XI of the Treaty, all measurements shall be made by the inspected Party at the request of the inspecting Party. At the request of inspectors, the in-country escort shall take photographs of the inspected facilities using the inspecting Party's camera systems which are capable of producing duplicate, instant development photographic prints. Each Party shall receive one copy of every photograph.

10. For inspections conducted pursuant to paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 7 or 8 of Article XI of the Treaty, inspectors shall permit the in-country escort to observe the equipment used during the inspection by the inspection team.

11. Measurements recorded during inspections shall be certified by the signature of a member of the inspection team and a member of the in-country escort when they

are taken. Such certified data shall be included in the inspection report.

12. Inspectors shall have the right to request clarifications in connection with ambiguities that arise during an inspection. Such requests shall be made promptly through the in-country escort. The in-country escort shall provide the inspection team, during the inspection, with such clarifications as may be necessary to remove the ambiguity. In the event questions relating to an object or building located within the inspection site are not resolved, the inspected Party shall photograph the object or building as requested by the inspecting Party for the purpose of clarifying its nature and function. If the ambiguity cannot be removed during the inspection, then the question, relevant clarifications and a copy of any photographs taken shall be included in the inspection report.

13. In carrying out their activities, inspectors shall observe safety regulations established at the inspection site, including those for the protection of controlled environments within a facility and for personal safety. Individual protective clothing and equipment shall be provided by the inspected Party, as necessary.

14. For inspections pursuant to paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 7 or 8 of Article XI of the Treaty, pre-inspection procedures, including briefings and safety-related activities, shall begin upon arrival of the inspection team at the inspection site and shall be completed within one hour. The inspection team shall begin the inspection immediately upon completion of the pre-inspection procedures. The period of inspection shall not exceed 24 hours, except for inspections pursuant to paragraphs 6, 7 or 8 of Article XI of the Treaty. The period of inspection may be extended, by agreement with the in-country escort, by no more than eight hours. Post-inspection procedures, which include completing the inspection report in accordance with the provisions of Section XI of this Protocol, shall begin immediately upon completion of the inspection and shall be completed at the inspection site within four hours.

15. An inspection team conducting an inspection pursuant to Article XI of the

Treaty shall include no more than ten inspectors, except for an inspection team conducting an inspection pursuant to paragraphs 7 or 8 of that Article, which shall include no more than 20 inspectors and an inspection team conducting inspection activities pursuant to paragraph 6 of that Article, which shall include no more than 30 inspectors. At least two inspectors on each team must speak the language of the inspected Party. An inspection team shall operate under the direction of the team leader and deputy team leader. Upon arrival at the inspection site, the inspection team may divide itself into subgroups consisting of no fewer than two inspectors each. There shall be no more than one inspection team at an inspection site at any one time.

16. Except in the case of inspections conducted pursuant to paragraphs 3, 4, 7 or 8 of Article XI of the Treaty, upon completion of the post-inspection procedures, the inspection team shall return promptly to the point of entry from which it commenced inspection activities and shall then leave, within 24 hours, the territory of the country in which the inspection site is located, using its own airplane. In the case of inspections conducted pursuant to paragraphs 3, 4, 7 or 8 of Article XI of the Treaty, if the inspection team intends to conduct another inspection it shall either:

- (a) notify the inspected Party of its intent upon return to the point of entry; or
- (b) notify the inspected Party of the type of inspection and the inspection site upon completion of the post-inspection procedures. In this case it shall be the responsibility of the inspected Party to ensure that the inspection team reaches the next inspection site without unjustified delay. The inspected Party shall determine the means of transportation and route involved in such travel.

With respect to subparagraph (a), the procedures set forth in paragraph 7 of Section V of this Protocol and paragraphs 1 and 2 of Section VII of this Protocol shall apply.

VII. Inspections Conducted Pursuant to Paragraphs 3, 4 or 5 of Article XI of the Treaty

1. Within one hour after the time for the specification of the inspection site notified

pursuant to paragraph 1(a) of Section IV of this Protocol, the inspected Party shall implement pre-inspection movement restrictions at the inspection site, which shall remain in effect until the inspection team arrives at the inspection site. During the period that pre-inspection movement restrictions are in effect, missiles, stages of such missiles, launchers or support equipment subject to the Treaty shall not be removed from the inspection site.

2. The inspected Party shall transport the inspection team from the point of entry to the inspection site so that the inspection team arrives at the inspection site no later than nine hours after the time for the specification of the inspection site notified pursuant to paragraph 1(a) of Section IV of this Protocol.

3. In the event that an inspection is conducted in a basing country, the aircrew of the inspected Party may include representatives of the basing country.

4. Neither Party shall conduct more than one inspection pursuant to paragraph 5(a) of Article XI of the Treaty at any one time, more than one inspection pursuant to paragraph 5(b) of Article XI of the Treaty at any one time, or more than 10 inspections pursuant to paragraph 3 of Article XI of the Treaty at any one time.

5. The boundaries of the inspection site at the facility to be inspected shall be the boundaries of that facility set forth in the Memorandum of Understanding.

6. Except in the case of an inspection conducted pursuant to paragraphs 4 or 5(b) of Article XI of the Treaty, upon arrival of the inspection team at the inspection site, the in-country escort shall inform the inspection team leader of the number of missiles, stages of missiles, launchers, support structures and support equipment at the site that are subject to the Treaty and provide the inspection team leader with a diagram of the inspection site indicating the location of these missiles, stages of missiles, launchers, support structures and support equipment at the inspection site.

7. Subject to the procedures of paragraphs 8 through 14 of this Section, inspectors shall have the right to inspect the entire inspection site, including the interior

of structures, containers or vehicles, or including covered objects, whose dimensions are equal to or greater than the dimensions specified in Section VI of the Memorandum of Understanding for the missiles, stages of such missiles, launchers or support equipment of the inspected Party.

8. A missile, a stage of such a missile or a launcher subject to the Treaty shall be subject to inspection only by external visual observation, including measuring, as necessary, the dimensions of such a missile, stage of such a missile or launcher. A container that the inspected Party declares to contain a missile or stage of a missile subject to the Treaty, and which is not sufficiently large to be capable of containing more than one missile or stage of such a missile of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty, shall be subject to inspection only by external visual observation, including measuring, as necessary, the dimensions of such a container to confirm that it cannot contain more than one missile or stage of such a missile of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty. Except as provided for in paragraph 14 of this Section, a container that is sufficiently large to contain a missile or stage of such a missile of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty that the inspected party declares not to contain a missile or stage of such a missile subject to the Treaty shall be subject to inspection only by means of weighing or visual observation of the interior of the container, as necessary, to confirm that it does not, in fact, contain a missile or stage of such a missile of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty. If such a container is a launch canister associated with a type of missile not subject to the Treaty, and declared by the inspected Party to contain such a missile, it shall be subject to external inspection only, including use of radiation detection devices, visual observation and linear measurement, as necessary, of the dimensions of such a canister.

9. A structure or container that is not sufficiently large to contain a missile, stage of such a missile or launcher of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty shall be subject to inspection only by external visual observation including measuring, as necessary, the dimensions of such a structure or container to confirm that it is not sufficient-

ly large to be capable of containing a missile, stage of such a missile or launcher of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty.

10. Within a structure, a space which is sufficiently large to contain a missile, stage of such a missile or launcher of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty, but which is demonstrated to the satisfaction of the inspection team not to be accessible by the smallest missile, stage of a missile or launcher of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty shall not be subject to further inspection. If the inspected Party demonstrates to the satisfaction of the inspection team by means of a visual inspection of the interior of an enclosed space from its entrance that the enclosed space does not contain any missile, stage of such a missile or launcher of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty, such an enclosed space shall not be subject to further inspection.

11. The inspection team shall be permitted to patrol the perimeter of the inspection site and station inspectors at the exits of the site for the duration of the inspection.

12. The inspection team shall be permitted to inspect any vehicle capable of carrying missiles, stages of such missiles, launchers or support equipment of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty at any time during the course of an inspection and no such vehicle shall leave the inspection site during the course of the inspection until inspected at site exits by the inspection team.

13. Prior to inspection of a building within the inspection site, the inspection team may station subgroups at the exits of the building that are large enough to permit passage of any missile, stage of such a missile, launcher or support equipment of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty. During the time that the building is being inspected, no vehicle or object capable of containing any missile, stage of such a missile, launcher or support equipment of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty shall be permitted to leave the building until inspected.

14. During an inspection conducted pursuant to paragraph 5(b) of Article XI of the Treaty, it shall be the responsibility of the

inspected Party to demonstrate that a shrouded or environmentally protected object which is equal to or larger than the smallest missile, stage of a missile or launcher of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty is not, in fact, a missile, stage of such a missile or launcher of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty. This may be accomplished by partial removal of the shroud or environmental protection cover, measuring, or weighing the covered object or by other methods. If the inspected Party satisfies the inspection team by its demonstration that the object is not a missile, stage of such a missile or launcher of the inspected Party subject to the Treaty, then there shall be no further inspection of that object. If the container is a launch canister associated with a type of missile not subject to the Treaty, and declared by the inspected Party to contain such a missile, then it shall be subject to external inspection only, including use of radiation detection devices, visual observation and linear measurement, as necessary, of the dimensions of such a canister.

VIII. Inspections Conducted Pursuant to Paragraphs 7 or 8 of Article XI of the Treaty

1. Inspections of the process of elimination of items of missile systems specified in the Protocol on Elimination carried out pursuant to paragraph 7 of Article XI of the Treaty shall be conducted in accordance with the procedures set forth in this paragraph and the Protocol on Elimination.

- (a) Upon arrival at the elimination facility, inspectors shall be provided with a schedule of elimination activities.
- (b) Inspectors shall check the data which are specified in the notification provided by the inspected Party regarding the number and type of items of missile systems to be eliminated against the number and type of such items which are at the elimination facility prior to the initiation of the elimination procedures.
- (c) Subject to paragraphs 3 and 11 of Section VI of this Protocol, inspectors shall observe the execution of the specific procedures for the elimination of the items of missile systems as provided for

in the Protocol on Elimination. If any deviations from the agreed elimination procedures are found, the inspectors shall have the right to call the attention of the in-country escort to the need for strict compliance with the above-mentioned procedures. The completion of such procedures shall be confirmed in accordance with the procedures specified in the Protocol on Elimination.

- (d) During the elimination of missiles by means of launching, the inspectors shall have the right to ascertain by visual observation that a missile prepared for launch is a missile of the type subject to elimination. The inspectors shall also be allowed to observe such a missile from a safe location specified by the inspected Party until the completion of its launch. During the inspection of a series of launches for the elimination of missiles by means of launching, the inspected Party shall determine the means of transport and route for the transportation of inspectors between inspection sites.

2. Inspections of the elimination of items of missile systems specified in the Protocol on Elimination carried out pursuant to paragraph 8 of Article XI of the Treaty shall be conducted in accordance with the procedures set forth in Sections II, IV or V of the Protocol on Elimination or as otherwise agreed by the Parties.

IX. Inspection Activities Conducted Pursuant to Paragraph 6 of Article XI of the Treaty

1. The inspected Party shall maintain an agreed perimeter around the periphery of the inspection site and shall designate a portal with not more than one rail line and one road which shall be within 50 meters of each other. All vehicles which can contain an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party shall exit only through this portal.

2. For the purposes of this Section, the provisions of paragraph 10 of Article VII of the Treaty shall be applied to intermediate-range GLBMs of the inspected Party and the longest stage of such GLBMs.

3. There shall not be more than two

other exits from the inspection site. Such exits shall be monitored by appropriate sensors. The perimeter of and exits from the inspection site may be monitored as provided for by paragraph 11 Section VII of this Protocol.

4. The inspecting Party shall have the right to establish continuous monitoring systems at the portal specified in paragraph 1 of this Section and appropriate sensors at the exits specified in paragraph 3 of this Section and carry out necessary engineering surveys, construction, repair and replacement of monitoring systems.

5. The inspected Party shall, at the request of and at the expense of the inspecting Party, provide the following:

- (a) all necessary utilities for the construction and operation of the monitoring systems, including electrical power, water, fuel, heating and sewage;
- (b) basic construction materials including concrete and lumber;
- (c) the site preparation necessary to accommodate the installation of continuously operating systems for monitoring the portal specified in paragraph 1 of this Section, appropriate sensors for other exits specified in paragraph 3 of this Section and the center for collecting data obtained during inspections. Such preparation may include ground excavation, laying of concrete foundations, trenching between equipment locations and utility connections;
- (d) transportation for necessary installation tools, materials and equipment from the point of entry to the inspection site; and
- (e) a minimum of two telephone lines and, as necessary, high frequency radio equipment capable of allowing direct communication with the embassy of the inspecting Party in the country in which the site is located.

6. Outside the perimeter of the inspection site, the inspecting Party shall have the right to:

- (a) build no more than three buildings with a total floor space of not more than 150 square meters for a data center and inspection team headquarters, and one additional building with floor space not to exceed 500 square

meters for the storage of supplies and equipment;

- (b) install systems to monitor the exits to include weight sensors, vehicle sensors, surveillance systems and vehicle dimensional measuring equipment;
- (c) install at the portal specified in paragraph 1 of this Section equipment for measuring the length and diameter of missile stages contained inside of launch canisters or shipping containers;
- (d) install at the portal specified in paragraph 1 of this section non-damaging image producing equipment for imaging the contents of launch canisters or shipping containers declared to contain missiles or missile stages as provided for in paragraph 11 of this Section;
- (e) install a primary and back-up power source; and
- (f) use, as necessary, data authentication devices.

7. During the installation or operation of the monitoring systems, the inspecting Party shall not deny the inspected Party access to any existing structures or security systems. The inspecting Party shall not take any actions with respect to such structures without consent of the inspected Party. If the Parties agree that such structures are to be rebuilt or demolished, either partially or completely, the inspecting Party shall provide the necessary compensation.

8. The inspected Party shall not interfere with the installed equipment or restrict the access of the inspection team to such equipment.

9. The inspecting Party shall have the right to use its own two-way systems of radio communication between inspectors patrolling the perimeter and the data collection center. Such systems shall conform to power and frequency restrictions established on the territory of the inspected Party.

10. Aircraft shall not be permitted to land within the perimeter of the monitored site except for emergencies at the site and with prior notification to the inspection team.

11. Any shipment exiting through the portal specified in paragraph 1 of this Section which is large enough and heavy enough to contain an intermediate-range

GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party shall be declared by the inspected Party to the inspection team before the shipment arrives at the portal. The declaration shall state whether such a shipment contains a missile or missile stage as large or larger than and as heavy or heavier than an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party.

12. The inspection team shall have the right to weigh and measure the dimensions of any vehicle, including railcars, exiting the site to ascertain whether it is large enough and heavy enough to contain an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party. These measurements shall be performed so as to minimize the delay of vehicles exiting the site. Vehicles that are either not large enough or not heavy enough to contain an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party shall not be subject to further inspection.

13. Vehicles exiting through the portal specified in paragraph 1 of this Section that are large enough and heavy enough to contain an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party but that are declared not to contain a missile or missile stage as large or larger than and as heavy or heavier than an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party shall be subject to the following procedures.

- (a) The inspecting Party shall have the right to inspect the interior of all such vehicles.
- (b) If the inspecting Party can determine by visual observation or dimensional measurement that, inside a particular vehicle, there are no containers or shrouded objects large enough to be or to contain an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party, then that vehicle shall not be subject to further inspection.
- (c) If inside a vehicle there are one or more containers or shrouded objects large enough to be or to contain an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party, it shall be the responsibility of

the inspected Party to demonstrate that such containers or shrouded objects are not and do not contain intermediate-range GLBMs or the longest stages of such GLBMs of the inspected Party.

14. Vehicles exiting through the portal specified in paragraph 1 of this Section that are declared to contain a missile or missile stage as large or larger than and as heavy or heavier than an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party shall be subject to the following procedures.

- (a) The inspecting Party shall preserve the integrity of the inspected missile or stage of a missile.
- (b) Measuring equipment shall be placed only outside of the launch canister or shipping container; all measurements shall be made by the inspecting Party using the equipment provided for in paragraph 6 of this Section. Such measurements shall be observed and certified by the in-country escort.
- (c) The inspecting Party shall have the right to weigh and measure the dimensions of any launch canister or of any shipping container declared to contain such a missile or missile stage and to image the contents of any launch canister or of any shipping container declared to contain such a missile or missile stage; it shall have the right to view such missiles or missile stages contained in launch canisters or shipping containers eight times per calendar year. The in-country escort shall be present during all phases of such viewing. During such interior viewing:
 - (i) the front end of the launch canister or the cover of the shipping container shall be opened;
 - (ii) the missile or missile stage shall not be removed from its launch canister or shipping container; and
 - (iii) the length and diameter of the stages of the missile shall be measured in accordance with the methods agreed by the Parties so as to ascertain that the missile or missile stage is not an intermediate-range GLBM of the inspected Party, or the longest stage of such a GLBM, and that the missile has no

more than one stage which is outwardly similar to a stage of an existing type of intermediate-range GLBM.

- (d) The inspecting Party shall also have the right to inspect any other containers or shrouded objects inside the vehicle containing such a missile or missile stage in accordance with the procedures in paragraph 13 of this Section.

X. Cancellation of Inspection

An inspection shall be cancelled if, due to circumstances brought about by *force majeure*, it cannot be carried out. In the case of a delay that prevents an inspection team performing an inspection pursuant to paragraphs 3, 4 or 5 of Article XI of the Treaty, from arriving at the inspection site during the time specified in paragraph 2 of Section VII of this Protocol, the inspecting Party may either cancel or carry out the inspection. If an inspection is cancelled due to circumstances brought about by *force majeure*, or delay, then the number of inspections to which the inspecting Party is entitled shall not be reduced.

XI. Inspection Report

1. For inspections conducted pursuant to paragraphs 3, 4, 5, 7, or 8 of Article XI of the Treaty, during post-inspection procedures, and no later than two hours after the inspection has been completed, the inspection team leader shall provide the in-country escort with a written inspection report in both the English and Russian languages. The report shall be factual. It shall include the type of inspection carried out, the inspection site, the number of missiles, stages of missiles, launchers and items of support equipment subject to the Treaty observed during the period of inspection and any measurements recorded pursuant to paragraph 10 of Section VI of this Protocol. Photographs taken during the inspection in accordance with agreed procedures, as well as the inspection site diagram provided for by paragraph 6 of Section VII of this Protocol, shall be attached to this report.

2. For inspection activities conducted pursuant to paragraph 6 of Article XI of the Treaty, within 3 days after the end of each month, the inspection team leader shall

provide the in-country escort with a written inspection report both in the English and Russian languages. The report shall be factual. It shall include the number of vehicles declared to contain a missile or stage of a missile as large or larger than and as heavy or heavier than an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party that left the inspection site through the portal specified in paragraph 1 of Section IX of this Protocol during that month. The report shall also include any measurements of launch canisters or shipping containers contained in these vehicles recorded pursuant to paragraph 11 of Section VI of this Protocol. In the event the inspecting Party, under the provisions of paragraph 14(c) of Section IX of this Protocol, has viewed the interior of a launch canister or shipping container declared to contain a missile or stage of a missile as large or larger than and as heavy or heavier than an intermediate-range GLBM or longest stage of such a GLBM of the inspected Party, the report shall also include the measurements of the length and diameter of missile stages obtained during the inspection and recorded pursuant to paragraph 11 of Section VI of this Protocol. Photographs taken during the inspection in accordance with agreed procedures shall be attached to this report.

3. The inspected Party shall have the right to include written comments in the report.

4. The Parties shall, when possible, resolve ambiguities regarding factual information contained in the inspection report. Relevant clarifications shall be recorded in the report. The report shall be signed by the inspection team leader and by one of the members of the in-country escort. Each Party shall retain one copy of the report.

This Protocol is an integral part of the Treaty. It shall enter into force on the date of entry into force of the Treaty and shall remain in force as long as the Treaty remains in force. As provided for in paragraph 1(b) of Article XIII of the Treaty, the Parties may agree upon such measures as may be necessary to improve the viability and effectiveness of this Protocol. Such measures shall not be deemed amendments

to the Treaty.

Done at Washington on December 8, 1987, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the United States of America:

RONALD REAGAN

President of the United States of America

For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

M. GORBACHEV

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU

ANNEX

Provisions on Privileges and Immunities of Inspectors and Aircrew Members

In order to exercise their functions effectively, for the purpose of implementing the Treaty and not for their personal benefit, the inspectors and aircrew members referred to in Section III of this Protocol shall be accorded the privileges and immunities contained in this Annex. Privileges and immunities shall be accorded for the entire in-country period in the country in which an inspection site is located, and thereafter with respect to acts previously performed in the exercise of official functions as an inspector or aircrew member.

1. Inspectors and aircrew members shall be accorded the inviolability enjoyed by diplomatic agents pursuant to Article 29 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of April 18, 1961.

2. The living quarters and office premises occupied by an inspector carrying out inspection activities pursuant to paragraph 6 of Article XI of the Treaty shall be accorded the inviolability and protection accorded the premises of diplomatic agents pursuant to Article 30 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

3. The papers and correspondence of inspectors and aircrew members shall enjoy

the inviolability accorded to the papers and correspondence of diplomatic agents pursuant to Article 30 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. In addition, the aircraft of the inspection team shall be inviolable.

4. Inspectors and aircrew members shall be accorded the immunities accorded diplomatic agents pursuant to paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of Article 31 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. The immunity from jurisdiction of an inspector or an aircrew member may be waived by the inspecting Party in those cases when it is of the opinion that immunity would impede the course of justice and that it can be waived without prejudice to the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty. Waiver must always be express.

5. Inspectors carrying out inspection activities pursuant to paragraph 6 of Article XI of the Treaty shall be accorded the exemption from dues and taxes accorded to diplomatic agents pursuant to Article 34 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

6. Inspectors and aircrew members of a Party shall be permitted to bring into the territory of the other Party or a basing country in which an inspection site is located, without payment of any customs duties or related charges, articles for their personal use, with the exception of articles the import or export of which is prohibited by law or controlled by quarantine regulations.

7. An inspector or aircrew member shall not engage in any professional or commercial activity for personal profit on the territory of the inspected Party or that of the basing countries.

8. If the inspected Party considers that there has been an abuse of privileges and immunities specified in this Annex, consultations shall be held between the Parties to determine whether such an abuse has occurred and, if so determined, to prevent a repetition of such an abuse.

Note: The originals of the treaty, protocols, and annex were not available for verification of their content.

Address to the American and Soviet Peoples on the Soviet-United States Summit Meeting

December 8, 1987

Well, thank you, and thank you all very much, and I think that maybe I got out the wrong set of notes here. Still, I do say thank you very much. General Secretary Gorbachev and distinguished guests, my fellow Americans and citizens of the Soviet Union, the American philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, once wrote that there is properly no history, only biography. He meant by this that it is not enough to talk about history as simply forces and factors. History is ultimately a record of human will, human spirit, human aspirations of Earth's men and women, each with the precious soul and free will that the Lord bestows.

Today I, for the United States, and the General Secretary, for the Soviet Union, have signed the first agreement ever to eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. We have made history. And yet many so-called wise men once predicted that this agreement would be impossible to achieve—too many forces and factors stood against it. Well, still we persevered. We kept at it. And I hope the General Secretary will forgive me if I reveal that in some of the bleakest times, when it did truly seem that an agreement would prove impossible, I bucked myself up with the words of a great Russian, Leo Tolstoy, who wrote: "The strongest of all warriors are those two—time and patience."

In the next few days, we will discuss further arms reductions and other issues, and again it will take time and patience to reach agreements. But as we begin these talks, let us remember that genuine international confidence and security are inconceivable without open societies with freedom of information, freedom of conscience, the right to publish, and the right to travel. So, yes, we will address human rights and regional conflicts, for surely the salvation of all mankind lies only in making everything the concern of all. With time, patience, and willpower, I believe we will resolve these issues. We must if we're to achieve a true, secure, and enduring peace.

As different as our systems are, there is a great bond that draws the American and Soviet peoples together. It is the common dream of peace. More than 40 years ago we fought in a great war as allies. On the day that news of the enemy's surrender reached Moscow, crowds gathered in front of the American Embassy. There they cheered the friendship of a nation that had opened a second front and sent food, munitions, and trucks to the Soviet peoples as they displayed awesome courage and will in turning the invader back. A young American diplomat later told of a Soviet soldier in the crowds who shouted over and over, "Now it is time to live."

Too often in the decades since then the soldier's dream—a time to live—has been put off, at least as far as it concerned genuine peace between our two countries. Yet we Americans have never stopped praying for peace. In every part of the world we want this to be a time to live.

Only those who don't know us believe that America is a materialistic land. But the true America is not supermarkets filled with meats, milk, and goods of all descriptions. It is not highways filled with cars. No, true America is a land of faith and family. You can find it in our churches, synagogues, and mosques—in our homes and schools. As one of our great writers put it: America is a willingness of the heart—the universal, human heart—for Americans come from every part of Earth, including the Soviet Union. We want a peace that fulfills the dream of all peoples to raise their families in freedom and safety. And I believe that if both of our countries have courage and the patience, we will build such a peace.

In the next 2 months, people throughout the world will take part in two great festivals of faith: Hanukkah and Christmas. One is a celebration of freedom, the other of peace on Earth, good will toward men. My great hope is that the biographies of our times will record that we had the will to make this the right season for this summit.

Thank you, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. His remarks were translated into Russian

by an interpreter. The address was broadcast live on television. Following the broadcast, the President and the General Secretary met with U.S. and Soviet officials to discuss arms reduction and bilateral issues.

Toasts at the State Dinner for General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union

December 8, 1987

The President. Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, honored guests: In our public statements and in our meetings together, Mr. General Secretary, we've always paid each other the compliment of candor. So, let us continue to do so. By now, Mr. General Secretary, you may have concluded that while we have fundamental disagreements about how human communities should govern themselves, it's possible, all the same, for us to work together.

As we complete the first full day of this historic meeting, let us look back together at the developments of the past 2 years and the significance of what is taking place. For we find ourselves involved in a dramatic march of events that has captured the attention of our two peoples and the entire world. Since you and I first met in Geneva in November 1985, Mr. General Secretary, our two countries have moved toward a new period in the history of our relations. The highlight of your visit is the signing of the first U.S.-Soviet arms control agreement in nearly a decade—the first ever to mandate actual reductions in our arsenals of nuclear weapons. We're making significant progress in other important areas of arms reduction, and have the opportunity, with mutual commitment and hard work, to achieve much more in the coming months.

But our relationship—the United States and the Soviet Union—is not founded just on arms control but reaches across a broad spectrum of issues. A relationship that addresses the basic problems of self-determination in the areas of regional conflicts and human rights. There are differences here, but ones that require frankness and candor.

In bilateral matters, we also need hard and honest debate.

A century-and-a-half ago, the brilliant French observer, de Tocqueville, foresaw that our two countries would be the major countries of the world. History, geography, the blessings of resources, and the hard work of our peoples have made it so. And between us, there has also been a profound competition of political and economic philosophy, making us the protagonists in a drama with the greatest importance for the future of all mankind. Man's most fundamental beliefs about the relationship of the citizen to the state and of man to his creator lie at the core of the competition between our two countries. History has indeed endowed our relationship with a profound meaning.

Certainly we will not settle those issues this week. But the tasks before us require a full awareness of those issues and of a responsibility that is binding on us both. I speak of a responsibility we dare not compromise or shirk. I speak of the responsibility to settle our differences in peace. Already, by virtue of hard work and hard bargaining, we've accomplished much, and our negotiators deserve great credit. But we cannot afford to rest. There is more work to be done, and time and history are marching on.

So, I offer a toast, a commitment on behalf of the American people of seriousness, goodwill, and hope for the future. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev: To your health. *Za vashe zdorovye.*

The General Secretary. I take power into my hands now, while the President is busy. [Laughter] Esteemed Mr. President, es-

teemed Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentlemen, comrades: Last summer it took a daring American girl by the name of Lynn Cox a mere 2 hours to swim the distance separating our two countries. On television we saw how sincere and cordial the meeting was between our people and the Americans when she stepped onto the Soviet shore. By her courage she showed how close to each other our two peoples live.

Without minimizing the great political and ideological distances between us, we want to seek and find avenues of rapprochement in areas where this is of vital importance for our two countries and for all humankind. That is precisely what we are here for. In my 1986 New Year's Eve address on American television, I spoke of our hopes for a better future. By that time, Mr. President, you and I had already had 2 days of face-to-face talks in Geneva. This enabled me to tell Americans in my New Year address that the winter of our discontent may one day come to an end. Today, following Reykjavik and the extensive preparatory work that has made our meeting in Washington possible, it can be said that the winter is on the wane.

A boundless world stretches far and wide beyond the walls of this house. And you and I, if you will, are accountable to it and to the peoples of our two countries, to our allies and friends and to all our contemporaries. The Russian word, *perestroika*, can be applied to the process now underway all over the world of rethinking the realities of a nuclear and space age. It must now be clear to all that the problems of today's world will not be solved through old approaches. The goal we are setting today is to build a nuclear-free world. The road leading to it is difficult and thorny, but with new thinking it is attainable. As you can see, here, too, changes are necessary—changes in the minds and changes in actions.

The great age of geographical discoveries amounted to more than one caravel or one newly found continent. Our journey toward a nuclear-free world cannot amount to reaching one or two islands named INF and shorter range INF. It is my hope that we shall promptly move further ahead toward the goal of reducing and then eliminating strategic offensive arms which make up the main and decisive portion of the nuclear arsenal.

As the clock of life brings us closer and closer to the 21st century, we are duty bound to remember that each one of us, within the limits of our capability and ability, personifies the link between the transient and the eternal. As our famous poet Afanasiy Fet, said, "Although man is not eternal, what is human is eternal." It is in the name of eternal humanity that we have today performed our momentous deed.

And my first salute is to that event. It will be cherished by our two peoples. So, I address these words of congratulation to the Soviet and American people whose will is embodied in the agreement. I want to emphasize that this is the fruit of the efforts not only of us both but also of our allies and representatives of all countries and all public movements whose effort and contribution rightfully make them parties to this historic event.

It would be fair today to pay tribute to the efforts of those who were directly involved in preparing the treaty. May I wish good health to you, Mr. President, and to Mrs. Reagan; happiness and well-being to all those present here tonight; peace and prosperity to the peoples of our two countries.

Note: The President spoke at 9:34 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. The President spoke in English, and the General Secretary spoke in Russian. Their remarks were translated by interpreters.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the American Bar Association's Rating of Supreme Court Nominee Anthony M. Kennedy

December 8, 1987

Today the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Federal Judiciary unanimously voted to give Judge Anthony M. Kennedy its highest rating of fitness for a Supreme Court Justice—a rating of "well qualified."

The President is very gratified by the ABA's announcement and believes that after concluding its hearings the Senate will agree with the assessment of the American Bar Association that Judge Kennedy possesses the highest qualifications to be a Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

According to the ABA, this rating is "reserved for those who meet the highest standard of professional competence, judicial temperament and integrity. The person in this category must be among the best available for appointment to the Supreme Court." The ABA's decision followed a detailed examination of Judge Kennedy's professional qualifications, his writings, and his decisions on the bench, as well as extensive interviews with persons familiar with his record.

Excerpts From an Interview With Conservative Columnists Following the Soviet-United States Summit Meeting

December 9, 1987

Q. What reassurance can you offer to our conservative friends that this INF treaty is in the national interest and in their interest?

The President. Well, it is. And I know that most of the things we hear is that they believe that somehow by this INF agreement we have changed the balance of power in Europe, and that the Soviets, who do have, admittedly, a conventional superiority, have been given an advantage. But that isn't so. There are still hundreds and hundreds of nuclear weapons left in Europe—the tactical battlefield weapons. And those are the weapons that do equalize that imbalance in conventional weapons.

Now, before you would go into any treaty about those tactical battlefield weapons, that would have to follow parity in the conventional weapons because if we eliminated and they eliminated the tactical battlefield weapons they automatically would end up with a great superiority if it was reduced to conventional weapons. And in this instance, I feel they're so wrong because they are

giving up four times as many warheads as we have to give up. In our Pershings and cruise missiles, we didn't have anywhere near the number of warheads, and their intermediate-range missiles were not targeted on military targets. They covered all the way to London.

Q. Sir, can I ask you how did you feel this morning when you woke up? Is this the happiest day of your life? [*Laughter*]

The President. Well, I felt good. I think that yesterday was quite a day. After years of debate and discussion and walking away from things without settlement, I thought it was quite a day.

Q. Does this mean that you expect the Soviets to pull out of Afghanistan soon and stop supporting the Sandinistas soon in Nicaragua?

The President. They have—he has expressed and is—in fact, not just to me but publicly, that they want to get out of Afghanistan. And I can't go beyond that, other than that saying that the people we have working on all of these things are working

on that particular question right now, as to when and how.

Q. How did you like Raisa Gorbachev?

The President. Oh, well, she seems very pleasant, and we just had a little moment here. Maybe I shouldn't give this away, but I will. His schedule was very busy today, and our meeting ran over here in the Oval Office. And I kept—finally, as I told him, I said, I've been told that I'm to take him over to the Diplomatic Entrance there to meet his wife who was with Nancy, and then so they could go on with their schedule. And then when we got there, we found out that Nancy and Raisa were having coffee together, and they were late.

[*Laughter*] So, when we stood down there in the Dip Room waiting for them to come down, I suggested something to him, and we both did it—that when finally they came around and through the door, he and I were both looking at our watches. [*Laughter*] We got a laugh.

Note: The interview began at 2 p.m. in the Oval Office at the White House. Participants in the interview included Philip Geyelin, Georgie Ann Geyer, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., and Joseph B. Wattenberg. A tape was not available for verification of the content of the interview.

Toast at a Dinner Hosted by Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev

December 9, 1987

Mr. General Secretary, Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, and ladies and gentlemen: We're coming to the end of the second full day of your visit to our land. It's been an eventful 2 days. But now that you've seen our Nation's Capital, Mr. General Secretary, I only wish you could have a chance to meet the people who normally work and do business here. Unfortunately, they're all in Iowa and New Hampshire—[*laughter*—campaigning for my job.

As everyone in the United States knows, I have a weakness for anecdotes. So, if I may, I'd like to begin with a story I was so moved by recently that I mentioned it in my address to the people of the Soviet Union. It's an account of one of our diplomats, a young man then, stationed in our Embassy in Moscow during World War II. He was there when news of victory, V-E Day reached that city, and he said Red Square erupted in a spontaneous demonstration of thankfulness and joy.

Our Embassy's chancery was just across from the Kremlin, and many of the Americans stationed there in those days were still in uniform. When they walked outside to join in the celebration, the crowd spotted

them, lifted them onto their shoulders, and carried them on to Red Square. But the young diplomat said he was even more moved by the words of one Red Army major standing near him in the crowd, words filled with new found hope: "Now it's time to live," he said.

Well, Mr. General Secretary, we've accomplished much so far in this summit—a pathbreaking agreement that for the first time will eliminate an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. But I'm convinced that history will ultimately judge this summit and its participants not on missile count but on how far we moved together to the fulfillment of that soldier's hopes.

We have prided ourselves, Mr. General Secretary, on our realism, that we've come to this summit without illusions, with no attempts to gloss over the deep differences that divide us, differences that reach to the core values upon which our political systems are based. But we said, even so, we can make progress; even so, we can find areas of agreement and cooperation.

But perhaps in this Christmas season, we should look at an even deeper and more enduring realism. It is a reality that precedes states and governments, that pre-

cedes and surpasses the temporary realities of ideology and politics. It is the reality that binds each of us as individual souls, the bond that united Soviets and Americans in exultation and thanksgiving on that day of peace, 42 years ago.

General Secretary Gorbachev, you've declared that in your own country there is a need for greater *glasnost*, or openness, and the world watches expectantly and with great hopes to see this promise fulfilled. For in talking of openness and promising truth, you've called on the deepest hungers of the human heart, hungers shared by all, whether they be Soviet or American or the citizens of any nation on Earth.

Thomas Jefferson, one of our nation's great founders and philosophers, once said, "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty as well." He meant that we're born to freedom and that the need for liberty is as basic as the need for food. And he, as the great revolutionary he was, also knew that lasting peace would only come when individual souls have the freedom they crave. What better time than in this Christmas and Hanukkah season, a season of spirit you recently spoke to, Mr. General Secretary, when you noted the millennium of Christianity in your land and spoke of the hopes of your people for a better life in a world of peace.

These are hopes shared by the people of every nation, hopes for an end to war; hopes, especially in this season, for the right to worship according to the dictates of the conscience.

There's an old Russian saying: "Every man is the blacksmith of his own happiness." And like all folk sayings, it contains a profound understanding of the human condition. We can, with our free will, shape our future. We can make it what that Soviet soldier saw in his vision of a better world, a vision of peace and freedom.

In memory of that day in Red Square when Soviet citizens carried American soldiers on their shoulders, in memory of that day when the Red Army embraced a new world of hope, I raise my glass. Mr. General Secretary and Mrs. Gorbachev, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, thank you. And Ambassador and Mrs. Dubinin, thank you for your hospitality this evening. And for my last attempt at Russian: *Za vashe zdorovye* [*To your health*].

Note: The President spoke at 7:40 p.m. at the Soviet Embassy. Earlier, the President and the General Secretary met privately and then with U.S. and Soviet officials in the Oval Office at the White House to discuss regional issues and arms reductions.

Joint Statement on the Soviet-United States Summit Meeting December 10, 1987

Ronald W. Reagan, President of the United States of America, and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, met in Washington on December 7-10, 1987.

Attending the meeting on the U.S. side were Vice President George Bush; Secretary of State George P. Shultz; Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci; Chief of Staff Howard H. Baker, Jr.; Acting Assistant to the President Lieutenant General Colin L. Powell; Counselor of the Department of State Ambassador Max M. Kampelman; Ambassador-at-Large and Special Advisor to

the President and Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters Paul H. Nitze; Special Advisor to the President and Secretary of State on Arms Control Matters Ambassador Edward L. Rowny; Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr.; Ambassador of the U.S. to the USSR Jack F. Matlock; and Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Rozanne L. Ridgway.

Attending on the Soviet side were Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard A. Shevardnadze; Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Cen-

tral Committee, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Alexander N. Yakovlev; Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoly F. Dobrynin; Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Vladimir M. Kamentsev; Chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and First Deputy Minister of Defense of the USSR, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei F. Akhromeev; Assistant to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoly S. Chernyaev; Head of the General Department of the CPSU Central Committee Valeriy I. Boldin; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Aleksandr A. Bessmertnykh; Ambassador of the USSR to the United States of America Yuri V. Dubinin; Member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Victor P. Karpov; and Ambassador-at-Large Aleksey A. Obukhov.

During the course of the official visit, which had been agreed during the two leaders' November 1985 meeting in Geneva, the President and the General Secretary held comprehensive and detailed discussions on the full range of issues between the two countries, including arms reductions, human rights and humanitarian issues, settlement of regional conflicts, and bilateral relations. The talks were candid and constructive, reflecting both the continuing differences between the two sides, and their understanding that these differences are not insurmountable obstacles to progress in areas of mutual interest.

They reaffirmed their strong commitment to a vigorous dialogue encompassing the whole of the relationship.

The leaders reviewed progress to date in fulfilling the broad agenda they agreed at Geneva and advanced at Reykjavik. They took particular satisfaction in the conclusion over the last two years of important agreements in some areas of this agenda.

The President and the General Secretary affirmed the fundamental importance of their meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik, which laid the basis for concrete steps in a process intended to improve strategic stability and reduce the risk of conflict. They will continue to be guided by their solemn conviction that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. They are determined to prevent any war between the

United States and the Soviet Union, whether nuclear or conventional. They will not seek to achieve military superiority.

The two leaders recognized the special responsibility of the United States and the Soviet Union to search for realistic ways to prevent confrontation and to promote a more sustainable and stable relationship between their countries. To this end, they agreed to intensify dialogue and to encourage emerging trends toward constructive cooperation in all areas of their relations. They are convinced that in so doing they will also contribute, with other nations, to the building of a safer world as humanity enters the third millennium.

I. ARMS CONTROL

The INF Treaty

The two leaders signed the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles. This treaty is historic both for its objective—the complete elimination of an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear arms—and for the innovative character and scope of its verification provisions. This mutual accomplishment makes a vital contribution to greater stability.

Nuclear and Space Talks

The President and the General Secretary discussed the negotiations on reductions in strategic offensive arms. They noted the considerable progress which has been made toward conclusion of a treaty implementing the principle of 50-percent reductions. They agreed to instruct their negotiators in Geneva to work toward the completion of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and all integral documents at the earliest possible date, preferably in time for signature of the treaty during the next meeting of leaders of state in the first half of 1988. Recognizing that areas of agreement and disagreement are recorded in detail in the Joint Draft Treaty Text, they agreed to instruct their negotiators to accelerate resolution of issues within the Joint Draft Treaty Text including early agreement on provisions for effective

verification.

In so doing, the negotiators should build upon the agreements on 50-percent reductions achieved at Reykjavik as subsequently developed and now reflected in the agreed portions of the Joint Draft START Treaty Text being developed in Geneva, including agreement on ceilings of no more than 1600 strategic offensive delivery systems, 6000 warheads, 1540 warheads on 154 heavy missiles; the agreed rule of account for heavy bombers and their nuclear armament; and an agreement that as a result of the reductions the aggregate throw-weight of the Soviet Union's ICBMs and SLBMs will be reduced to a level approximately 50-percent below the existing level, and this level will not be exceeded by either side. Such an agreement will be recorded in a mutually satisfactory manner.

As priority tasks, they should focus on the following issues:

- (a) The additional steps necessary to ensure that the reductions enhance strategic stability. This will include a ceiling of 4900 on the aggregate number of ICBM plus SLBM warheads within the 6000 total.
- (b) The counting rules governing the number of long-range, nuclear-armed air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs) to be attributed to each type of heavy bomber. The Delegations shall define concrete rules in this area.
- (c) The counting rules with respect to existing ballistic missiles. The sides proceed from the assumption that existing types of ballistic missiles are deployed with the following numbers of warheads. In the United States: PEACEKEEPER (MX): 10, MINUTEMAN III: 3, MINUTEMAN II: 1, TRIDENT I: 8, TRIDENT II: 8, POSEIDON: 10. In the Soviet Union: SS-17: 4, SS-19: 6, SS-18: 10, SS-24: 10, SS-25: 1, SS-11: 1, SS-13: 1, SS-N-6: 1, SS-N-8: 1, SS-N-17: 1, SS-N-18: 7, SS-N-20: 10 and SS-N-23: 4. Procedures will be developed that enable verification of the number of warheads on deployed ballistic missiles of each specific type. In the event either side changes the number of warheads declared for a type of deployed ballistic missile, the sides shall notify each other in advance. There shall also be agreement on how to account for warheads on future types of ballistic missiles covered by the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms.
- (d) The sides shall find a mutually acceptable solution to the question of limiting the deployment of long-range, nuclear-armed SLCMs. Such limitations will not involve counting long-range, nuclear-armed SLCMs within the 6000 warhead and 1600 strategic offensive delivery systems limits. The sides committed themselves to establish ceilings on such missiles, and to seek mutually acceptable and effective methods of verification of such limitations, which could include the employment of National Technical Means, cooperative measures and on-site inspection.
- (e) Building upon the provisions of the Treaty on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the measures by which the provisions of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms can be verified will, at a minimum, include:
 1. Data exchanges, to include declarations by each side of the number and location of weapon systems limited by the Treaty and of facilities at which such systems are located and appropriate notifications. These facilities will include locations and facilities for production and final assembly, storage, testing, and deployment of systems covered by this Treaty. Such declarations will be exchanged between the sides before the Treaty is signed and updated periodically after entry into force.
 2. Baseline inspection to verify the accuracy of these declarations promptly after entry into force of the Treaty.
 3. On-site observation of the elimination of strategic systems necessary to achieve the agreed limits.
 4. Continuous on-site monitoring of the perimeter and portals of critical production and support facilities to confirm the output of these facilities.

5. Short-notice on-site inspection of:
 - (i) declared locations during the process of reducing to agreed limits;
 - (ii) locations where systems covered by this Treaty remain after achieving the agreed limits; and
 - (iii) locations where such systems have been located (formerly declared facilities).
6. The right to implement, in accordance with agreed-upon procedures, short-notice inspections at locations where either side considers covert deployment, production, storage or repair of strategic offensive arms could be occurring.
7. Provisions prohibiting the use of concealment or other activities which impede verification by national technical means. Such provisions would include a ban on telemetry encryption and would allow for full access to all telemetric information broadcast during missile flight.
8. Measures designed to enhance observation of activities related to reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms by National Technical Means. These would include open displays of treaty-limited items at missile bases, bomber bases, and submarine ports at locations and times chosen by the inspecting party.

Taking into account the preparation of the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms, the leaders of the two countries also instructed their delegations in Geneva to work out an agreement that would commit the sides to observe the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, while conducting their research, development, and testing as required, which are permitted by the ABM Treaty, and not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty, for a specified period of time. Intensive discussions of strategic stability shall begin not later than three years before the end of the specified period, after which, in the event the sides have not agreed otherwise, each side will be free to decide its course of action. Such an agreement must have the same legal status as the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms, the ABM Treaty, and other similar, legally binding agreements. This agreement will be recorded in a mutually satisfactory

manner. Therefore, they direct their delegations to address these issues on a priority basis.

The sides shall discuss ways to ensure predictability in the development of the U.S.-Soviet strategic relationship under conditions of strategic stability, to reduce the risk of nuclear war.

Other Arms Control Issues

The President and the General Secretary reviewed a broad range of other issues concerning arms limitation and reduction. The sides emphasized the importance of productive negotiations on security matters and advancing in the main areas of arms limitation and reduction through equitable, verifiable agreements that enhance security and stability.

Nuclear Testing

The two leaders welcomed the opening on November 9, 1987, of full-scale, step-by-step negotiations, in accordance with the joint statement adopted in Washington on September 17, 1987, by the Secretary of State of the United States and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR:

The U.S. and Soviet sides have agreed to begin before December 1, 1987, full-scale stage-by-stage negotiations which will be conducted in a single forum. In these negotiations the sides as the first step will agree upon effective verification measures which will make it possible to ratify the U.S.-USSR Threshold Test Ban Treaty of 1974 and Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty of 1976, and proceed to negotiating further intermediate limitations on nuclear testing leading to the ultimate objective of the complete cessation of nuclear testing as part of an effective disarmament process. This process, among other things, would pursue, as the first priority, the goal of the reduction of nuclear weapons and, ultimately, their elimination. For the purpose of the elaboration of improved verification measures for the U.S.-USSR Treaties of 1974 and 1976 the sides intend to design and conduct joint verification experiments at each other's test sites. These verification measures will, to the

extent appropriate, be used in further nuclear test limitation agreements which may subsequently be reached.

The leaders also welcomed the prompt agreement by the sides to exchange experts' visits to each other's nuclear testing sites in January 1988 and to design and subsequently to conduct a Joint Verification Experiment at each other's test site. The terms of reference for the Experiment are set forth in the statement issued on December 9, 1987, by the Foreign Ministers of the United States and the Soviet Union. The leaders noted the value of these agreements for developing more effective measures to verify compliance with the provisions of the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty.

Nuclear Non-Proliferation

The President and the General Secretary reaffirmed the continued commitment of the United States and the Soviet Union to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, and in particular to strengthening the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The two leaders expressed satisfaction at the adherence since their last meeting of additional parties to the Treaty, and confirmed their intent to make, together with other states, additional efforts to achieve universal adherence to the Treaty.

The President and the General Secretary expressed support for international cooperation in nuclear safety and for efforts to promote the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, under further strengthened IAEA safeguards and appropriate export controls for nuclear materials, equipment and technology. The leaders agreed that bilateral consultations on non-proliferation were constructive and useful, and should continue.

Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers

The leaders welcomed the signing on September 15, 1987, in Washington of the agreement to establish Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers in their capitals. The agreement will be implemented promptly.

Chemical Weapons

The leaders expressed their commitment to negotiation of a verifiable, comprehensive and effective international convention

on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons. They welcomed progress to date and reaffirmed the need for intensified negotiations toward conclusion of a truly global and verifiable convention encompassing all chemical weapons-capable states. The United States and Soviet Union are in favor of greater openness and intensified confidence-building with respect to chemical weapons both on a bilateral and a multilateral basis. They agreed to continue periodic discussions by experts on the growing problem of chemical weapons proliferation and use.

Conventional Forces

The President and the General Secretary discussed the importance of the task of reducing the level of military confrontation in Europe in the area of armed forces and conventional armaments. The two leaders spoke in favor of early completion of the work in Vienna on the mandate for negotiations on this issue, so that substantive negotiations may be started at the earliest time with a view to elaborating concrete measures. They also noted that the implementation of the provisions of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe is an important factor in strengthening mutual understanding and enhancing stability, and spoke in favor of continuing and consolidating this process. The President and the General Secretary agreed to instruct their appropriate representatives to intensify efforts to achieve solutions to outstanding issues.

They also discussed the Vienna (Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction) negotiations.

Follow-Up Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

They expressed their determination, together with the other 33 participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, to bring the Vienna CSCE Follow-Up Conference to a successful conclusion, based on balanced progress in all principal areas of the Helsinki Final Act and Madrid Concluding Document.

II. HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS

The leaders held a thorough and candid discussion of human rights and humanitarian questions and their place in the U.S.-Soviet dialogue.

III. REGIONAL ISSUES

The President and the General Secretary engaged in a wide-ranging, frank and businesslike discussion of regional questions, including Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq War, the Middle East, Cambodia, southern Africa, Central America and other issues. They acknowledged serious differences but agreed on the importance of their regular exchange of views. The two leaders noted the increasing importance of settling regional conflicts to reduce international tensions and to improve East-West relations. They agreed that the goal of the dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union on these issues should be to help the parties to regional conflicts find peaceful solutions that advance their independence, freedom and security. Both leaders emphasized the importance of enhancing the capacity of the United Nations and other international institutions to contribute to the resolution of regional conflicts.

IV. BILATERAL AFFAIRS

The President and the General Secretary reviewed in detail the state of U.S.-Soviet bilateral relations. They recognized the utility of further expanding and strengthening bilateral contacts, exchanges and cooperation.

Bilateral Negotiations

Having reviewed the state of ongoing U.S.-Soviet negotiations on a number of specific bilateral issues, the two leaders called for intensified efforts by their representatives, aimed at reaching mutually advantageous agreements on: commercial maritime issues; fishing; marine search and rescue; radio navigational systems; the U.S.-USSR maritime boundary; and cooperation in the field of transportation and other areas.

They noted with satisfaction agreement on the expansion, within the framework of

the U.S.-Soviet Air Transport Agreement, of direct air passenger service, including joint operation of the New York-Moscow route by Pan American Airways and Aeroflot, and on the renewal of the U.S.-Soviet World Ocean Agreement.

People-to-People Contacts and Exchanges

The two leaders took note of progress in implementing the U.S.-Soviet General Exchanges Agreement in the areas of education, science, culture and sports, signed at their November 1985 Geneva meeting, and agreed to continue efforts to eliminate obstacles to further progress in these areas. They expressed satisfaction with plans to celebrate jointly the 30th anniversary of the first Exchanges Agreement in January 1988.

The two leaders reaffirmed the importance of contacts and exchanges in broadening understanding between their peoples. They noted with particular satisfaction the progress made in the development of people-to-people contacts under the initiative they launched at their 1985 meeting in Geneva—a process which has involved tens of thousands of U.S. and Soviet citizens over the past two years. The leaders reaffirmed their strong commitment further to expand such contacts, including among the young.

Global Climate and Environmental Change Initiative

With reference to their November 1985 agreement in Geneva to cooperate in the preservation of the environment, the two leaders approved a bilateral initiative to pursue joint studies in global climate and environmental change through cooperation in areas of mutual concern, such as protection and conservation of stratospheric ozone, and through increased data exchanges pursuant to the U.S.-Soviet Environmental Protection Agreement and the Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Concerning Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes. In this context, there will be a detailed study on the climate of the future. The two sides will continue to

promote broad international and bilateral cooperation in the increasingly important area of global climate and environmental change.

Cooperative Activities

The President and the General Secretary supported further cooperation among scientists of the United States, the Soviet Union and other countries in utilizing controlled thermonuclear fusion for peaceful purposes. They affirmed the intention of the U.S. and the USSR to cooperate with the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) and Japan, under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency, in the quadripartite conceptual design of a fusion test reactor.

The two leaders noted with satisfaction progress under the bilateral Agreement on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy towards establishing a permanent working group in the field of nuclear reactor safety, and expressed their readiness to develop further cooperation in this area.

The President and the General Secretary agreed to develop bilateral cooperation in combatting international narcotics trafficking. They agreed that appropriate initial consultations would be held for these purposes in early 1988.

They also agreed to build on recent contacts to develop more effective cooperation in ensuring the security of air and maritime transportation.

The two leaders exchanged views on means of encouraging expanded contacts and cooperation on issues relating to the Arctic. They expressed support for the development of bilateral and regional cooperation among the Arctic countries on these matters, including coordination of scientific research and protection of the region's environment.

The two leaders welcomed the conclusion of negotiations to institutionalize the

COSPAS/SARSAT space-based global search and rescue system, operated jointly by the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Canada.

Trade

The two sides stated their strong support for the expansion of mutually beneficial trade and economic relations. They instructed their trade ministers to convene the U.S.-USSR Joint Commercial Commission in order to develop concrete proposals to achieve that objective, including within the framework of the Long-Term Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to Facilitate Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation. They agreed that commercially viable joint ventures complying with the laws and regulations of both countries could play a role in the further development of commercial relations.

Diplomatic Missions

Both sides agreed on the importance of adequate, secure facilities for their respective diplomatic and consular establishments, and emphasized the need to approach problems relating to the functioning of Embassies and Consulates General constructively and on the basis of reciprocity.

V. FURTHER MEETINGS

The President and the General Secretary agreed that official contacts at all levels should be further expanded and intensified, with the goal of achieving practical and concrete results in all areas of the U.S.-Soviet relationship.

General Secretary Gorbachev renewed the invitation he extended during the Geneva summit for President Reagan to visit the Soviet Union. The President accepted with pleasure. The visit will take place in the first half of 1988.

Remarks on the Departure of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union

December 10, 1987

The President. Mr. General Secretary, these last few days have been exciting, indeed, for both of us and for our fellow countrymen who followed the course of our discussions. I'm pleased to report that upon the completion of our business that this summit has been a clear success. Like the star on the top of the National Christmas Tree, which was lit the evening you arrived, Mr. General Secretary, this summit has lit the sky with hope for all people of good will. And as we leave, it is up to both sides to ensure that the luster does not wear off and to follow through on our commitments as we move forward to the next steps in improving the relations between our countries and peoples.

I believe both the General Secretary and I can walk away from our meetings with a sense of accomplishment. We have proven that adversaries, even with the most basic philosophical differences, can talk candidly and respectfully with one another and, with perseverance, find common ground. We did not hide from the weighty differences that separate us; many of them, of course, remain. One of my predecessors, President Franklin Roosevelt, once said: "History cannot be rewritten by wishful thinking." Our discussions, in that spirit, were straightforward and designed to open a thoughtful communication between our governments on the critical issues that confront us.

Our exchange on the subject of human rights underscored the priority we in the Western democracies place on respect for fundamental freedoms. I'm pleased that during this summit we addressed this area of heartfelt importance and have ensured a continuing dialog on human rights at the highest levels of our governments.

Our discussions on regional conflicts were no less to the point. These conflicts continue to take a heavy toll in lives and impose a heavy burden on East-West relations. The General Secretary and I expressed different points of view—we did so bluntly—and for that reason alone, our talks have been

useful in this area. Moreover, we agree that it is necessary to search for real political solutions to these conflicts. But so far, we cannot be satisfied with what has been achieved. We must now press ahead in the search for political solutions that advance the cause of peace and freedom for the people suffering in these wars. The door has been opened, and it will stay open to serious discussion of ending these regional conflicts.

And as far as open doors, Mr. Gorbachev and I both agree on the desirability of freer and more extensive personal contact and the breaking down of artificial barriers between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States. As I said in my welcoming remarks, the fact that our governments have disagreements should not prevent our peoples from being friends.

Of course, the greatest accomplishment of these 3 days was the signing of a treaty to eliminate a whole class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. Another one of my predecessors, a President I have admired since my youth, Calvin Coolidge, once said: "History is made only by action." Well, it took enormous effort and almost superhuman tenacity on the part of negotiators on both sides, but the end product is a treaty that does indeed make history. It is in the interest of both our peoples, yet I cannot help but believe that mankind is the biggest winner. At long last, we have begun the task of actually reducing these deadly weapons rather than simply putting limits on their growth.

The INF treaty, as proud of it as we are, should be viewed as a beginning, not an end. Further arms reduction is now possible. I am pleased some progress has been made toward a strategic arms reduction treaty over the last 3 days. Individual agreements will not, in and of themselves, result in sustained progress. We need a realistic understanding of each other's intentions and objectives, a process for dealing with differences in a practical and straightfor-

ward manner; and we need patience, creativity, and persistence in achieving what we set out to do. As a result of this summit, the framework for building such a relationship has been strengthened.

I am determined to use this framework. My goal—which I believe you share, Mr. General Secretary—is a more constructive relationship between our governments, long-lasting rather than transitory improvements. Together, we can bring about a more secure and prosperous future for our peoples and a more peaceful world. Both of us are aware of the difficult challenges and special responsibilities inherent in this task.

During World War II, when so many young Russians served at the front, the poem “Wait For Me” became a prayer spoken on the lips of Russian families who dreamed one day of the happiness that their reunion would bring. The cause of world peace and world freedom is still waiting, Mr. General Secretary. It has waited long enough.

General Secretary Gorbachev, Mrs. Gorbachev, it is good that you came to America, and Nancy and I are pleased to have welcomed you here. Your visit was short, yet I hope you’ll take with you a better sense of the spirit and soul of the United States of America. And when you get back to Moscow, please pass on to the Soviet people the best wishes of the American people for a peaceful and prosperous new year.

Thank you, and Godspeed on your journey.

The General Secretary. Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentlemen, in these last hours before our departure for home, we note with satisfaction that the visit to Washington has, on the whole, justified our hopes. We have had 3 days of hard work, of businesslike and frank discussions on the pivotal problems of Soviet-American relations and on important aspects of the current world situation.

A good deal has been accomplished. I would like to emphasize in particular an unprecedented step in the history of the nuclear age: the signing of the treaty under which the two militarily and strategically greatest powers have assumed an obligation to actually destroy a portion of their nuclear

weapons, thus, we hope, setting in motion the process of nuclear disarmament.

In our talks with President Ronald Reagan, some headway has been made on the central issue of that process—achieving substantial reductions of strategic offensive arms, which are the most potent weapons in the world—although we still have a lot of work to do. We have had a useful exchange of views, which has clarified each other’s positions concerning regional conflicts, the development of our bilateral ties, and human rights. On some of these aspects, it seems likely that we can soon identify specific solutions satisfactory both to us and to other countries. A useful result of the Washington talks is that we have been able to formulate a kind of agenda for joint efforts in the future. This puts the dialog between our two countries on a more predictable footing and is undoubtedly constructive.

While this visit has centered on our talks with the President of the United States, I have no intention of minimizing the importance of meetings with Members of Congress, with other political leaders, public figures, members of the business and academic communities, cultural figures, and media executives. Such contacts enable us to gain a better and more profound knowledge of each other, provide a wealth of opportunities for checking one’s views, assessments, and even established stereotypes. All this is important, both for policymaking and for bringing peoples and countries closer together. These meetings have confirmed the impression that there is a growing desire in American society for improved Soviet-American relations. In short, what we have seen here is a movement matching the mood that has long been prevalent among Soviet people.

In bidding farewell to America, I am looking forward to a new encounter with it, in the hope that I will then be able to see not only its Capital but also to meet face-to-face with its great people, to chat and to have some lively exchanges with ordinary Americans. I believe that what we have accomplished during the meeting and the discussions will, with time, help considerably to improve the atmosphere in the world at large and in America itself, in terms of its

more correct and tolerant perception of my country, the Soviet Union.

Today the Soviet Union and the United States are closer to the common goal of strengthening international security, but this goal is yet to be reached. There is still much work to be done, and we must get down to it without delay. Mr. President, esteemed citizens of the United States, we are grateful for your hospitality, and we wish success, well-being, and peace to all

Americans. Thank you, and goodbye.

Note: The President spoke at 2:25 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. The President spoke in English, and the General Secretary spoke in Russian. Their remarks were translated by interpreters. Earlier, the President and the General Secretary met in the Oval Office and then attended a working luncheon in the Residence.

Proclamation 5752—Human Rights Day, Bill of Rights Day, and Human Rights Week, 1987

December 10, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

The Constitution whose Bicentennial we celebrate this year begins, “We the People,” and thus tells Americans and all the world that we hold the individual as sovereign, not the government or any other political entity. The Bill of Rights, added to the Constitution in 1791, specifies individual liberties and adds that powers “not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.”

The Founders of our country believed the rights of the individual are God-given, not originating from or granted by the state. Their timeless vision of individual liberties for all people is why we pause each December to express thanks for our heritage and to renew our commitment to the vital cause of human rights around the globe. We also celebrate the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which set human rights standards for all nations.

Tragically, governments in many lands deny this vision. Some make elaborate claims that citizens under their rule enjoy human rights and even offer illusory guarantees of those rights—but then reveal their absence through lack of due process, free elections, or freedom of religion, expression,

and assembly. Their constitutions often declare openly that citizens’ rights are subordinate to the interests of the state. Even if words look good on paper, the absence of structural safeguards against abuse of power means that freedoms may be taken away as easily as they are allowed. In countries where monopoly power rests with a single group or political entity, the scope for human liberty is narrow indeed.

These states pose the greatest threat to liberty, not only because under them people are denied the exercise of the most fundamental freedoms, but because they pose external as well as internal dangers. Unlimited power, exercised in the name of universalist ideologies, often tries to extend its control beyond borders, denying other peoples their human rights and self-determination.

Standing against these dangers are those people the world over who, undaunted by tremendous odds and great personal risk, continue to press for individual rights and freedoms. Their courageous struggle for human dignity is a triumph in itself, but the United States pledges continuing support to their efforts on behalf of human rights, fundamental freedoms, and democracy.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim December 10, 1987, as

Human Rights Day and December 15, 1987, as Bill of Rights Day, and I call upon all Americans to observe the week beginning December 10, 1987, as Human Rights Week.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 10th day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and

eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:01 a.m., December 11, 1987*]

Address to the Nation on the Soviet-United States Summit Meeting December 10, 1987

Good evening. As I am speaking to you now, General Secretary Gorbachev is leaving on his return trip to the Soviet Union. His departure marks the end of 3 historic days here in Washington in which Mr. Gorbachev and I continued to build a foundation for better relations between our governments and our peoples. During these 3 days we took a step—only a first step, but still a critical one—toward building a more durable peace, indeed, a step that may be the most important taken since World War II to slow down the arms buildup.

I'm referring to the treaty that we signed Tuesday afternoon in the East Room of the White House. I believe this treaty represents a landmark in postwar history, because it is not just an arms control but an arms reduction agreement. Unlike treaties of the past, this agreement does not simply establish ceilings for new weapons: It actually reduces the number of such weapons. In fact, it altogether abolishes an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles.

The verification measures in this treaty are also something new with far-reaching implications. On-site inspections and short-notice inspections will be permitted within the Soviet Union. Again, this is a first-time event, a breakthrough, and that's why I believe this treaty will not only lessen the threat of war, it can also speed along a process that may someday remove that threat entirely.

Indeed, this treaty, and all that we've achieved during this summit, signals a broader understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. It is an under-

standing that will help keep the peace as we work toward the ultimate goal of our foreign policy: a world where the people of every land can decide for themselves their form of government and way of life.

Yet as important as the INF treaty is, there is a further and even more crucial point about the last 3 days and the entire summit process: Soviet-American relations are no longer focused only on arms control issues. They now cover a far broader agenda, one that has, at its root, realism and candor. Let me explain this with a saying I've often repeated: Nations do not distrust each other because they're armed; they are armed because they distrust each other. And just as real peace means the presence of freedom and justice as well as the absence of war, so, too, summits must be discussions not just about arms but about the fundamental differences that cause nations to be armed.

Dealing then with the deeper sources of conflict between nations and systems of government is a practical and moral imperative. And that's why it was vital to establish a broader summit agenda, one that dealt not only with arms reductions but also people-to-people contacts between our nations and, most important, the issues of human rights and regional conflicts.

This is the summit agenda we've adopted. By doing so, we've dealt not just with arms control issues but also with fundamental problems such as Soviet expansionism, human rights violations, as well as our own moral opposition to the ideology that justifies such practices. In this way, we have put

Soviet-American relations on a far more candid and far more realistic footing. It also means that, while there's movement—indeed, dramatic movement—in the arms reduction area, much remains to be done in that area as well as in these other critical areas that I've mentioned, especially—and this goes without saying—in advancing our goal of a world open to the expansion of human freedom and the growth of democratic government.

So, much work lies ahead. Let me explain: On the matter of regional conflicts, I spoke candidly with Mr. Gorbachev on the issues of Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, Cambodia, Angola, and Nicaragua. I continue to have high hopes—and he assured me that he did too—that we can have real cooperation in resolving regional conflicts on terms that promote peace and freedom. This is essential to a lasting improvement in our relations.

So, too, on human rights, there was some very limited movement: resolution of a number of individual cases in which prisoners will be released or exit visas granted. There were assurances of future, more substantial movement, which we hope to see become a reality.

And finally, with regard to the last item on our agenda—scientific, educational, cultural, and economic exchanges—we agreed to expand cooperation in ways that will break down some of the artificial barriers between our nations. For example, agreement was reached to expand and improve civil air service between our two countries.

But let me point out here that, while much work is ahead of us, the progress we've made, especially in arms reduction, does reflect a better understanding between ourselves and the Soviets. It also reflects something deeper. You see, since my first meeting with General Secretary Gorbachev in 1985, I have always regarded you, the American people, as full participants in our discussions. Though it may surprise Mr. Gorbachev to discover that all this time there has been a third party in the room with us, I do firmly believe the principal credit for the patience and persistence that brought success this year belongs to you, the American people.

Your support over these last 7 years has

laid the basis for these negotiations. Your support made it possible for us to rebuild our military strength, to liberate Grenada, to strike hard against terrorism in Libya, and more recently to protect our strategic interests and bolster our friends in the Persian Gulf. Your support made possible our policy of helping freedom fighters like those in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Cambodia, and other places around the globe. And when last year at Reykjavik I refused Soviet demands that we trade away SDI, our Strategic Defense Initiative that could erect a space shield against ballistic missiles, your overwhelming support made it clear to the Soviet leaders that the American people prefer no deal to a bad deal and will back their President on matters of national security.

In short, your support for our foreign policy goals—building a safer peace as we advance the cause of world freedom—has helped bring the Soviets to the bargaining table. It makes it possible now to hope for a real, fundamental improvement in our relations.

You know, the question has often been asked whether democratic leaders who are accountable to their people aren't at a grave disadvantage in negotiating with leaders of totalitarian States who bear no such burden. Well, believe me, I think I can answer that question. I can speak from personal experience. Over the long run, no leader at the bargaining table can enjoy any greater advantage than the knowledge that he has behind him a people who are strong and free and alert and resolved to remain that way—people like you. And it's this kind of informed and enlightened support, this hidden strength of democratic government, that enabled us to do what we did this week at the Washington summit.

Now that the treaty's been signed, it will be submitted to the Senate for the next step: the ratification process. I will meet with the leadership of Congress here tomorrow morning, and I'm confident that the Senate will now act in an expeditious way to fulfill its duty under our Constitution.

To this end, let me explain the background. In the mid- and late-1970's the Soviets began to deploy hundreds of new,

mobile intermediate-range missiles capable of destroying major cities and military installations in Europe and Asia. This action was an unprovoked, new dimension of the threat against our friends and allies on both continents, a new threat to which the democratic nations had no comparable counter.

Despite intense pressure from the Soviets, NATO proceeded with what we called a two-track policy. First, we would deploy a limited number of our own INF missiles as a deterrent, but at the same time push hard in negotiations to do away with this entirely new nuclear threat. And we set out to do this with a formula I first put forward in 1981. It was called the zero-option. It meant the complete elimination of these missiles on both sides. Well, at first, many called this a mere propaganda ploy, some even here in this country. But we were persistent, our allies steadfast, and eventually the Soviets returned to the bargaining table. The result is our INF treaty.

As you see from the map on the screen now, the Soviet missiles, which will be removed and eliminated under the treaty, have been a major threat to the security of our friends and allies on two continents, Europe and Asia. Under the terms of this treaty, we will be eliminating 400 deployed warheads, while the Soviet Union eliminates 1,600, or four times as many. Now, let me also point out that this does not, however, leave NATO unprotected. In fact, we will maintain a substantial deterrent force on the ground, in the air, and at sea. Our commitment to NATO's strategy of being able to respond as necessary to any form of aggression remains steadfast.

And with regard to verification, as I've mentioned, we have the breakthroughs of on-site inspections and short-notice inspections not only at potential missile deployment sites but at the facility where the Soviet SS-20 missiles and their components have been assembled. We have a verification procedure that assures each side that the missiles of the other side have been destroyed and that new ones aren't built.

Here, then, is a treaty that shows how persistence and consistency eventually can pay off in arms negotiations. And let me assure you, too, that this treaty has been

accomplished with unprecedented consultation with our allies and friends. I have spoken personally with the leaders of the major democracies, as has Secretary Shultz and our diplomats. This treaty has full allied support. But if persistence is paying off in our arms reduction efforts, the question of human rights and regional conflicts are still problems in our relations. But I am pleased that some progress has been made in these areas, also.

Now, in addition to these candid exchanges on our four-part agenda, Mr. Gorbachev and I did do some important planning for a Moscow summit next year. We agreed that we must redouble our efforts to reach agreements on reducing the levels of U.S. and Soviet long-range, or strategic, nuclear arms, as I have proposed in the START negotiations. He and I made real progress toward our goal first agreed to at Geneva: to achieve deep, 50-percent cuts in our arsenals of those powerful weapons. We agreed that we should build on our efforts to achieve agreement on a START treaty at the earliest possible date, and we've instructed our delegations in Geneva accordingly.

Now, I believe deep reductions in these offensive weapons, along with the development of SDI, would do much to make the world safer. For that reason, I made it clear that our SDI program will continue and that when we have a defense ready to deploy we will do so.

About the future, Mr. Gorbachev and I also agreed that as nuclear weapons are reduced it becomes all the more important to redress the disparities in conventional and chemical weapons, where the Soviets now enjoy significant advantages over the United States and our allies. I think then from all of this you can see not only the direction of Soviet-American relations but the larger framework of American foreign policy. As I told the British Parliament in 1982, we seek to rid the world of the two great nightmares of the postwar era: the threat of nuclear war and the threat of totalitarianism.

And that's why, by pursuing SDI, which is a defense against offensive missiles, and by going for arms reduction rather than just

arms control, we're moving away from the so-called policy of mutual assured destruction, by which nations hold each other hostage to nuclear terror and destruction. So, too, we are saying that the postwar policy of containment is no longer enough, that the goal of American foreign policy is both world peace and world freedom, that as a people we hope and will work for a day when all of God's children will enjoy the human dignity that their creator intended. I believe we gained some ground with regard to that cause in these last few days.

Since my first days in office, I have argued that the future belongs not to repressive or totalitarian ways of life but to the cause of freedom—freedom of the marketplace, freedom to speak, assemble, and vote. And when we see the progress of democracy in these last years, from Latin America to Asia, we must be optimistic about the future of our children.

When we were together in Iceland, Mr. Gorbachev told me that this sort of talk is sometimes viewed in the Soviet Union as a threat, but I told him then and I have said since then that this is no threat at all but only a dream: the American dream. And it's a dream that has meant so much to so many, a dream that still shines out to the world.

You know, a couple of years ago, Nancy and I were deeply moved by a story told by former New York Times reporter and Greek immigrant Nicholas Gage. It's the story of Eleni, his mother, a woman caught in one of the terrible struggles of the postwar era, the Greek civil war at the end of World War II, a mother who was tried and executed because she smuggled her children out to safety in America.

It is also the story of how her son secretly vowed to return to Greece someday to take vengeance on the man who had sent his mother to her death. But at the end of the story, Nicholas Gage finds he cannot extract the vengeance he promised himself. Mr. Gage writes it would have relieved the pain that had filled him for so many years, but it would also have broken the one bridge still

connecting him to his mother, that part of him most like her. As he tells it: ". . . and her final cry was not a curse on her killers, but an invocation of what she'd died for—a declaration of love." These simple last words of Mr. Gage's mother, of Eleni, were: "My children."

How that cry echoes down through the centuries, a cry for all children of the world, a cry for peace, for a world of love and understanding. And it is the hope of heeding such words—the call for freedom and peace spoken by a chosen people in a promised land, the call spoken by the Nazarene carpenter—Nazarene carpenter, I should say, standing at the Sea of Galilee, the carpenter whose birth into the poverty of a stable we celebrate—it is these words that we remember as the holiday season approaches and we reflect on the events of this week here in Washington.

So, let us remember the children and the future we want for them. And let us never forget that this promise of peace and freedom, the gift that is ours as Americans, the gift that we seek to share with all the world, depends for its strength on the spiritual source from which it comes. So, during this holy season, let us also reflect that in the prayers of simple people there is more power and might than that possessed by all the great statesmen or armies of the Earth. Let us then thank God for all His blessings to this nation, and ask Him for His help and guidance so that we might continue the work of peace and foster the hope of a world where human freedom is enshrined.

To sum up then: This summit was a clear success. We made progress on each item in our four-part agenda. Mr. Gorbachev and I have agreed to meet in several months in Moscow to continue what we've achieved during these past 3 days. I believe there is reason for both hope and optimism.

Note: The President spoke at 9:01 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House. His address was broadcast live on nationwide radio and television.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With News Editors and Broadcasters

December 11, 1987

The President. I think you recognize the gentleman with me, my Chief of Staff, Senator Baker. Well, please be seated. I'm grateful to have this opportunity to speak with you and to answer some of your questions. Having worked as a journalist of sorts—I was a sports broadcaster—I sympathize with what some of you must have been going through, facing a deadline, yet with little information about what was going on behind closed doors. I must believe that what you reported from this summit was some of the best news the American people and our allies have heard in a long time.

The INF agreement signed at this summit will bring about the first mutual reduction in Soviet and American nuclear arsenals ever, and the first step back toward a safer world has been agreed to. The word historic is frequently used in describing the INF agreement, and I know that adjective is overused, but in this case I think it's appropriate. This is the most important action since World War II in reducing the arms race. Instead of trying to put a ceiling on future growth of the number of weapons, both sides are now focused on ways to mutually reduce our nuclear forces. And we're in a better position to make tangible gains in arms reduction than at anytime in the last 40 years.

Of course, arms reduction is only one of several significant areas of discussion between the East and West. For example, I made it clear to the General Secretary that the continuing occupation of Afghanistan undermines the progress that we would like to see between our two countries. I also emphasized that there are people fighting for their freedom in many parts of the world. In Nicaragua, freedom fighters face a Communist Sandinista military machine supportive of the Soviet Union. And now is not the time for Congress to turn away from those who are fighting for freedom.

Similarly, on human rights, I explained how difficult it is for the people of the

Western democracies to have trust in a government that doesn't trust its own people and denies their human rights. So, be assured that General Secretary Gorbachev is aware that forward movement in areas like arms reduction will be helped considerably by the solution of regional conflicts and more respect for human rights.

A moment ago I mentioned the Western democracies. I would like to stress that in preparation for this summit I frequently sought advice and counsel from other Western leaders. And today I've spoken on the telephone with Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister Takeshita to convey my impressions of General Secretary Gorbachev and the summit and to consult on the next steps. And later today I'll be talking with Prime Minister Thatcher and communicating with other key allied leaders. Our allies have been most supportive, and I'm gratified at the unity and responsibility demonstrated by the alliance during the sensitive negotiations we've gone through in the summit and in the weeks and months before the summit.

And now with that said, you have some questions.

Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, Jay Levine, from WLS-TV in Chicago. As we watched General Secretary Gorbachev this week go around the Capital, meet with the people on the street, with reporters, with business groups, we saw one perspective. From your aides and advisers, we hear another perspective: as a tight bargainer as opposed to the polished salesman of himself and his country. Could you tell us, please, from your impression, which is the real Mikhail Gorbachev?

The President. I think they're both real. I think there's been one characteristic of the Russian people that—they have a great similarity to our own people, in sense of humor, in a warmth, and so forth. As a matter of fact, I remember some years ago some scholars on subjects of this kind have

pointed out that many times there is a difference between the people of countries that are large in area and the people in countries of smaller area, that there's a kind of an outgoing bigness about them. So, no, I think he was being perfectly natural, but, yes, he's a hard bargainer. He believes very much in their system and what they're doing. Well, he was born and raised in it.

Q. If I could follow up: The relationship between the two of you also seems to change. From Reykjavik, where it seemed a little bit strained, to this time, it seemed a little more natural. Was that just a general progression of a relationship as people know better, or was there a difference in bargaining?

The President. I think you're taking Reykjavik down to one final hour, because, no, we found that we had quite an open relationship from the very first, in Geneva and in Reykjavik. But in Reykjavik, toward the end of the final session when we thought we had made a great many breakthroughs—then for the first time, an issue was raised by him that just simply halted everything that we thought we had agreed to. And if I seemed a little upset, I was.

Q. Steve Bell, KYW-TV. In your personal relationship, how has it evolved? When you sit down together, do you ever try out new ideas on each other? Do you ever snap at each other?

The President. Well, there have been times when we get kind of forceful—whether we're alone or with our teams around us—when there's a real difference and we're trying to make a point. But for the most part, no, it's as you described it. Yes, we make suggestions and bring up new subjects and so forth. I find it's an entirely different relationship than I had with his predecessors.

Q. Can you give us an example, an anecdote of that relationship?

The President. Well, yes. I have a hobby now of collecting jokes that I can prove are being told among the citizens of the Soviet Union to each other and about their system and so forth. And every once in a while, I find one of them that I think I'll tell him. And so far, I've gotten a belly laugh from both of them that I told him.

Strategic Defense Initiative

Q. I'm Fred Fiske, from the Post Standard, up in Syracuse, New York. In the past, the START talks seem to have been held hostage, if you will, by the SDI, Star Wars, and ABM compliance dispute. Do you feel, as a result of your summit meeting with Mr. Gorbachev, that those obstacles have been reduced or, indeed, eliminated?

The President. We have made great progress in that particular area. As a matter of fact, by agreement, we will go forward with our research and development of SDI completely, with whatever is needed in that development. And then, after a certain point, if and when we have succeeded in putting together this initiative, then we will deploy.

Q. Mr. President—

The President. Wait. I'll get to you next.

Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev

Q. Mr. President, Bill Bevtel, from WABC-TV, in New York. Back to Mr. Gorbachev for a moment. I wonder if you could tell us what he said to you or about the people he met on Connecticut Avenue on the way to the White House yesterday—that he was delayed—

The President. Well, by the time we got here—and we had so many things yet to do in that final session that—no, there wasn't any discussion of that. Some of the television did overhear and carried what I said when he got out of the car a few hours late. I told him I thought he'd gone home. [Laughter] And he laughed. He didn't take any exception to what I had said. But, no, but I think that's rather typical.

Q. If I may follow up on that: Do you take any exception, sir, to the fact that he did that in your city on the way to a meeting with you?

The President. No. Wait until next summer and he sees what I do with his people. [Laughter]

Strategic Defense Initiative

Q. Trudy Reuben, from the Philadelphia Inquirer. To follow up on the SDI question, Mr. President, have the Soviets agreed to drop their objections to the U.S. testing under the broad interpretation of the ABM

Treaty, and was the agreement that you reached a breakthrough? Does the formula resolve the issue, or does it merely postpone it for now?

The President. No, it resolves it—the very fact that we have agreed that we are going forward with whatever is necessary in the research and development without any regard to an interpretation of ABM. On the other hand, we do have an agreement also that there will be a period of time in which both countries have agreed we will continue the ABM, although that does not affect our testing. And actually, that time, we do not believe, represents any undue delay for us because the information we have on the potential possibility or probability of getting SDI is going to take a certain length of time.

Q. I'm John Anderson, from Huntsville Times. Can you categorically say now that Star Wars, or SDI, is no longer any impediment in the START talks, that it's completely put aside?

The President. I don't think there's any impediment there at all. Well, yes, we could have the normal impediment that we have sometimes here in our own circles, that is, if the Congress will be forthcoming on the funds that are needed to proceed as we want to proceed with it.

Q. The Soviets no longer will require SDI to be restricted?

The President. That was eliminated.

Human Rights

Q. Judy Maggio, from KVUE-TV, in Austin. You said last night that some limited movement was made on the human rights issue. Can you talk a little bit more about what slight progress may have been made in those areas?

The President. Well, the progress that we've made so far has led to an increase in the number of actual individuals who have been prevented from getting visas or who are incarcerated. And this is because what we've been following here is a policy of getting at names and creating lists. And we've presented those lists to them as the people that we know about and that we're interested in seeing freed and seeing allowed to emigrate. And they have been forthcoming on that, and that's why there's

been quite an increase. At the same time, we've got a long way to go on this whole matter of total emigration.

But I think, again, the discussions that we've had have, I think, improved the situation, but you have to recognize also that, as I say, he believes in their system and so forth. And since these few days here in Washington, his only experience in the United States—I've issued an invitation for them anytime, please, to come back when—not a summit, but when they can go touring the countryside and see America and get acquainted with it. They don't think they're violating any human rights. They think we are.

But let me take this young lady here, and then back there in the aisle.

Soviet-U.S. Exchange Programs

Q. Mr. President, first of all thank you very much for a very exciting week. Ann Edwards, WKBW Buffalo. Western New York is the home of the Chatauqua Institution, where for the last 3 years we have had private peace initiatives and exchanges with the Soviets. We are going back again next May. How do you view these private peace initiatives following your summit?

The President. Well, not only do we view them well and approve heartily but we have negotiated on that basis and agreed on the subject of more exchanges between our people, wherever possible, and so forth. That, we think, is very, very helpful.

American Hostages in Lebanon

Q. To follow up: Terry Anderson, of Batavia, is a native of western New York. He is a hostage. We've been discussing human rights this week of the Soviet Union. What about the human rights of the American hostages still held in Lebanon?

The President. Well, I can tell you that the fact that you don't hear anything doesn't mean that we're not concerned and not exploring every avenue that we can with regard to getting them back.

Now the gentleman—

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, Bob Lee, from Oakland Communications. Both you and Mr. Gorbachev have spoken about the improved rela-

tionship between the two of you as being one of the benefits of the summit. If that's the case, why not expand upon it and do as you just suggested: meet more often, even when there isn't a treaty signing, or do like you did that morning, pick up the phone and call him more often?

The President. Well, we stay in communication. It doesn't mean now that this has ended and now there will be no relationship until the next summit in Moscow. No. And our teams that are in Geneva are going to continue, now, going forward with the things that were discussed here in 3 days. You can't completely agree on all the things that must be resolved. But we will be going forward in contact with him, but with also our teams working together so that—just as when we came here and found we had a treaty we could sign on the first day. Hopefully, that will take place also.

Q. —telephone as you have with the other world leaders this morning?

The President. What's that?

Q. Will you be talking with him more on the telephone, as you have with other world leaders this morning?

The President. I think so, yes. When there's a need or an occasion for it. You bet we will.

Chemical Weapons

Q. Mr. President, Jeff Marx, from Lexington, Kentucky. We've heard a lot about nuclear weapons. Can you tell us a little bit about what has been done this week with chemical weapons and where you see that heading?

The President. I think one of the most hopeful signs is that he, not me, was the first one to bring up conventional weapons and chemical warfare as something that we had to resolve and go forward with further reductions in those weapons. He wants reduction in arms all the way across the board.

Q. What specifically did you discuss on chemical weapons, and where do you go from there?

The President. Well, as I say, he brought that up as a part of the subject that we've got to go forward with as—right, and specifically we're going on the—as I say, the nuclear weapons, because these are the things

we've been discussing. But he made it plain that he doesn't want to stop there. He wants arms reduction, period.

In the back.

Soviet-U.S. Relations

Q. Mr. President, Joseph Day, from WNEV in Boston. The American people know you very well, but they don't know Mr. Gorbachev very well. And you know him better than anybody else.

The President. Yes.

Q. Do you believe he's a good man, and do you completely trust him?

The President. That's a difficult question to answer, because, as I say, there was a certain chemistry between us. On the other hand, I think I've been involved in the Communist situation long before I was in this office. I was once president of the union in the motion picture industry in a period in which, immediately after the war, the Soviet Union, through their local chapters here in our country, were doing their best to infiltrate and gain control over that industry, which could be such a propaganda machine. And so, I have to say that, yes, there is a chemistry and all of that; but I repeatedly used their own language to them, and still do, with regard to any of these issues: *Dovorey no provorey*—trust but verify.

Q. Mr. President—could I follow on that, Mr. President? Christopher Jones, from Fox Television in New York. You have described in the past the Soviet Union as an evil empire, and you've said that communism would be swept into the dustpan of history. Do you still feel that way?

The President. Well, I think the very situation that has, in a way, helped bring about these meetings, an agreement with regard to arms, has been the enormous economic problem that he, as the new leader of the Soviet Union, is faced with. And his own proposals and—about which he's running into some opposition in his own country for *glasnost*, for an opening of his society—is an indication with regard to whether that system, as it has been in the past, can continue without winding up in the dustbin of history. That's true.

On the other fact—or on the other hand,

with regard to the evil empire, I meant it when I said it, because under previous leaders they have made it evident that they were based—or their program was based on expansionism, on going forward toward the Marxian philosophy of the one-world Communist state. All of those things were true.

The first day I ever stood here in a press conference with our own press people in Washington, they—most of them—they've cited what I said about no morality unless it furthered the cause of socialism, but they forgot it was answering a question about how could they be trusted. And it was true that there was a philosophy then, under the previous leaders, that there was no immorality in anything that furthered the cause of socialism, therefore permitting themselves to violate trust, to lie, and so forth. There seems to be an entirely different relationship.

INF Treaty

Q. Kris Allen, from WITF-FM in Harrisburg. Mr. President, doesn't the verification process provided in the INF treaty leave more than 90 percent of the Soviet Union off limits to U.S. inspectors? And doesn't that leave a lot of room for cheating? And are you concerned about that possibility?

The President. You always have to be concerned about that, just as I'm sure they are, too. But never have we ever had an agreement that had the verification principles that are embodied in this agreement, on the INF agreement. They will have people at the assembly plant for that type of weapon in our country for 13 years, and we will have people there. We will have the ability to stop a weapon coming out of the plant, have the hood removed, and count the number of warheads that it contains to see that it is meeting the requirements. We've agreed in both cases for on-spot checks, in which in addition to these permanent things that we have, that if we have some suspicion or get some hint that something is going on, we can go in, like that, to that particular area, wherever it might be, to check on it. And they can do likewise.

Q. Mr. President, Richard Lessner of the Arizona Republic. Sir, you placed great emphasis on these rigorous and intrusive verification procedures, yet short of withdrawal

from the treaty, there's no specific provision for compensatory or penalties should the Soviets be found cheating. Now, you abrogated SALT II on the basis of Soviet cheating. Would you favor and support doing the same thing with the INF if they're found to be cheating? Or should the Senate attach specific penalties should the Soviets be found to be cheating on INF?

The President. No, I think that we would have to face that problem and take up that issue when it happened—as to what our course would be. And with regard to SALT II, you remember, we're talking about something—there was a treaty that was never ratified, that was then a kind of an agreement between the two that, well, they'd go ahead and try to stay within the parameters of what the treaty would have called for had it been ratified.

Q. Do you not believe then that the treaty should have some penalty provision short of abrogation or total withdrawal?

The President. Well, I think those are things, as I say, that should be considered and action taken that would be appropriate to whatever the violation was.

Q. Mr. President, I'm John Kimelman. I'm with the Charleston Daily Mail. What do you think of some kind of Senate amendment or reservation that would have the effect of setting a timetable on withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan? And do you think it might have the effect of killing the whole treaty?

The President. Wait a minute. Could you briefly repeat there, because I thought I'd been pointing at somebody else? But I'll take your question.

Q. What do you think of some kind of Senate reservation that would have the effect of setting a timetable on the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan? And do you think that a Senate action of that kind would have the effect of killing the treaty altogether?

The President. Well, no, this is something that we have underway in negotiation. And he has made it plain that he really does want to withdraw, and he would do that within a 12-month period, at the most. And, yes, he has some concerns then about our continued support to the Mujahidin.

I related to him what our concern is: that anything that—well, it's very similar to Nicaragua—anything that would force us to weaken the freedom fighters in either country at the same time that the governments of those two countries have a military. The Afghan army—it's not only the Soviets that have been fighting. The Afghans have an army in that puppet government. The Sandinistas have a military even while they're pleading and demanding that the *contras* should disarm themselves.

And I in turn have made it plain to them that there's no way that we could create such an imbalance, that what we must have is an agreement that sees the ability of the people in each country and on both sides to come together, and the people of that country decide on the kind of government they want, and a neutral government.

Q. Would you ask for the Senate not to attach any kind of reservation and kind of queer the deal, so to speak?

The President. I wouldn't like to see the Senate start amending this that would have to bring us back into negotiations of a treaty that is already resolved and, we believe, is probably really an historic event and the most forward thing that has happened between our two countries in the last 40 years. And, as I say, these other things are still—they're not in a part of a treaty. They're part of the continuing negotiations.

Q. Mr. President—

The President. You're the one I was pointing to.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President. Ken Decoster, WROK in Rockford, Illinois. You characterized the successful signing of the INF agreement as one of the most important actions concerning nuclear weapons since World War II. If I could ask you to speak personally, how do you characterize this successful agreement as far as your accomplishments in office since 1980?

The President. Well, I'm very pleased that it happened, because for a number of years, before I ever got here, I have been concerned about the very presence of nuclear weapons. And to hear this man now, without any urging from me, express his wish that we could totally eliminate nuclear weapons because of the threat they repre-

sent—and he quoted back to me a line that I used as long ago as 1982 in speaking to some foreign parliaments, such as the British and the Japanese, and that is: A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.

Q. Mr. President, is this the most important part of the Reagan—

The President. He wants to follow up.

The President's Legacy

Q. Is this the most important aspect of the Reagan legacy? One hundred years from now, will we look back and see Ronald Reagan improved relations with the Soviets?

The President. I don't expect to be looking back 100 years from now. [Laughter] And I don't know whether that's the most important or not. I think that it's kind of important that for the last couple of years the battle going on in Congress between our two parties has not been a battle of how big will the new spending programs be, but a battle between what method we should take to eliminate the deficit. And I think that's kind of a step forward.

Q. Mr. President—

Ms. Board. One last question.

Cuban Immigration Into Florida

Q. Jan Fisher, WTBJ in Miami. We, too, in south Florida are a little concerned about the Communist influence in our back door. Recently we have normalized relations with—well, not normalized, but relaxed immigration policies with Cuba. What would you have to say to the folks in south Florida about all of this at this point?

The President. Well, having been a Governor of a State myself and believing in federalism, I have to say that there are many things that I believe are rights that belong to the States and the local communities. And in fact, I am trying to have the Federal Government give back more authority to the States. I could quote Franklin Delano Roosevelt from his 1932 campaign for the Presidency—and I was old enough that I was voting then, and did vote for him. But he said that one of his goals was to restore to the States and the local communities the rights that had been unjustly seized

by the Federal Government. So, whatever they want to do on that—but I do believe this: that there is no question but that Cuba is totally dedicated to the Communist cause and to that philosophy.

Q. A followup, sir, if I could: With the number of Cubans we expect to be coming into south Florida, there are real and severe economic concerns about how we can cope with 100,000 more folks coming into our area. Does the Federal Government have any plan at this point to help out with the city of Miami and Dade County?

The President. Well, we've been doing things of that kind and helped, and that's involved in our immigration plan. But again, I have to say that—because as a Governor I found so many times that when the Federal Government tried to help it couldn't do as well as the State could have done if we had been left alone. So, I am not going to make a snap answer here.

Elizabeth, there was one question I did want to take from the lady back here in the aisle, if I could. And I am cheating on Elizabeth here. She's told me my time is up.

U.S. Embassy Security

Q. I am Joyce Catt, WBUT News. In view of the verification terms, will the security of our vital defense systems become vulnerable? And also, at the next proposed summit in Moscow, what's the status of bugged American Embassy?

The President. They know very well how we feel about that. And we are going forward with clearing up our Embassies, and they won't be beset with the build-in bugs and so forth from here on. We've just simply declared what we are going to do in that regard. And the first part of your question was?

NATO Security Interests

Q. In view of the verification terms, will any of our vital defense—

The President. Oh, let me just say I know there has been concern about that, and believe me, that is all taken under consideration—for example, this matter in our position and where our frontline is in NATO, the people that have been concerned that somehow in this treaty we've weakened NATO because of the superiority of the

Soviet Union in their conventional weapons.

No, we've still thousands, literally, of warheads on that front, which alleviate that difference between us. And it's true they have several times as many tanks and artillery pieces and so forth as NATO does. But tactical battlefield nuclear weapons have evened up that competition. And I can tell you now that it has always been our intention, and will continue to be, that before anything is done about those weapons there will have to be a parity achieved in arms reduction in the conventional state. And that's why we were so pleased when he himself volunteered his willingness that we should have equalizing and reduction of conventional weapons.

No, our security has not been threatened or eliminated in any way. As a matter of fact, the weapons that have been destroyed—four to one—they are destroying four times as many, as I said.

Cuban Inmate Riots

Q. To follow up on an earlier question—I'm Ken Watts, WAGA in Atlanta. We've learned today that on November 24th you signed an Executive order regarding the use of Federal troops at the Atlanta pen during the Cuban uprising. Could you explain that order and exactly what those troops would have been authorized to do by order?

The President. Very quietly, I issued an order that troops could be made available only on the basis to be used if it was necessary to save human life. And they quietly moved in. There was no great fuss about it, but they were available if they were needed to protect human life. And that was the total extent of the order.

Ms. Board. Thank you very much.

The President. I have to get along with her.

Ms. Board. He has some phone calls to make.

The President. Yes, starting with Margaret Thatcher.

Ms. Board. That's right. You don't want to keep her waiting.

Soviet-U.S. Summit Meeting

Q. Do you think we have won this round,

Mr. President?

The President. What?

Q. Do you think we have won this round?

The President. I think the people of both countries won this round.

Q. —regarding the Jewish people. Also, how are you going to keep up the pressure.

The President. We are keeping it up, be-

cause we never have let it go down. And we are going to continue.

Note: The President spoke at 12:01 p.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. Elizabeth I. Board was Special Assistant to the President for Media and Broadcast Relations.

Nomination of Hershey Gold To Be a Member of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy

December 11, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Hershey Gold to be a member of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy for a term expiring July 1, 1990. This is a reappointment.

Since 1978 Mr. Gold has been chairman

of the board of Super Yarn Mart in Los Angeles, CA, and president from 1955 to 1978.

Mr. Gold was born August 21, 1920, in Chicago, IL. He is married, has two children, and resides in Beverly Hills, CA.

Nomination of Susan Wing To Be a Member of the Federal Communications Commission

December 11, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Susan Wing to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission for the remainder of the term expiring June 30, 1988, she would succeed Mary Ann Weyforth Dawson, and for an additional term of 5 years from July 1, 1988. This is a reappointment.

Since 1979 Mrs. Wing has been an attorney with Hogan & Hartson in Washington, DC. Prior to this she was executive assistant to the Director for the Council on Wage and Price Stability in Washington, DC, 1976–1978. Mrs. Wing was Special Assistant

to the Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs at the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington, DC, 1973–1976. She was creative director for S.P. Wright Advertising in Springfield, IL, 1972–1973. From 1969 to 1972, she was press assistant to Illinois Governor Richard B. Ogilvie in Springfield.

Mrs. Wing graduated from Spring Hill College (B.A., 1969), Sangamon State University (M.A., 1969), and Georgetown University Law Center (J.D., 1978). She was born January 28, 1947, in Dallas, TX. She is married and resides in Bethesda, MD.

Proclamation 5753—National Drunk and Drugged Driving
Awareness Week, 1987
December 11, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

During the past 5 years, thousands of dedicated citizen volunteers throughout our Nation have taken part in the programs and activities of National Drunk and Drugged Driving Awareness Week. These efforts just before the holiday season have proven enormously successful in increasing public awareness of the dangers of driving while impaired by alcohol or drugs. As the 1987 holiday season approaches, we need to focus once again on the terrible cost in human lives and suffering caused by drunk and drugged driving.

Although alcohol is still involved in more than half of all highway deaths, we are beginning to see signs of real progress in our battle against drunk driving. In 1986, 41 percent of the total traffic fatalities throughout our Nation involved at least one driver or pedestrian who was intoxicated, down from 46 percent in 1982. During the same period, the proportion of intoxicated teenaged drivers involved in fatal crashes dropped from 28 percent to 21 percent, the largest decrease for any driver age group. This is progress, but our battle is far from over. If we hope to realize our goal of eliminating intoxicated drivers from our streets and highways, we must continue the positive momentum of the last few years and resolve to do even more in the future.

Each of us can help reduce the senseless carnage on our highways by refusing to tolerate drunk and drugged driving and by becoming more aware of what can and ought to be done. We must insist upon efficient and effective criminal justice, find improved ways to detect and stop impaired drivers before a crash occurs, and increase our willingness to communicate our concerns to friends and family.

Of increasing concern is the combination of alcohol and drugs and its impact on the incidence of motor vehicle crashes. We should all be aware that driving after the use of drugs—including prescription and over-the-counter drugs—may create safety hazards on our roads and highways, and that combining drugs with alcohol increases these hazards.

In order to encourage citizen involvement in prevention efforts and to increase awareness of the seriousness of the threat to our lives and safety, the Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 136, has designated the week of December 13 through December 19, 1987, as “National Drunk and Drugged Driving Awareness Week” and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this week.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week of December 13 through December 19, 1987, as National Drunk and Drugged Driving Awareness Week. I ask all Americans to show concern and not to drink or take drugs and drive or to permit others to do so. I also call upon public officials at all levels and all interested citizens and groups to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities in reaffirmation of our commitment to refuse to tolerate drunk and drugged driving.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 11th day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:12 a.m., December 14, 1987]

Nomination of J. Wade Gilley To Be a Member of the National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement *December 11, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate J. Wade Gilley to be a member of the National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement for a term expiring September 30, 1990. He would succeed Gwyneth Gayman.

Since 1981 Mr. Gilley has been senior vice president for George Mason University in Fairfax, VA. Prior to this he was secre-

tary of education for the State of Virginia, 1978–1981. Mr. Gilley was president and professor of engineering for Bluefield State College in West Virginia, 1975–1978.

Mr. Gilley graduated from Virginia Polytechnic Institute (B.S., 1961; M.S., 1964; Ph.D., 1966). He was born August 15, 1938, in Fries, VA. Mr. Gilley is married, and has two children, and resides in Vienna, VA.

Appointment of Warren Keating Hendriks, Jr., as a Member of the Advisory Committee on Federal Pay *December 11, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint Warren Keating Hendriks, Jr., to be member of the Advisory Committee on Federal Pay for the remainder of the term expiring January 20, 1988, he would succeed Frank G. Zarb, and for a term expiring January 20, 1994. This is a reappointment.

Since 1977 Mr. Hendriks has been vice president for corporate relations at Aon Corp. in Evanston, IL. Prior to this he served for 7 years in various capacities on the White House staff during the administration of Presidents Nixon and Ford. He

was Special Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Presidential Spokesmen at the White House, Washington, DC, 1975–1976, and Associate Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Intergovernmental Relations for the Domestic Council, 1973–1975. Prior to those positions, he was the Deputy to the Director and Staff Secretary of the Council.

Mr. Hendriks graduated from Rippon College (B.A., 1963). He served in the U.S. Army, 1963–1969. Mr. Hendriks was born October 14, 1941, in Chicago, IL. He has two children and resides in Evanston, IL.

Appointment of Gloria Sherwood as a Member of the Federal Council on the Aging *December 11, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to appoint Gloria Sherwood to be a member of the Federal Council on the Aging for a term of 3 years. She would succeed Nelda Ann Barton.

Since 1979 Ms. Sherwood has been manager for the residential leasing department at Merrill Lynch Realty Co. in Beverly

Hills, CA, and is currently a psychotherapist at the Beverly Hills Mental Health Center. She joined Merrill Lynch Realty in 1976 and has served in various capacities: salesperson, leasing manager, vice president in the Merrill Lynch Co., and associate manager.

Ms. Sherwood graduated from UCLA

(B.A., 1958) and the California Family Study Center (M.A., 1986). Ms. Sherwood was born December 15, 1936, in Los Angeles.

She has three children and resides in Beverly Hills, CA.

Nomination of Frank G. Zarb To Be a Director of the Securities Investor Protection Corporation

December 11, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Frank G. Zarb to be a Director of the Securities Investor Protection Corporation for a term expiring December 31, 1989. He would succeed James W. Fuller.

Since 1978 Mr. Zarb has been a senior partner with Lazard Freres and Company in New York, NY. Prior to this, he served concurrently as Administrator for the Federal Energy Administration in Washington, DC, 1974–1977; Executive Director of the Energy Resources Council; and Assistant to the President of the United States for

Energy Affairs, 1974–1977. Mr. Zarb was Associate Director of the Office of Management and Budget in Washington, DC, 1973–1974. He also served as Assistant Secretary at the Department of Labor in Washington, DC, 1971–1972.

Mr. Zarb graduated from Hofstra University (B.B.A., 1957; M.B.A., 1961). He was born February 17, 1935, in Brooklyn, NY. He served in the U.S. Army, 1957, and the U.S. Army Reserve, 1957–1964. Mr. Zarb is married, has two children, and resides in New York, NY.

Radio Address to the Nation Following the Soviet-United States Summit Meeting

December 12, 1987

My fellow Americans:

As you know, we had an important visitor in Washington this week. General Secretary Gorbachev was in town for only 3 days, but though our time was short, we accomplished much. Now, with all the reports of INF, ICBM's, and SDI you've been hearing the last few days, I wouldn't be surprised if some people are a little bit confused by all those letters—sounds like alphabet soup. So, let me just begin by trying to put all this into English that everybody can understand.

INF stands for intermediate-range nuclear forces. They include nuclear missiles deployed in the Soviet Union and Europe. When the Soviets first started deploying new INF missiles in the 1970's, the triple-warhead SS-20's, they represented a totally new nuclear threat to our friends in Europe

and Asia for which we had no comparable counter. In response, despite intense pressure exerted by the Soviet Union in Europe, NATO decided in 1979 that we would deploy a limited number of comparable missiles and, at the same time, push hard in negotiations to do away with this new nuclear threat.

In 1981 I first proposed what would come to be called the zero option. It called for the complete elimination of these U.S. and Soviet missiles on both sides. The Soviets stonewalled. At first, many called it a mere propaganda ploy—some even here in this country—but we were patient and persistent.

For the first time in history, in the treaty that General Secretary Gorbachev and I just signed, arms control has been replaced by arms reduction. Well, actually, I should

say arms elimination, because with this treaty an entire class of INF missiles, both U.S. and Soviet, will be destroyed. Now, the Soviets presently have many more INF missiles than we do, so they'll be destroying some 1,600 deployed warheads, while we destroy about 400. Now that the treaty has been signed, it will be submitted to the Senate for the next step: the ratification process. I met with the leadership of Congress yesterday morning, and I am confident that the Senate will now act in an expeditious way to fulfill its duty under our Constitution. So, I hope in the near future INF will be one part of the alphabet soup you won't have to remember.

Other letters you'll hear more about are START, strategic arms reduction talks, because we've made progress toward 50-percent reductions in strategic nuclear arsenals. This could be another historic achievement, provided the Soviets don't try to hold it hostage to restrictions on SDI. SDI stands for our Strategic Defense Initiative, the high-tech defense we're investigating to protect America and its allies against ballistic missile attack.

When I met with General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva in 1985 and in Reykjavik, Iceland, last year, he exerted every bit of pressure he could to try to make us give up SDI. Well, I, of course, had to disappoint him each time. Building a defense against nuclear weapons is a moral as well as strategic imperative, and we will never give it up. Our bottom line on SDI is simple: We will research it; we will test it. And when it is ready, we will deploy it.

The Soviets have persisted in efforts to

limit our vital testing in this area. But providing a strategic defense is too important to restrict the promise it holds for future generations. Defense, not just offense—that is the promise SDI holds. The fact is—and I'm afraid most of us in this country aren't fully aware of this fact—the United States presently has to rely on a policy in which our nations hold each other hostage to nuclear terror and destruction. This is an intolerable situation. We will move forward with SDI; it is our moral duty.

Now, I don't want you to think that this summit was taken up exclusively with arms reduction. I talked extensively with Mr. Gorbachev about our insistence that his policy of *glasnost* become more than a slogan, that we begin to see real progress on human rights. As I emphasized to Mr. Gorbachev, nothing would convince us of the sincerity of *glasnost* so much as seeing progress in emigration, release of political prisoners, and allowing his people their most basic right to worship their Maker in peace, free of fear.

Finally, we talked directly about regional issues such as Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq, Angola, Cambodia, and Nicaragua. We stressed the urgency of action between our two countries in order to bring more cooperation to our efforts to resolve these conflicts on terms that promote peace and freedom. So, we have a long road to travel. But we've taken important steps, and with your help we'll make that journey.

Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from Camp David, MD.

Remarks to the Board of Trustees of the Center for Strategic and International Studies

December 14, 1987

It's an honor to address the Center for Strategic and International Studies, all the more so in this, your 25th anniversary year. During this past quarter of a century, CSIS has brought to bear upon our national secu-

rity policy an extraordinary array of intelligence and insight, drawing from the academic, diplomatic, and business worlds alike. Always you've taken the high ground—intellectually and morally. Always

you've insisted upon bipartisanship, stressing that any successful foreign policy must be built, not upon a Republican or Democratic consensus but upon an American consensus.

In fact, coming here today to discuss arms reductions before you who are so expert in this area—well, would you be surprised to hear that it reminds me of a story? [*Laughter*] The story has to do with a fellow who finally passed away and arrived at the gates of Heaven. And Saint Peter was making him welcome, and he said, "You know, you're the most recent arrival from Earth." And he said, "The people who have been up here for a while like to hear about things down there. Would you perhaps have anything?" "Oh," the man said, "Would I!" He said, "I was the only living survivor of the Johnstown flood for many years." And he said, "Having that distinction, I was out traveling and making after-lunch and after-dinner speeches all over the country telling about the horrors of the flood and how powerful it was and all this." And he said, "I'm sure they'd be interested." "Oh," Saint Peter said, "I'm sure they would." So, he found himself before a gathering, and Saint Peter introduced him—didn't give away his subject, but said he had great word about an exciting happening down on Earth and so forth, and then introduced him. And as he stepped up to the podium, Saint Peter retreated past him. Saint Peter said, "That fellow with the beard in the aisle seat, second row—his name is Noah." [*Laughter*]

It goes without saying that the Nation owes each of you a profound debt of gratitude. And if I may, I'd like to add a special word of thanks to one who, during his term as your president, has served this institution and the Nation itself, untiringly. Joe Jordan, would you please stand? And to another of your number, one to whom we owe gratitude as a founder of this institution, one to whom we all extend our best wishes as he prepares to become your new president—former NATO Ambassador and my former Special Counsellor, David Abshire, would you rise? And I am also pleased to see in the audience my former National Security Adviser, Bud McFarlane.

A moment ago, I spoke of the need to base our policy upon an American consen-

sus, upon an agreement about our nation's aims in the world that is not sectional nor partisan, but truly rooted in the will and values of the American people themselves. Certain aspects of this consensus we're privileged to have handed down to us by our founders—above all, our love of peace and our fierce attachment to freedom; freedom not for ourselves alone, but in Lincoln's words: "The hope, too, that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men."

Yet, as for a consensus on the specific policy means by which these American values are to be carried into action, that policy consensus is one that, with each major development in our foreign affairs, we must build for ourselves. So, I come to you today. The treaty that General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed last week represents, as you've been told, a landmark achievement and an important step toward a safer world. But there's promise of still greater progress in bolstering our security and in putting East-West relations on a sounder footing. And I want, as well, to share some thoughts on this.

First, however, the historic INF treaty itself. Each of you, of course, knows the background from the last decade and this. But permit me to repeat it briefly, for there are vital points to be made. It was in 1977 that the Soviet Union first deployed the SS-20. This was not another short-range tactical weapon similar to those already in the theater inventories, intended for limited battlefield use. Neither was it another long-range intercontinental weapon like those already possessed by the Soviet Union and the United States. The SS-20 was a new and threatening intermediate-range nuclear missile capable of striking targets in Asia and anywhere in Western Europe after minutes of launch, much more capable and sophisticated than its predecessors. NATO had in the field no similar weapon to counterbalance this new threat. Still, the Soviets continued to deploy these new weapons. By 1979 they had deployed some 130 INF missiles with some 390 warheads; by 1982, over 300 missiles with more than 900 warheads. For our friends and allies in Europe and Asia, these missiles represented a massive

and totally new dimension of threat.

And this brings me to my first point: The INF treaty that Mr. Gorbachev and I signed is not intended to achieve some kind of superficial shuffling of the superpower arsenals, some sort of rearrangement of the pieces on a chessboard. All the talk of numbers, numbers, numbers in recent days might quite naturally have led people to feel this. Yet we must remind ourselves that what the treaty will accomplish is, if you will, something entirely real: Not the rearrangement of numbers, but the elimination of a grave danger to our NATO allies and our own troops in Europe and to our friends and allies in Asia.

We all remember that it was Chancellor Helmut Schmidt who led the NATO call to counter this new threat. And at a meeting in 1979, NATO made its famous two-track decision. Track one: Deploy a limited number of our own INF missiles. Track two: Use the unity and strength that NATO's own deployment would demonstrate to bring the Soviets to the bargaining table.

Never was the aim of this NATO decision the permanent deployment of American INF missiles. Always the American deployment was understood as the means to an end. Giscard D'Estaing, President of France at the time of the 1979 NATO decision, recently wrote that: "The deployment was a tactical exercise, whose preferred goal was to compel the Soviet Union to eliminate the SS-20's."

Well, no doubt the Soviets intended to test NATO's resolve. And to be sure, the deployment of our Pershing II and ground-launched cruise missiles had to be carried out in the face of sharp protest, even mass demonstrations. I remember speaking in Bonn in 1982. Across a river, thousands of demonstrators chanted and marched. And I couldn't help thinking: What irony. For it was to secure the peace they sought that NATO decided to deploy the missiles they protested, and missiles such as they protested helped ensure their very freedom to protest. Yet NATO held fast. The deployment of our missiles commenced. And yes, it was when we showed strength, when it became clear that we would not be intimidated—only after this had taken place did the Soviets finally begin to negotiate in ear-

nest. The INF treaty represents the culmination—the historic culmination—of that long and arduous process. A first step—and a critical one—toward building a more durable peace.

Two final points about the process itself: First, as will be clear from all I just described—I shuffled my notes up here pretty good. If I get off track, I will have to stop and tell another story. [Laughter] As will be clear from all I just described, this was not only an American effort but truly a Western effort. NATO had said from the first that we should be prepared to halt, modify, or reverse NATO deployments if the Soviets would eliminate the SS-20 threat. At all NATO ministerial meetings since 1980, foreign and defense ministers have endorsed American efforts toward reaching a treaty, including our putting forward the zero-option proposal. And at a number of points during this process, our allies have asked that we alter or reshape our negotiating stance. And we did so. Our allies have been with us throughout, and we've been with them.

Second, the NATO treaty will leave NATO—the treaty, I should say, will leave NATO with an effective nuclear deterrent, just as we had before the first Soviet SS-20 deployment in 1977. In the final communique at their meetings this month, NATO defense ministers, the very officials charged with ensuring allied security, stated that the treaty "has been made possible by the determination and solidarity of the allied governments over the years. We look forward to the prospect of the INF treaty being signed and ratified in the near future." And Prime Minister Thatcher called the treaty—and I quote her own inimitable words—"a marvelous Christmas present, an extra piece of good will and a lovely way to end the year."

Well, given that the treaty accomplishes NATO aims and has the firm support of our NATO allies, but more important, given our duty to build a safer peace as we work to expand freedom, how can we fail in the end to hail this treaty as an historic achievement? No one thought before that first deployment that NATO had been "denuclearized." No one then believed that the United

States and Western Europe had been in any way been “decoupled.” Neither, then, can these charges be leveled against this treaty.

I know that some in Europe and in the United States, perhaps some in this room, view the treaty with anxiety. I welcome the Senate ratification hearings as a forum in which every concern arising from the treaty can be examined. I am convinced that simply by following their own course the hearings will lay anxieties to rest and help to build up the needed consensus. In the meantime, permit me to lay before you some considerations which I believe should form a major part of this dialog.

Over 3 years, we and the Soviets will completely eliminate all our INF missiles, the Soviets eliminating about four times as many deployed warheads as will the United States. The Soviets will dismantle not only their SS-20's and SS-4's but also their shorter range ballistic missiles, the SS-12's and SS-23's. These shorter range missiles can be used with chemical and improved conventional warheads and aimed at NATO military targets; in particular, those ports, depots, and airfields crucial to NATO's reinforcement plan. Thus, in 3 years there will be no U.S. or Soviet INF missiles in Europe, none in Asia, none on Earth. An entire class of nuclear weapons will be gone.

The verification regime will be the most stringent in the history of arms control negotiations, with far-reaching implications. For the first time, the Soviets will permit onsite inspections, including inspections at short notice—our ability to simply think or suspect something and say we're coming over. And they can do the same to us. It's a remarkable breakthrough in itself. What we have here, then, is a new departure in East-West relations—an effective, verifiable treaty that will lead, not just to arms control but to the first nuclear arms reductions in history. Chancellor Kohl has called the INF treaty—and I'll quote him—“a great success for the Atlantic alliance.”

Well, join me now in looking beyond the treaty, in considering our treaty for the future. It's clear, to begin with, that maintaining the strength of the alliance is essential. For our part, let me assure you that we'll keep our American servicemen stationed in Western Europe. And let me ask,

what more convincing form of “coupling” could there be than these hundreds of thousands of Americans and their dependents living and working among our European allies? Furthermore, let there be no doubt our commitment to the NATO strategy of flexible response will remain steadfast, assuring that aggression at any level cannot be successful. Specifically, we'll retain a modern nuclear deterrent on the ground, in the air, and at sea. Our commitment to NATO's permanent readiness to respond as necessary to any form of aggression also remains steadfast.

As you know, we're doing all we can to go on diminishing the nuclear threat. Above all, I'm pressing ahead for an effectively verifiable START treaty, reducing U.S. and Soviet strategic arms by 50 percent. And during the just-completed summit further concrete progress was made in this regard. As another vital component of our strategy for a safer future, we'll continue to move forward with our SDI program. As I said last Thursday in my address to the Nation, when we have a strategic defense ready to deploy, we will do so.

That, then, is the American position. With regard to our allies, in recent years we've seen the emergence of a willingness to seek a larger, more closely coordinated role for Western Europe within the broader framework of the alliance. We have seen, for example, the issuing of the Western European Union Proclamation on European Security, Franco-German defense cooperation, and steps by the United Kingdom and France to modernize their independent nuclear deterrence.

Well, we welcome this. Indeed, I would point out that while—from 1981 to early 1986—the Soviets made it a condition of any INF agreement that French and British nuclear forces be included, we adamantly and successfully resisted this demand. We said there was no way, that we couldn't negotiate for our allies. As I said earlier this year at West Point, for these four decades, NATO has too often seemed an alliance between a number of partners and one very senior partner. Well, now the alliance must become more and more an alliance among equals; indeed, an alliance between two

continents.

In the words of a member of your board of trustees, Henry Kissinger, the United States must—and I'll quote—"welcome a European identity in defense, which in the end is bound to spur Atlantic cooperation." It'll be in this spirit that we and our allies will soon go forward to negotiate with the East on redressing the imbalances in conventional forces in Europe, while, of course, taking the steps we need to strengthen our own conventional forces. And we attach a similar high priority to redressing—again, both through negotiations and our own force modernization—the imbalance of chemical weapons which, at present, favors the Soviet Union. And we're acting here with a clear understanding that these imbalances must be addressed prior to any further reductions in the nuclear forces committed to NATO.

While I've spoken today almost exclusively about arms reductions, I want to emphasize the Soviet relationship involves far more—that arms reductions represent only one point of the four-part agenda we adopted for Geneva, Reykjavik, and Washington, and that we will insist on in Moscow as well. The other three points: genuine cooperation on bilateral matters; solid and lasting improvements on human rights; and as for regional conflicts, an end to Soviet

efforts around the world to impose totalitarian regimes by force.

Unity, strength, persistence, and consistency—these are the lessons of the INF negotiations, and they must form the basis on which we and our allies go on to new negotiations. Yet at the same time that we insist upon candor and realism—insist, if you will, upon keeping our feet firmly planted on the ground—let us not be afraid to dream and to let our hearts soar. "Do not mock our dreamers," Heinrich Heine has written. "Their words become the seeds of freedom." Who, indeed, would have thought during the difficult years of the late seventies and early eighties—during nuclear freeze protests here at home and mass demonstrations in Europe—who would have thought that a treaty like the one Mr. Gorbachev and I signed last week would ever be achieved?

So, yes, let us think realistically, but let us dream great dreams. And let us remember that perhaps the most fundamental consensus about our nation's role in the world is this: As Americans, it is our duty to ensure the peace while we work untiringly for freedom. Thank you. God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 11:07 a.m. in the Wadsworth Room at the International Club.

Appointment of Charles Nicholas Rostow as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

December 14, 1987

The President today announced the appointment of Charles Nicholas Rostow as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs at the White House. He will also serve as Legal Adviser to the National Security Council. Mr. Rostow will succeed Paul Stevens.

Since March 1987 Mr. Rostow has been Deputy Legal Adviser to the National Security Council. Formerly associated with the firm of Shearman & Sterling in New York City, Mr. Rostow served from July 1985 to March 1987 as special assistant to the Legal

Adviser of the Department of State. During this period he also served as Counsel to the President's Special Review Board, chaired by former Senator John Tower.

Mr. Rostow is a member of the New York State bar. He graduated summa cum laude from Yale University (B.A., 1972) and the Yale University Law School (J.D., 1982). In 1979 he also received a Ph.D. in history from Yale University. He is married to the former Ariana van der Heyden White and currently resides in Washington, DC.

Designation of Murray P. Hayutin as Chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation

December 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to designate Murray P. Hayutin to be Chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation.

Since 1969 Mr. Hayutin has been president of Reichart-Silversmith, Inc., in Denver, CO.

Mr. Hayutin graduated from Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania (B.S., 1959) and the University of Denver (M.B.A., 1963). He was born October 17, 1937, in Denver, CO. He is married, has two children, and resides in Littleton, CO.

Appointment of Myron J. Mintz as a Member of the Advisory Committee to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation

December 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Myron J. Mintz to be a member of the Advisory Committee to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation for a term expiring February 19, 1990. He would succeed Joseph Geronimo.

Since 1975 Mr. Mintz has been senior partner and chairman of the tax department for Dickstein, Shapiro & Morin in Washington, DC. He has been with this firm since 1973. Prior to this Mr. Mintz was Assistant General Counsel for the Cost of

Living Council for the Executive Office of the President in Washington, DC, 1971-1973. He was an attorney with Dow, Lohnes and Albertson, 1970-1971; and an attorney-adviser to Judge Bruce M. Forrester, United States Tax Court, 1968-1970.

Mr. Mintz graduated from Temple University (B.S., 1961; J.D., 1968). He was born October 29, 1940, in Philadelphia, PA. Mr. Mintz served in the U.S. Air Force Reserve, 1961-1967. He is married, has two children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Nomination of Jay Kenneth Katzen To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the African Development Foundation, and Designation as Vice Chairperson

December 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jay Kenneth Katzen to be a member of the Board of Directors of the African Development Foundation for the remainder of the term expiring February 9, 1990. He would succeed Milton Frank. Upon confirmation, he will be designated Vice Chairperson.

Since 1984 Mr. Katzen has been a foreign affairs consultant in Washington, DC. He currently is a foreign affairs adviser to the

chairmen of the boards of Bechtel, Consolidated Gold Fields, Newmont Mining, and Phelps Dodge. Mr. Katzen is a former career Foreign Service officer who has served in several capacities from 1959 to 1979: an officer at the Department of State in Washington, DC, 1959-1960, 1962-1963, and 1966-1969; consular-commercial officer to the American Consulate General in Sydney, Australia, 1960-1962; economic officer at the American Embassy in Bujum-

bura, Burundi, 1963–1964; labor attaché at the American Embassy in Kinshasa, Zaire, 1964–1966; political officer at the American Embassy in Bucharest, Romania, 1969–1971; and counselor of the U.S. Embassy in Bamako, Mali, 1971–1973. From 1973 to 1977, Mr. Katzen was adviser to the United States Mission to the United Nations in New York City. During 1977 he was adviser to the Office of the Vice President before

being posted as Chargé d’Affaires at the American Embassy in Brazzaville, Congo.

Mr. Katzen graduated from Princeton University (B.A., 1958), Yale University (M.A., 1959), and the National War College (1977). He was born August 23, 1936, in New York, NY. Mr. Katzen is married, has three children, and resides in The Plains, VA.

Nomination of Jose M. Deetjen To Be a Member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation

December 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jose M. Deetjen to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Foundation for a term of 6 years. This is a new position.

Since 1964 Mr. Deetjen has been with Walt Disney Co. in Burbank, CA. He is cur-

rently vice president for tax administration and counsel for Walt Disney.

Mr. Deetjen graduated from Southwestern University (J.D., 1979). He was born October 7, 1937, in Havana, Cuba. Mr. Deetjen is married, has two children, and resides in San Marino, CA.

Designation of Jonna Lynne Cullen as Chairman of the President’s Commission on Compensation of Career Federal Executives

December 14, 1987

The President today announced his intention to designate Jonna Lynne Cullen to be Chairman of the President’s Commission on Compensation of Career Federal Executives.

Since 1983 Miss Cullen has been president of J.L. Associates in Alexandria, VA. Prior to this she was Assistant Director of Legislative Affairs for the Office of Management and Budget at the White House,

1981–1983. Miss Cullen was assistant minority counsel for the Committee on Rules for the U.S. House of Representatives, 1973–1981; and professional staff assistant, 1968–1973.

Miss Cullen attended college at the University of Mississippi from 1959 to 1961. She was born October 10, 1941, in Memphis, TN, and currently resides in Alexandria, VA.

Message to the Congress on the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Libya *December 15, 1987*

To the Congress of the United States:

Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)) provides for the automatic termination of a national emergency unless, prior to the anniversary date of its declaration, the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice stating that the emergency is to continue in effect beyond the anniversary date. In accordance with this provision, I have sent the enclosed notice, stating that the Libyan emergency is to continue in effect beyond January 7, 1988, to the *Federal Register* for publication. A similar notice was sent to the Congress and the *Federal Register* on December 23, 1986.

The crisis between the United States and Libya that led to my declaration on January 7, 1986, of a national emergency has not

been resolved. The Government of Libya continues to use and support international terrorism, in violation of international law and minimum standards of human behavior. Such Libyan actions and policies pose a continuing unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and vital foreign policy interests of the United States. For these reasons, I have determined that it is necessary to maintain in force the broad authorities necessary to apply economic pressure to the Government of Libya to reduce its ability to support international terrorism.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 15, 1987.

Notice of the Continuation of the National Emergency With Respect to Libya *December 15, 1987*

On January 7, 1986, by Executive Order No. 12543, I declared a national emergency to deal with the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security and foreign policy of the United States constituted by the actions and policies of the Government of Libya. On January 8, 1986, by Executive Order No. 12544, I took additional measures to block Libyan assets in the United States. I transmitted a notice continuing this emergency to the Congress and the *Federal Register* on December 23, 1986. Because the Government of Libya has continued its actions and policies in support of international terrorism, the national emergency declared on January 7, 1986, and the measures adopted on January 7 and January 8,

1986, to deal with that emergency, must continue in effect beyond January 7, 1988. Therefore, in accordance with Section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency with respect to Libya. This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 15, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:52 p.m., December 15, 1987]

Note: The notice was printed in the "Federal Register" of December 17.

Statement on Signing the Independent Counsel Reauthorization Act of 1987

December 15, 1987

Like its predecessors, H.R. 2939, the Independent Counsel Reauthorization Act of 1987, raises constitutional issues of the most fundamental and enduring importance to the Government of the United States. During the years leading up to the original enactment of this statute, and thereafter, the Department of Justice has repeatedly expressed profound concern over the serious departures authorized by the act from separation of powers principles. The Congress has not heeded these concerns, apparently convinced that it is empowered to divest the President of his fundamental constitutional authority to enforce our nation's laws. In fact, H.R. 2939 contains a number of new provisions that aggravate the infirmities in existing law.

I fully endorse the goal manifested in the Independent Counsel Act of ensuring public confidence in the impartiality and integrity of criminal law investigations of high-level executive branch officials. Indeed, despite constitutional misgivings, my administration has faithfully and consistently complied with all of the requirements of the act. Even as the constitutional issues grew more clear, aided by the pronouncements of the Supreme Court in *INS v. Chadha* in 1983 and *Bowsher v. Synar* in 1986, we took extraordinary measures to protect against constitutional challenge the work of the more recently appointed independent counsel by offering each of them appointments in the Department of Justice.

Continuance of these independent counsel investigations was deemed important to public confidence in our government. Nev-

ertheless, this goal, however sound, may not justify disregard for the carefully crafted restraints spelled out in the Constitution. An officer of the United States exercising executive authority in the core area of law enforcement necessarily, under our constitutional scheme, must be subject to executive branch appointment, review, and removal. There is no other constitutionally permissible alternative, and I regret that the Congress and the President have been unable to agree under that framework on a procedure to ensure impartial, forthright, and unimpeded criminal law investigations of high-level executive branch officials.

In view of the longstanding and continuing differences in the positions maintained by the executive and the legislative branches about the constitutionality of a statutory scheme providing for judicial appointment and supervision of officers exercising executive power, I am gratified that the constitutional issues presented by the statute are now squarely before the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. We will continue to express our constitutional objections in that case as it moves through the courts.

Action on this bill, however, cannot await the resolution of that case. In order to ensure that public confidence in government not be eroded while the courts are in the process of deciding these questions, I am taking the extraordinary step of signing this bill despite my very strong doubts about its constitutionality.

Note: H.R. 2939, approved December 15, was assigned Public Law No. 100-191.

Message on the Observance of Hanukkah, 1987

December 15, 1987

I am happy to send greetings to Jews everywhere as they celebrate the festival of Hanukkah. At this special time there is great joy in commemorating both the victory of the Maccabees and the miracle of the lights in ancient Israel.

There has been more than enough tragedy in Jewish history, but Jews have always believed in their own future. This faith brought victory to the Maccabees, accounts for the founding of the modern State of Israel, and explains the equally inspiring

birth of the Soviet Jewry movement and the responsive chord it has struck among Jews throughout the world. These examples show that the message of Hanukkah is timeless. Its lessons inspire the struggles of today and the victories of tomorrow.

As you share the Hanukkah story with your families and friends, Nancy and I join you in rededication to a world truly blessed by peace and by freedom.

RONALD REAGAN

Appointment of Susan J. Crawford as General Counsel of the Army

December 15, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Susan J. Crawford to be General Counsel of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense.

Since 1983 Mrs. Crawford has been General Counsel of the Army for the Department of Defense at the Pentagon in Washington, DC. Prior to this she was Principal Deputy General Counsel of the Army, 1981-1983. Mrs. Crawford was a partner in the firm of Burnett, Eiswert, and Crawford

in Oakland, MD, 1979-1981, and an associate, 1977-1979. From 1978 to 1979, she also served as the assistant State's attorney for Garrett County, MD.

Mrs. Crawford graduated from Bucknell University (B.A., 1969) and New England School of Law (J.D., 1977). She was born April 22, 1947, in Pittsburgh, PA. She is married, has one child, and resides in Falls Church, VA.

Nomination of Robert J. Kabel To Be a Member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States

December 15, 1987

The President today announced his intention to nominate Robert J. Kabel to be a member of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States for the term expiring September 30, 1989. He would succeed Joseph Wentling Brown.

Since 1985 Mr. Kabel has been a partner with Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg & Evans in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was Special Assistant to the President for Legislative Affairs at the White House, 1982-

1985. Mr. Kabel was legislative director for Senator Richard G. Lugar, 1977-1982; and legislative assistant for Senator Paul Fannin, 1975-1977. Mr. Kabel was assistant to the Governor, Office of Governor Winfield Dunn in Nashville, TN, 1972-1975.

Mr. Kabel graduated from Denison University (B.A., 1969), Vanderbilt University School of Law (J.D., 1972), and Georgetown University Law Center (LL.M., 1979). He served in the United States Army from De-

ember 1972 to March 1973. He was born November 30, 1946, in Burbank, CA, and he currently resides in Washington, DC.

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate on Low Intensity Conflict Policy

December 16, 1987

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

Conflict in the Third World can pose serious threats to our security interests. Low intensity conflicts, which take place at levels below conventional war, but above routine peaceful competition among states, can be particularly troublesome.

The attached report, prepared pursuant to section 1311 of the National Defense Authorization Act of 1987, responds to legislation passed by the Congress in 1986. It describes actions taken, and ongoing, as a result of our experience with low intensity conflicts over the last several years and highlights a broad-range effort to address problems associated with low intensity conflict and our Special Operations Forces. In that regard, in June of this year, I approved a new national policy and strategy for low intensity conflict and established a Board for Low Intensity Conflict that is chaired by my National Security Adviser. The essential elements of our low intensity conflict policy and strategy are described in the report.

We have also activated the new Unified

Command for Special Operations, improved our special operations capabilities, and established the office of the new Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict.

More work lies ahead. The United States must continue to respond to challenges arising from low intensity conflict—to defend our interests and support those who put their lives on the line in the common cause of freedom. For the United States to be effective in this most important undertaking, there must be public understanding and strong congressional support. I hope this report will contribute to a broader understanding of low intensity conflict and the support that our policy requires.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and George Bush, President of the Senate.

Remarks Following Discussions With Prime Minister Giovanni Gorla of Italy

December 16, 1987

The President. It's our great pleasure to welcome to the White House a guest from a country with which we Americans have indissoluble ties of history, culture, and shared values: Prime Minister Gorla from Italy. Although this is the first time that the Prime Minister and I have had the opportunity to talk alone, I welcome him as I would an old friend for Italy is an ally whose friendship America values and whose counsel we seek

and trust.

Mr. Prime Minister, you are visiting the United States at a moment when our European allies are very much on our minds. Just a week ago, Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev and I signed the INF treaty. We in the United States are keenly aware that it was the political will and determination of European governments and peoples and our joint commitment to the NATO alliance

that enabled us to conclude that treaty.

INF has given us a lesson that we should apply in all areas of East-West relations. We were tough from the start; we stood together, and we got what we wanted. Yes, we had a plan: building a safer peace and freedom through strength. We stuck to the plan, even when many who are now taking bows tried to force us to abandon it, and the plan worked. Mr. Prime Minister, from the moment in 1979 when Italy stepped forward to do its part in deployment of INF weapons, it has been an indispensable partner and leader in this process for peace.

In addition to developments in Europe, the Prime Minister and I discussed the Persian Gulf, where the Italian and American Navies work side by side to keep international seelanes open. Both our countries understand that the war between Iran and Iraq poses dangers that extend far beyond that troubled region. Both our nations will continue strong support in the United Nations Security Council for the efforts of the Secretary-General to bring an end to the conflict.

When Prime Minister Gorla and I last saw each other, he was Minister of the Treasury, and we were both participants in the Venice economic summit. Today we again talked about the international economic situation and the steps necessary to strengthen international trade and finance.

Over the next few days, Prime Minister Gorla will be meeting with Secretary Shultz, Secretary Baker, Secretary Carlucci, congressional leaders, and private businessmen, among others. I'm happy to report that as he embarks on the remainder of this busy and important visit U.S.-Italian relations could hardly be better. Mr. Prime Minister, we're indeed pleased and honored to have you as our guest.

The Prime Minister. I am deeply grateful to President Ronald Reagan for the particularly friendly welcome he extended to me in Washington today. This testifies to the longstanding friendship; solid alliance; and common cultural, moral, and ideal values which historically bind Italy to the United States.

I have conveyed to President Reagan the greetings which the Italian Nation; the President of the Republic, Honorable

Francesco Cossiga; and the Government send to him and to the American people, a greeting which in its warmth reflects our enduring friendship, our present sound cooperation and alliance, and our common and firm conviction of the need to work together for the future of our two countries.

I had the pleasure of recognizing, once and again, in President Reagan a statesman that the whole world respects and the friend which the Italian Nation particularly admires—the statesman who was able to give a new and radically innovative dimension to the problems of nuclear disarmament by accomplishing the destruction of arms not through other arms but by means of an international treaty. Our talks were marked by a great mutual cordiality and have proved to be extremely fruitful. We reconfirmed our common commitment to seeking a more secure, more stable, and less threatened peace that we will be pursuing in the framework of the alliance which binds us.

I listened with the utmost interest to what the President told me about his recent historic meeting with the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Mikhail Gorbachev. I very much wish to personally express the Italian Government's profound satisfaction in the results achieved during this summit, along with the deep-felt hope that the understandings reached may further develop, thus opening new negotiating prospects in the field of nuclear as well as conventional and chemical disarmament.

The agreement reached has the full support of the Italian Government, which expresses the hope that it will be promptly ratified. The agreement resulted in great part from the cohesion and steadfast determination which the Atlantic alliance demonstrated. In this context, President Reagan has particularly valued the role which Italy played in maintaining Western solidarity. We expressed the common hope that within this framework of renewed dialog with the Soviet Union a solution may also be found to the question of Afghanistan.

The President of the United States and I have reviewed the situation in the Middle East and the prospects of overcoming this longstanding crisis in the full respect for the

sovereignty of the states and the rights of the peoples in the region. A common concern was expressed over the war between Iran and Iraq in the Persian Gulf and the continuing conflicts and tensions in that delicate area despite United Nations repeated appeals for a cessation of hostilities.

I also exchanged views with President Reagan on the various regional crises, in particular, those concerning a continent, Latin America, which is especially close to us.

Particular attention was devoted to economic and international trade issues, to the prospects for encouraging a sustained and lasting development of trade, as well as to the problems of indebtedness.

I confirmed to President Reagan our commitment towards seeking a solution to these questions, also within the framework of the seven most industrialized countries of the West, in view of the Toronto summit next June.

We restated our intent to ever increasingly develop the bilateral relations between Italy and the United States and to promote

trade and cooperation in all fields, as their progress must fully reflect the excellent political relations existing between our two countries. We agreed that the same open spirit must inspire the relations between the United States and the European Community, a community which Italy considers a major point of reference and an essential political goal, which our country unambiguously wishes to strengthen.

I will return to Italy in the awareness that my visit strengthened the special ties binding our two countries as well as my personal feelings of respect and friendship for President Reagan.

Note: The President spoke at 1:32 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Secretary of the Treasury James A. Baker III, and Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci. The Prime Minister spoke in Italian and his remarks were translated by an interpreter. Earlier, the President and the Prime Minister met in the Oval Office and then attended a luncheon in the Residence.

Statement on Michael K. Deaver *December 16, 1987*

Nancy and I are sorry to learn the jury's decision in Mike Deaver's trial. He has been a longtime friend and has served with dedication. Beyond that I cannot comment further at this time, since the decision will likely be appealed through our court system.

Note: Mr. Deaver, who had been Deputy Chief of Staff to the President, was found guilty of three counts of perjury by a Federal grand jury.

Nomination of Grant S. Green, Jr., To Be an Assistant Secretary of Defense *December 17, 1987*

The President today announced his intention to nominate Grant S. Green, Jr., to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management and Personnel) at the Department of Defense. He will succeed Robert

Clifton Duncan.

Since January 1987 Mr. Green has been Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Executive Secretary of the National Security Council at the

White House. Prior to this he served as assistant to the chairman for Sears World Trade, 1984–1987; as senior director of regional management and special services in 1984; and director of special services in 1983. Mr. Green served in the U.S. Army, 1960–1983.

Mr. Green graduated from the University of Arkansas (B.A., 1960) and George Washington University (M.S., 1979). He was born on June 16, 1938, in Seattle, WA. He is married, has two children, and resides in Alexandria, VA.

Appointment of Jack Allen Kinder as a Member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships

December 17, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Jack Allen Kinder to be a member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships for the remainder of the term expiring September 22, 1989. He would succeed Peter Miller Dawkins.

Since 1975 Mr. Kinder has been executive secretary for the Missouri State Teachers Association. Prior to this he was superintendent of schools: Rochester, MN, 1969–

1975; Newton, KS, 1963–1969; and Hopkins, MO, 1958–1962. Mr. Kinder was an instructor at Missouri University, 1962–1963.

Mr. Kinder graduated from Northwest Missouri State University (B.S., 1955), and the University of Missouri (M.Ed., 1958; Ed.D., 1963). Mr. Kinder has three children and resides in Columbia, MO. He was born April 1, 1933, in Mound City, MO.

Executive Order 12617—President's Advisory Committee on Mediation and Conciliation

December 17, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including the Federal Advisory Committee Act as amended (5 U.S.C. App. 1), and in order to extend the life of the President's Advisory Committee on Mediation and Conciliation, it is hereby ordered that Section 4(b) of Executive Order No. 12462 of February 17, 1984, as amended, is further amended to read: "The Committee shall terminate 60 days after the Committee submits its report to

the President and the Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, or no later than September 30, 1988, unless sooner extended."

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 17, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 4:17 p.m., December 17, 1987]

Reappointment of Two United States Commissioners on the International Pacific Halibut Commission

December 17, 1987

The President today announced his intention to reappoint the following individuals to be United States Commissioners on the International Pacific Halibut Commission:

Robert W. McVey, of Alaska. Since 1980 Mr. McVey has been Director of the Alaska Region for National Marine Fisheries Service in Juneau, AK. Prior to this he was Deputy Director of the Alaska Region of the National Marine

Fisheries Service. He was born on February 2, 1932, in Stockton, KS. He is married, has two children, and resides in Juneau.

Richard I. Eliason, of Alaska. Since 1980 Mr. Eliason has been a State senator in the Alaskan State Senate. Prior to this he was a fisherman, 1946–1980. Mr. Eliason was born on October 14, 1925, in Seattle, WA. He is married, has seven children, and resides in Sitka, AK.

Appointment of Ellen M. Wright as a Member of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation

December 17, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Ellen M. Wright to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation for a term expiring October 26, 1992. She will succeed Lawrence B. Simons.

Since 1985 Mrs. Wright has been owner and interior designer for EMW Interiors, Inc., in Washington, DC. Prior to this she

was interior designer and owner of Ellen Rosenthal, Inc., in New York, 1978–1985.

Mrs. Wright graduated from Mills College (B.A., 1961) and the San Francisco School of Fine Arts, 1961. She was born on January 3, 1940, in Cambridge, MA. She is married, has three children, and resides in Washington, DC.

Remarks at the Swearing-In Ceremony for Ann D. McLaughlin as Secretary of Labor

December 17, 1987

The President. Thank you all, and welcome, and special greetings of course to John and the other members of Ann's family. And by the way, John, today you are not allowed to interrupt anyone by saying, "All right, let's close this issue out." [Laughter]

Mr. McLaughlin. I will remain silent. [Laughter]

The President. All the same, I will keep my remarks this day brief. I often think that when Grant arrived in Washington in 1864 to be nominated General-in-Chief the long-

est speech he managed was: "Gentlemen, in response it will be impossible to do more than thank you." Then there's the comparison of course between George Washington and William Henry Harrison. Washington gave an inaugural address of fewer than 200 words and went on to become a great President. Harrison spoke for almost 2 hours at his inauguration, caught pneumonia, and was dead within a month. [Laughter] I told him that day to keep it short. [Laughter]

The reason for brevity today is that this is virtually a family event. Ann McLaughlin

has served our administration in the Treasury Department and the Department of the Interior. She's proven her skill and dedication. She's placed her stamp on our so-called revolution. And today she's stepping up to a position in which she'll be able to do still more.

The purpose of the Department of Labor is, in the words of the act that created it, "to foster, promote, and develop the welfare of the wage earners of the United States." Ann will bring to the Department her own special competence, to quote her before the Senate: "I will be fair but firm." Well, then, too, she will bring to the Department her passionate sense of commitment. As I said, she'll work to further the economic beliefs that have gone into the making of our revolution, especially the belief that the best we can do for America's workers is not give them endless government programs but provide them with new jobs and a growing economy. Indeed, for some 60 months now, the American economy has averaged well over 200,000 new jobs a month.

Ann, you must ensure that the work force of the future is ready and willing to keep America the most productive and innovative nation on Earth. At the same time that she'll be planning for the future, Ann will be on Capitol Hill dealing with Congress on major issues, such as parental leave and mandatory health benefits. And underlying all Ann's energy and skill, all her immense administrative ability, will be an abiding faith in the dignity of work. In her words: "Hard-working women and men built America. To be able to assist them is a singular responsibility, because it is in our daily work that we find some of our greatest opportunities for good."—her words to the Senate. Ann McLaughlin, congratulations.

Secretary McLaughlin. Thank you, Mr. President, for those gracious comments, and to be quoted by you is quite a tribute. Thank you. Your trust is very special to me, as I rejoin your team, I might add.

I want also to thank Judge Riley for administering the oath. Judge Riley is a long-time, very special friend to John and to me, but more importantly, I think he will be serving as a mentor. Judge Riley served as

Solicitor at the Department of Labor under Mrs. Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor—the other woman Secretary of Labor. [*Laughter*]

You know, Mr. President, in the months that I spent away from official Washington, I never really felt apart from this team at all. This is a testimony to what your leadership means to me and what I think it means to every American. We're all renewed by your vitality, by your ideals, and your focus on America's future. Evidence of that during this last historic week was certainly ample.

Now, no one knows better than you, Mr. President, the importance of family and friends, and today I am so pleased and tremendously honored that so many are able to join us here, from as far away as London, England, and as close as 1700 Pennsylvania Avenue. I'm proud of my government service. I am proud that we as an administration have made a difference in the life of every American.

Today the American worker's take-home pay is no longer ravaged by that double-digit inflation or by spiraling taxes. Today over 14.5 million more jobs exist in this the longest peacetime recovery in history. Today we are confident of ourselves and of our nation. But also, today I think of what remains to be done. American workers deserve safe and protected workplaces. They need affordable child care. They deserve secure pensions, fair and equitable wages, benefits, education, training opportunities. You know, workers are people we know—our parents, our sons, our daughters, our friends, our colleagues, and our neighbors. The future of the American work force and the American workplace will look nothing like it does today and will bring tremendous challenges. My responsibility to you and to the millions of American workers is to prepare them, and us, for that tomorrow.

I believe the Labor Department's role is to ensure the transition to a continuing competitive and productive future. We must provide for an economy where labor and management will work together to meet the competition from abroad. The day must never come when skilled workers have to be imported. We must never have a

worker deficit in this country, because we've failed as a nation to provide opportunities for excellence in education and training. These past 6 years, we have put millions of Americans back to work. Now our goal is to keep America working.

Now, on a personal note, people have told me to expect some scrutiny, because I am a woman. The first in 50 years named to this job, and the second to hold it. If that proves to be the case, so be it. But I will do my part to make that attitude a thing of the past. Simply by doing my job responsibly, I shall, perhaps, help everyone understand that women running the Government's business is business as usual. [Laughter and applause] It's no secret I went to an all women's college, and I think many of them are here, with that applause. [Laughter]

I am deeply honored, Mr. President, by the office you have entrusted to me. With your support and the support of friends and family in this room and with my dedicated staff at Labor and the wonderful Labor De-

partment workers, there is nothing we cannot achieve in this next year. I feel awed by the responsibility, but tremendously eager and enthusiastic to take on the challenges. Thank you so much.

The President. I not only agreed with all your remarks there, but on the very subject of education and the place of women in the workplace, I think that you'll be happier if you know that I didn't go to an all-male school. [Laughter] I had to work my way through school. But with regard to people in workplaces, I had one of my better jobs in my entire life—

Secretary McLaughlin. Working for a woman?

The President. I washed dishes in the girls dormitory. [Laughter]

Note: The President spoke at 1:39 p.m. in the Roosevelt Room at the White House. In his remarks, the President referred to Secretary McLaughlin's husband John, who was a political commentator.

Remarks Announcing Senate Minority Leader Dole's Endorsement of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty

December 17, 1987

The President. It's been a great pleasure for me today to meet with Senator Dole and to discuss his support for the treaty signed here during last week's summit. The INF treaty was the end result of a process that took over 6 years to arrive at the moment of signing. I, in fact, proposed the zero-option in the first year of our administration. As a matter of fact, I did so at the National Press Club. And many of the points contained in the agreement were hammered out through tough negotiations on both sides. I welcome the support of the Senate Republican leader and count on his efforts to help ensure Senate ratification.

Now, I understand there's a certain degree of apprehension about reaching any agreement with the Soviet Union, but I believe that once the details have been closely examined the consensus will be that the INF treaty is a solid step forward, a recog-

nizably positive move for America. The treaty is consistent with the goal set out by the administration from its first days. Building up our defensive strength was designed to convince the Soviet leadership that they couldn't win an arms race. The second half of the formula is reaching agreements to reduce weapons on both sides to an equal and verifiable level. Such reductions are in our interest and the interest of world peace. This treaty accomplishes exactly what we set out to do.

First and foremost, it is the first agreement in history to reduce, not simply limit, the buildup of nuclear weapons. The Soviets are in fact giving up more weapons in order to reach equality at a lower level. This is a breakthrough precedent that can serve as the basis for progress in other areas. Furthermore, this treaty is not based on some notion that the Soviets can now be

implicitly trusted. Given their record, I would never have signed a treaty that did not contain the most stringent verification regimen.

There's been an impressive exchange of data, and there will be continuing exchanges after the treaty goes into effect. There will also be the right of on-site inspections to confirm what we've been told. During the entire process of destroying the INF missiles, each side has the right to observe in order to ensure compliance with the treaty. We will even be monitoring the facility where their SS-20 missiles were assembled and have the right to visit other INF missile facilities on short notice. It's not a matter of trust. We will watch, inspect, and be present for the destruction of these missiles. And for 13 years after the treaty enters into force, American personnel will be on-site in the Soviet Union to make sure there are no more SS-20's being produced.

Succinctly put, this treaty contains verification provisions and other safeguards that should impress even hardened skeptics, however. But I believe some of our opposition is not just a result of a perceived defect in the treaty but also flows from a concern that our country will continue to deal with the Soviets from a position of realism and candor. This treaty is reason for hope. It is a good first step, but we're not letting our guard down, and we don't want anyone to have expectations that cannot be met or verified. As Jefferson and other Presidents before me have stated and restated: Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. That's never been more true than today, and we'll remain vigilant and realistic in dealing with the Soviet Union. This treaty is consistent with that commitment: a verifiable trust. I'm confident that over these next several weeks, as more Senators have the opportunity to review the terms and provisions of this agreement, that they'll come to the conclusion that it deserves ratification.

And now I'm going to turn this over to Senator Dole.

Reporter. Will you answer questions afterwards, Mr. President?

The President. He will.

Q. Mr. President, can you answer—George Bush's people are very upset about this, sir. They feel that you're helping Mr.

Dole off the hook on INF.

Mr. Fitzwater. Let's let the Senator complete his—

Q. Wait a minute. We would like to ask the President a question before he leaves. Could you answer—

Senator Dole. He's not going to leave until I finish my statement.

Q. Well—

The President. I'm here because he's the leader of the Republicans in the Senate, and—

Q. Are you being dragged into the campaign, Mr. President?

Q. Wait, let him finish.

The President. No.

Senator Dole. What if I might just give my statement?

The President. Yes.

Q. Don't sneak out.

Senator Dole. As I told the President a couple weeks ago when we were asked about the treaty, I said give us some time to look at it, some time to read it, and some time to analyze it. And I've done precisely what I told the President I would do. I've not only read the treaty, I've had the opportunity to have it analyzed by experts, in and out of government. And I've spoken directly with our key NATO allies. And I've had a series of meetings with the President and members of the administration to address my concerns.

In all of this, I've been concerned not only about the treaty itself but also about its strategic and political implications. Now that the treaty has been negotiated and signed, the focus will shift to the Senate. The Senate will decide whether this treaty goes into effect or not. And as the Republican leader, I will lead the fight for its approval in the Senate. I've been the point man in the Senate for the President's national security programs. And over the years we've won big critical fights, and I hope that we can win this one, too. What we want, and what I told the President just a few moments ago, is a big bipartisan majority.

I think it's also fair to say—and we've discussed this with the President, with Colin Powell and others—that there are areas of concern that have been identified,

special concerns to me and my colleagues, whether it's verification or compliance and the imbalance of conventional forces in Europe. And I think by addressing these areas, working with the President, working with the administration, the Senate can strengthen the treaty even further, while not requiring renegotiation with the Soviets. And I think we've been assured that we can work together on these areas. And that's the only intent and the only purpose of it.

So, I guess I would say, as I said a couple of weeks ago, that as soon as I've been satisfied that we could verify and that there was compliance and there was strong support from the allies—pretty much what the President said in his next-to-last paragraph—as soon as other Senators go through this process, you're going to see support building for the treaty.

And finally, I think we're all very grateful to the President—talking now about my colleagues in the Congress, in both parties—for his outstanding work, and for his efforts that led to the signing of this very significant agreement a little over a week ago.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Mr. President, what—

Q. Are you getting mixed up in Presidential politics, sir?

Q. What about—

Q. Presidential politics?

The President. No, there's nothing of that kind here. I am, and have always been, neutral with regard to the political race. I'll answer that one to get that in the clear. He's here as the leader for our side in the Senate, and I was here to bring him here, because we have a common interest in getting a treaty ratified.

Q. But George Bush feels that you're bailing him out, because he was failing in Iowa because of waffling on the treaty—

Q. Were you afraid to stand on the platform with him when he spoke? [*Laughter*]

The President. No, because the business I used to be in—I thought it was the courteous thing to do.

Note: The President spoke at 2:10 p.m. in the Briefing Room at the White House. Prior to his remarks, he met with Senator Robert Dole in the Oval Office at the White House. Marlin Fitzwater was Assistant to the President for Press Relations, and Colin L. Powell was Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the South Korean Elections *December 17, 1987*

The President has been briefed on yesterday's elections in the Republic of Korea. He will be sending his congratulations to the winner. The enthusiasm of the Korean campaign and the remarkable voter turnout of 90 percent is impressive.

This speaks clearly of the commitment of Koreans to the democratic process. The candidate of the Democratic Justice Party, Mr. Roh Tae Woo, appears to be the winner by a substantial margin.

Letter Accepting the Resignation of Faith Ryan Whittlesey as United States Ambassador to Switzerland

December 16, 1987

Dear Faith:

I very reluctantly accept your resignation as Ambassador to Switzerland, as I have so highly valued your splendid services. I do understand, however, your strong desire to be closer to your lovely family and to begin your pursuits in the private sector.

You have been one of my most steadfast and effective supporters, and I have greatly appreciated your efforts on my behalf before I became President and throughout these past seven years. I also know you will leave Switzerland reluctantly, as you did when I called upon you in 1983 to serve on the senior White House staff as Assistant for Public Liaison. Your sacrifice and exemplary performance in the White House helped to create the enormous public support we received for a second term and for many of the policies I asked you to advocate. I have missed you since your return to Switzerland in 1985, but commend you on resuming your duties as Ambassador with customary grace, warmth, and intelligence. I am sure the Swiss will miss you, too. Throughout your two tours as Ambassador, you upheld the highest standards of diplomacy. The fact that Swiss-American relations are cordial and harmonious is a testament to your considerable ability, charm, and energy. But we have your promise that, even in the private sector, you will keep your great talents employed to advance the principles of liberty and peace through strength, and for that I am extremely grateful.

You have my deepest thanks for all you have done for this Administration and for our country.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

December 9, 1987

Dear Mr. President:

Having had the great privilege and honor of serving in your Administration for close to seven years, I believe I must begin to

make plans to return to the United States and to my three children, all of whom are now residing there. With this in mind, I intend to offer you my resignation and, by your leave, will depart my post on July 15, 1988. I trust the period between now and then will provide the necessary time to select, screen, and complete the confirmation process for my successor.

With the opportunities I will be pursuing in the private sector, I wish to assure you that one of my foremost aims will be to continue to advance the principles which you have so ably represented to the American people. It is those principles which attracted me to you when I served as a delegate committed to your candidacy at the 1980 Convention when it was also my special privilege to serve as co-chairman of the platform subcommittee on foreign policy and defense. I was deeply moved, therefore, when you offered me the opportunity, in September of 1981, to serve as Ambassador to Switzerland; then in March of 1983 to serve as your Assistant for Public Liaison in the White House; and then in May of 1985, to serve again as Ambassador to Switzerland.

The steadfast support you have given me during the times I have been Ambassador to Switzerland and during my service to you in the White House has been a source of great satisfaction. It is particularly gratifying that you asked me to serve for the balance of your Presidential term.

I believe, however, that I have accomplished the major tasks you set for me. This year alone we have concluded four major agreements with the Swiss government in the areas of judicial assistance, law enforcement cooperation, civil aviation, and export control.

Despite the progress we have made in strengthening Swiss-American relations, it is with utmost reluctance that I will leave this beautiful country that has such a deep reservoir of goodwill for the United States. The strong character of the Swiss people,

their devotion to the sanctity of the individual, decentralized government, democratic capitalism and military preparedness as the best guarantee of peace with freedom make them natural friends of liberty everywhere. Their understanding of American ideals is profound and enduring, as their own Constitution attests.

It has been an honor to serve you and the people of the United States. You have my

best wishes for continued success in the difficult task of leading our nation.

Sincerely yours,

FAITH

Note: The letters were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 18.

Radio Address to the Nation on Foreign Issues and the Budget December 19, 1987

My fellow Americans:

As we approach the end of the year, I thought I'd give you a brief update on several important issues. First, the historic treaty we signed last week eliminating an entire class of U.S. and Soviet INF missiles—it's taken 6 years of tough negotiating to get this far, but signing a treaty doesn't end the process. It must now go before the full Senate for ratification. They will certainly want to look very closely at this complex treaty, but I'm confident that once they do they'll find it solid, verifiable, and most definitely in America's interest.

Well, next let's turn to events on the other side of the world. South Korea has long been a brave, free world outpost on the border of a hostile northern neighbor. Economically one of the freest nations on Earth, they have demonstrated to the world the wonders of economic liberty. In three short decades, South Korea's vibrant free markets have catapulted that nation out of the ranks of the Third World and into the forefront of world economic growth.

South Korea has long known most of the freedoms we now enjoy in this country: freedom to work where and how one pleases, freedom of speech, freedom of worship. And this week, South Korea has taken a great stride toward full democracy. For the first time in 16 years, they voted in a direct election for their President. Ninety percent of the country turned out to show its commitment to the democratic process. Mr. Roh Tae Woo, the candidate of the Demo-

cratic Justice Party, has emerged the winner by almost 2 million votes, and I've sent my congratulations to him. But the most important victory is for democracy. As Americans know, and as Koreans are finding out, elections have losers as well as winners. The essence of democracy is the willingness to accept the results and, perhaps, to try again at the next election. I particularly welcome Mr. Roh's calls for reconciliation as he undertakes to form a government with broad national support. We look forward to continuing cooperation in security and trade and competing in next September's Olympics in Seoul.

Now, if I may return to Washington, I'd like to speak for a moment on the budget process. I have often criticized Congress' habit of putting the appropriations for almost the entire Federal Government into one mammoth bill called a continuing resolution. Each year, I'm given a choice: hold my nose and swallow it whole, wasteful spending and all, or veto the entire bill, closing down much of the Federal Government. I do not believe that this is what the Founding Fathers had in mind when they gave the President the power to veto individual appropriations bills. That said, I expect this year's continuing resolution to meet the budget agreements worked out between the administration and the congressional leadership. One item we'll be looking very closely to see included is funding for the freedom fighters in Nicaragua.

Recently, a high-ranking defector from

the Sandinista Communist government has come forward with some shocking revelations. The Nicaraguan Communists, it seems, have been planning all along to use the Central American peace process as a weapon to consolidate their power. Daniel Ortega as much as confirmed this last week when he publicly stated that, elections or no elections, the Sandinista Communists would never give up power. To make sure they would never have to, the Sandinistas have negotiated a secret agreement with the Soviets and Cubans that calls for a major military escalation in Nicaragua over the next 7 years, including the delivery of MiG-21 jet fighters and enough military supplies to increase the army to 500,000 soldiers. Such an escalation would create an unprecedented threat to the national security of the United States. As these secret plans were being made public, the Sandinistas' Defense Minister confirmed them—bragging, in fact, of a 600,000-man army by 1995. So, it's clear to all but the most naive

that the Sandinista Communists have been cynically manipulating the peace process, trying to lull others into a false sense of security while they busily plan military dominance of the entire region.

It has never been more clear why we must fund the freedom fighters. The freedom fighters brought the Sandinistas to the negotiating table; only the freedom fighters can keep them there. That's why our continued support is imperative and why I will insist that the continuing resolution contains adequate funding for adequate aid. If there were any doubts before, it's certainly clear now: Making sure the freedom fighters remain a viable force in Nicaragua is the only way to make the peace process go forward, to give peace and democracy a chance in Nicaragua.

Until next week, thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 12:06 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Nomination of J. Daniel Howard To Be an Assistant Secretary of Defense

December 21, 1987

The President has nominated J. Daniel Howard, of Tennessee, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs). He would succeed Robert B. Sims.

Since 1986 Mr. Howard has been Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary for Foreign Affairs at the White House in Washington, DC. Prior to this he was public affairs adviser of the Bureau for East Asian and Pacific Affairs at the Department of State in Washington, 1985-1986. Mr. Howard was public affairs officer for the U.S. Embassy in Nicosia, Cyprus, 1982-1985; cultural affairs officer for the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, Poland, 1981-1982; and press attaché for the U.S. Embassy in

Tokyo, Japan, 1977-1980. From 1975 to 1977, he was director of the American Center in Sapporo, Japan, and a language trainee in Yokohama, Japan, 1974-1975; and a Foreign Service officer trainee in Washington, DC, 1972-1973. Mr. Howard was a field representative for the American Red Cross in Denver, CO, 1968-1971.

Mr. Howard graduated from the University of Chattanooga (B.A., 1968) and the University of Tennessee (M.A., 1972). He served in the U.S. Marine Corps in Japan, 1961-1965. Mr. Howard was born August 24, 1943, in Chattanooga, TN. He is married, has three children, and resides in Arlington, VA.

Nomination of C. Anson Franklin To Be an Assistant Secretary of Energy

December 21, 1987

The President has nominated C. Anson Franklin, of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Energy (Congressional, Intergovernmental, and Public Affairs) at the Department of Energy. He would succeed A. David Rossin.

Since 1986 Mr. Franklin has been Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of Energy (Congressional, Intergovernmental, and Public Affairs) for the Department of Energy in Washington, DC. Prior to this he served as the Director of Communications for the Department of Energy, 1985–1986.

Mr. Franklin was Assistant Press Secretary to the President at the White House, 1982–1985, and director of administration for the office of the attorney general of Virginia, 1978–1981.

Mr. Franklin graduated from the University of Virginia (B.A., 1969). He was born April 17, 1947, in Richmond, VA. Mr. Franklin served in the Army National Guard from 1969 to 1975. He is married, has one child, and resides in Washington, DC.

Message to the Senate Transmitting the Montreal Protocol on Ozone-Depleting Substances

December 21, 1987

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith, for the advice and consent of the Senate to ratification, the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, done at Montreal on September 16, 1987. The report of the Department of State is also enclosed for the information of the Senate.

The Montreal Protocol provides for internationally coordinated control of ozone-depleting substances in order to protect public health and the environment from potential adverse effects of depletion of stratospheric ozone. The Protocol was negotiated under the auspices of the United Nations Environment Program, pursuant to the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, which was ratified by the United States in August 1986.

In this historic agreement, the international community undertakes cooperative measures to protect a vital global resource. The United States played a leading role in the negotiation of the Protocol. United States ratification is necessary for entry into force and effective implementation of the Protocol. Early ratification by the United States will encourage similar action by other nations whose participation is also essential.

I recommend that the Senate give early and favorable consideration to the Protocol and give its advice and consent to ratification.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 21, 1987.

Appointment of Alexander P. Papamarkou as a Member of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission

December 22, 1987

The President today announced his intention to appoint Alexander P. Papamarkou to be a member of the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission. He would succeed Tirso del Junco.

Since 1978 Mr. Papamarkou has been president and chief executive officer of Papamarkou & Co., Inc., in New York, NY. Prior to this he was first vice president for

E.F. Hutton & Co., Inc., 1979–1982, and was vice president, international division for Oppenheimer & Co., Inc., 1967–1975.

Mr. Papamarkou graduated from Syracuse University (B.A., 1950), Princeton University (M.P.A., 1952), and predoctoral studies at the London School of Economics. He was born February 8, 1930, in Athens, Greece, and resides in New York, NY.

Executive Order 12618—Uniform Treatment of Federally Funded Inventions

December 22, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, and having concluded that the ability of the United States to achieve the statutorily prescribed policy (35 U.S.C. 200) of using the patent system to promote the utilization of inventions arising from federally supported research or development requires that Federal agencies follow uniform policies in administering patents and licenses conceived or first reduced to practice during the course of federally funded research, Executive Order No. 12591 of April 10, 1987, is amended by redesignating Sections 1(b) (5) and (6) as 1(b) (6) and (7), respectively, and by adding a new Section 1(b)(5) as follows:

“(5) administer all patents and licenses to inventions made with federal assistance, which are owned by the non-profit contractor or grantee, in accordance with Section

202(c)(7) of Title 35 of the United States Code as amended by Public Law 98–620, without regard to limitations on licensing found in that section prior to amendment or in Institutional Patent Agreements now in effect that were entered into before that law was enacted on November 8, 1984, unless, in the case of an invention that has not been marketed, the funding agency determines, based on information in its files, that the contractor or grantee has not taken adequate steps to market the inventions, in accordance with applicable law or an Institutional Patent Agreement.”.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 22, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:32 a.m., December 23, 1987]

Executive Order 12619—Half-Day Closing of Government Departments and Agencies on Thursday, December 24, 1987 *December 22, 1987*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, it is hereby ordered:

Section 1. All Executive departments and agencies of the Federal Government shall be closed and their employees excused from duty for the last half of the scheduled workday on Christmas Eve, December 24, 1987, except as provided in Section 2 below.

Sec. 2. The heads of Executive departments and agencies may determine that certain offices and installations of their organizations, or parts thereof, must remain open and that certain employees must remain on duty for the full scheduled workday on December 24, 1987, for reasons of national security or defense or for other essential public reasons.

Sec. 3. Thursday, December 24, 1987, shall be considered as falling within the scope of Executive Order No. 11582 and of 5 U.S.C. 5546 and 6103(b) and other similar statutes insofar as they relate to the pay and leave of employees of the United States.

Sec. 4. This Order shall apply to Federal departments and agencies only and is not intended to direct or otherwise implicate departments or agencies of State or local governments.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 22, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:33 a.m., December 23, 1987]

Remarks on Signing the Continuing Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1988 and the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987 *December 22, 1987*

The President. I have a brief statement here. The first thing I think I should explain is, no, I have not been cleaning out my desk. These stacks of paper contain the Federal budget for 1988 and represent a lot of hard work to forge an agreement between the administration and the Congress to place our country on the right course toward reducing the Federal budget deficit and continuing the longest peacetime expansion in history. The bipartisan leadership in the House and Senate is to be commended, not just for reaching a 2-year deficit reduction agreement on November 20th but for implementing the first installment of that \$75 billion plan.

On October 21st I issued a call for action on the Federal budget deficit, and together my representatives and those from the Congress spent the next 4 weeks forging this package. That agreement was the first step

toward placing our country on a reliable and credible budget course, but there's still more to be done. My pledge to you, then and now, is to move forward with our deficit reduction plan. So, today I'm signing these bills. The first contains the 13 regular appropriations or spending bills, and the second includes the necessary revenue and entitlement changes. But there are several other items about these bills that are extremely important.

First, funding for those fighting for freedom in Nicaragua will be continued. As the Central American peace plan enters a critical period early next year, it's important that our support for the freedom fighters in Nicaragua not waver, particularly when the Sandinistas have confirmed plans to build up to a 600,000-person military force in that country.

Second, efforts to legislate the fairness

doctrine, which would dictate to broadcasters how they cover controversial issues, were not successful.

So, while I agree with these bills at this time, it must be said that wrapping up the entire legislative business of our country into two thousand-page bills on the eve of Christmas is not the way to do business. The normal legislative process should have produced 13 separate appropriation bills. It did not. Instead, we ran the Government on a string of stopgap funding measures, pushing the Government right to the brink of defaulting on its commitments to the American people. As we look forward to the new year, our commitment should be to correct the inequities and the deficiencies in the Federal budget process. The foundation has already been laid with this 2-year budget plan, and I hope the Congress will join me in building for the future prosperity of our country.

As a matter of fact, these bills are so big that it's going to take four pens to sign each one of them. [Laughter] That is the budget signed. And this is the reconciliation bill. The deed is done.

Israeli-Occupied Territories

Reporter. Mr. President, do you find any justification at all for the actions the Israelis have taken in Gaza and the West Bank?

The President. Well, we think it is regrettable, and our State Department has been talking to both sides in this, trying to get both sides—there has been provocation on both sides—to get them to cease.

Q. Israel's leaders say they're not concerned, Mr. President, about how the world views the situation. So, how do you pressure them, sir?

The President. Well, they may not be concerned, but maybe the world is concerned.

Federal Budget

Q. Mr. President, on the budget, sir, this whole exercise was designed, at one point, to send a signal to Wall Street of confidence in the economy and confidence in the way that the administration and Congress were going to attack the deficit. Yet the markets went down again today; the dollar was still going down today. And the verdict seems to come back of one of failure or at least of having done too little, too late.

The President. I hardly think that that looks like too little. It's been several months too late. I submitted a budget last January.

Attorney General Edwin Meese III

Q. Mr. President, the Special Prosecutor says questions remain about Attorney General Meese's involvement in the Wedtech scandal. Sir, do you have any questions?

The President. No, I have total faith in his integrity and—

Q. Are you concerned about the number of administration officials who have resigned under a cloud or worse, sir?

The President. I'm more concerned about the way it is being presented—ignoring the fact that in many of the cases the charges appear on the front page, and then when it's determined that the charge was meaningless and had no foundation, that appears on page 29.

Note: As enacted, H.J. Res. 395, approved December 22, was assigned Public Law No. 100-202, and H.R. 3545, approved December 22, was assigned Public Law No. 100-203.

Statement on Signing the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989

December 22, 1987

I have today signed H.R. 1777, the "Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989." Certain issues raised by its provisions, however, require com-

ment.

Under our constitutional system of separation of powers, the President has special responsibilities in the area of foreign affairs.

As the Supreme Court noted in *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Co.*, the President is “the sole organ of the Federal government in the field of international relations.” Certain provisions in H.R. 1777, however, could be construed so as to interfere with the discharge of these responsibilities. The Act forbids the closing of any consulates and requires both the initiation of specific foreign negotiations and the termination of the United States-Soviet Embassy Agreements. I am signing the Act only because, pursuant to House Joint Resolution 395 (the continuing appropriations measure which I also signed today), these provisions will not take effect until two years from today. During the remainder of my Administration, I shall seek repeal of these provisions.

Other provisions of H.R. 1777 require or prohibit the initiation of negotiations in the field of international relations. Consistent with my constitutional responsibility to conduct these negotiations, I construe these provisions as being subject to my exclusive authority to determine the time, scope, and objectives of any negotiations.

Section 1003 of the Act prohibits the establishment anywhere within the jurisdiction of the United States of an office “to further the interests of” the Palestine Liberation Organization. The effect of this provision is to prohibit diplomatic contact with

the PLO. I have no intention of establishing diplomatic relations with the PLO. However, the right to decide the kind of foreign relations, if any, the United States will maintain is encompassed by the President’s authority under the Constitution, including the express grant of authority in Article II, Section 3, to receive ambassadors. I am signing the Act, therefore, only because I have no intention of establishing diplomatic relations with the PLO, as a consequence of which no actual constitutional conflict is created by this provision.

Under Section 163 of the Act the Department of State, by regulation, shall implement a program of counter-intelligence polygraph examinations for members of the Diplomatic Security Service. I am interpreting this requirement consistent with my position concerning the discretion of agency heads to determine when polygraph examinations will be conducted in specific cases.

Finally, in signing this Act I intend, as I understand the Congress intended, that in those instances where there is any inconsistency between this Act and H.J. Res. 395 the provisions of H.J. Res. 395 control.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 22, 1987.

Note: H.R. 1777, approved December 22, was assigned Public Law No. 100-204.

Message on the Observance of Christmas, 1987 *December 23, 1987*

Christmas, as the carol tells us, is “the most wonderful time of the year.” We see it in the excited eyes of a child—an excitement easy to explain. What with the sights of brilliantly decorated trees, the sounds of familiar hymns and songs, and tastes of fresh-baked cookies and other treats, and above all the long-anticipated visit from St. Nick, Christmas for children is a time unlike any other.

That is true for grownups as well, of course; the joy and meaning of Christmas

only deepen as we grow older. We still find pleasure in exchanging greetings and gifts, and we still delight in the warm and colorful images of the holiday. But we perceive ever more clearly, as did Scrooge, that the true beauty and wonder of the season lie in the Christmas spirit of giving of ourselves for others—the message of the Prince of Peace whose birth we celebrate. At Christmastime we accompany shepherds and Wise Men to the stable as of old, where we relearn the timeless and priceless lessons of

love, humility and sacrifice, where we see the Christmas spirit as God's love flowing through so many people all at once.

This spirit of love, as simple as a spoken greeting and as profound as a changed heart, seems so full that it ceaselessly looks for ways to express its power. We respond to it best when we share it with family, friend or stranger—when we recognize that, under the sheltering evergreen branches of God's love, all are family and

no one is a stranger. When we do these things, when we visit the lonely or help those in need, when a family is reconciled, Christmas is real and present, and that is truly what makes it "the most wonderful time of the year."

Nancy and I pray that peace and joy will reign in every home and every heart during this holy season. Merry Christmas, and may God's blessing be upon us all.

RONALD REAGAN

Proclamation 5754—Amending the Generalized System of Preferences

December 23, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

1. Pursuant to section 504(a)(1) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the Trade Act) (19 U.S.C. 2464(a)(1)), the President may withdraw, suspend, or limit the application of the duty-free treatment afforded under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) with respect to any article or any country upon consideration of the factors set forth in sections 501 and 502(c) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2461 and 2462(c)). Accordingly, after taking into account the factors set forth in section 501 of the Trade Act, I have determined that it is appropriate to withdraw the duty-free treatment afforded under the GSP to imports from all designated beneficiary developing countries of molybdenum ore and metal-bearing materials in chief value of molybdenum, provided for in items 601.33 and 603.40, respectively, of the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) (19 U.S.C. 1202).

2. Section 604 of the Trade Act authorizes the President to embody in the TSUS the substance of the relevant provisions of that Act, of other acts affecting import treatment, and of actions taken thereunder.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, Presi-

dent of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States of America, including but not limited to sections 501, 504(a)(1), and 604 of the Trade Act, do proclaim that:

(1) In order to withdraw the duty-free treatment afforded under the GSP to certain articles, TSUS items 601.33 and 603.40 are modified by deleting from each item the symbol "A," appearing in parentheses in the Rates of Duty Special column.

(2) The modifications to the TSUS made by paragraph (1) of this Proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles both: (i) imported on or after January 1, 1976, and (ii) entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after the second day after the publication of this Proclamation in the *Federal Register*.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 23rd day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:26 a.m., December 24, 1987]

Proclamation 5755—Year of New Sweden, 1988 December 23, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

The year 1988 is the 350th anniversary of the arrival, in what is now Delaware, of two ships, the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Fogel Grip*, which were sent by the Kingdom of Sweden to establish New Sweden, the first permanent settlement of Swedes in North America. Celebration of this occasion gives every American the opportunity to pay tribute to those courageous colonists and to all who have followed them from Sweden to America.

Swedish Americans have won a place in the history and heritage of the United States, and they continue their tradition of notable achievements today. Two Swedish Americans associated prominently with the American Revolution were John Morton of Pennsylvania, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and John Hanson of Maryland, who presided over the Continental Congress in 1781 and 1782. More than a million Swedes came to the United States between 1845 and 1910, and more than four million Americans today have Swedish ancestry.

We can all be truly proud of the contributions of Swedish Americans to our beloved land, of the close ties between the United States and Sweden over the years, and of the devotion to democracy that our peoples share.

The Congress, by Public Law 99-304, has designated 1988 as the "Year of New Sweden" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this year.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim 1988 as the Year of New Sweden. I call upon the Governors of the several States, local officials, and the people of the United States to observe this year with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:27 a.m., December 24, 1987]

Proclamation 5756—National Skiing Day, 1988 December 23, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

National Skiing Day gives all Americans the opportunity to celebrate the continuing role of skiing in recreation, sports, and our economy, as well as its place in American life and lore.

Many Americans first discovered both the potential uses and the attractions of skiing from reports of the achievements of an early skier, pioneer mail carrier John A. "Snowshoe" Thompson, who transported

letters and parcels in a backpack as he covered his 90-mile territory through the Sierra Nevada. During his two decades of devoted service, 1856-1876, he won a well-earned reputation for heroism and faithfulness as he traversed the mountains, first on his large, handmade skis and later by sleigh, to keep frontier communication open between Nevada and California.

Since then, other dedicated Americans have employed skiing in the defense of our country, in rescue operations, and in similar activities.

Through the years, skiing has experienced revolutions in equipment, technique, and participation. Wood skis were replaced by metal ones, which then gave way to fiberglass, and bindings have improved greatly. Today some 15 million Americans engage in Alpine or Nordic skiing, and highly skilled and dedicated skiers and biathletes vie for coveted positions on America's Winter Olympics squads.

Skiing, of course, offers many benefits. In the areas of health and fitness, Alpine skiing's courses improve strength and flexibility, and Nordic skiing's cross-country trails build endurance. Skiing helps people improve coordination as they attain or maintain good physical condition. Skiing provides enjoyment for spectators as well as participants, fosters appreciation for the outdoors, and affords the opportunity to enjoy winter and its splendors. Skiing also increases the recreational uses of national forests and provides winter employment and income for residents of rural communities.

In recognition of skiing and its benefits, the Congress, by Public Law 100-189, has designated January 8, 1988, as "National Skiing Day" and has authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that day.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim January 8, 1988, as National Skiing Day. I call upon the people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:28 a.m., December 24, 1987]

Proclamation 5757—National Day of Excellence, 1988 December 23, 1987

*By the President of the United States
of America*

A Proclamation

Theodore Roosevelt once said: "The foundation stone of national life is and ever must be the individual character of the individual citizen." Nowhere has that fact been better demonstrated than in our national quest for excellence, which has spurred Americans to strive to live up to the highest ideals of our nature and our heritage.

For three decades, that quest has been best symbolized by the magnificent achievements of our space program. The program has proved beyond a doubt that, with will and resolve, Americans can draw upon the insights and inventions of generations past and accomplish great things. In striving for excellence in space, we have expanded the horizon of human potential, brought countless scientific and economic

benefits back to Earth, and demonstrated to ourselves and to the world our national vitality, courage, and imagination.

Through the years, the space program has had brilliant successes—but also some disheartening setbacks. On January 28, 1988, the second anniversary of the Space Shuttle CHALLENGER accident, we remember CHALLENGER's courageous crew and other space pioneers who made the supreme sacrifice in the pursuit of excellence—in technology, in goals, in achievement, and in their personal lives.

Their sacrifice was not in vain. For they taught us, above all, that our national quest for excellence must never end if we are to remain a great nation.

When the space shuttle is launched again, the world will know that, once again, the United States is back in space—ready to accept its boundless challenges and eager to pursue its countless opportunities. With the

shuttle, we will move toward our next logical step—building and operating a permanently manned space station.

To recognize the importance of space to our future and to honor our space pioneers, especially those who made the ultimate sacrifice in the cause of excellence, the Congress, by Public Law 100–190, has designated January 28, 1988, as a “National Day of Excellence” and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this day.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim January 28, 1988, as a National Day of Excellence. I call upon the

people of the United States to observe this day with appropriate ceremonies and activities and to pursue, in the course of their regular activities, the spirit of excellence represented by the crew of the CHALLENGER.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-third day of December, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 9:29 a.m., December 24, 1987]

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate Transmitting the Report on the Generalized System of Preferences

December 23, 1987

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I herewith transmit my report on the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP), as required by the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (“the Act”).

Section 504(a)(2) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2464(a)(2)) requires that I report no later than January 4, 1988, on the application of sections 501 and 502(c) of the Act to the GSP program. It also requires me to document the actions I have taken to limit the

application of duty-free treatment under the program with respect to any country which has failed to adequately take the actions described in section 502(c).

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and George Bush, President of the Senate.

Proclamation 5758—Amending the Generalized System of Preferences

December 24, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

1. Pursuant to subsections 502(b)(7), 502(c)(7), and sections 504 and 604 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the Trade Act) (19 U.S.C. 2462, 2464 and 2483), I have

determined that it is appropriate to provide for the suspension of preferential treatment under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) for articles that are currently eligible for such treatment and that are imported from Chile. Such suspension is the result of my determination that Chile has

not taken and is not taking steps to afford internationally recognized worker rights, as defined in section 502(a)(4) of the Trade Act, as amended (19 U.S.C. 2462(a)(4)).

2. Subsections 502 (b)(7) and (c)(7) of the Trade Act provide that a country that has not taken or is not taking steps to afford such internationally recognized worker rights is ineligible for designation as a beneficiary developing country for purposes of the GSP. Section 504 authorizes the President to withdraw, suspend, or limit the application of duty-free treatment under the GSP with respect to any article or with respect to any country upon consideration of the factors set forth in sections 501 and 502(c) of the Trade Act (19 U.S.C. 2461 and 2462(c)).

3. Section 604 of the Trade Act authorizes the President to embody in the Tariff Schedules of the United States (TSUS) (19 U.S.C. 1202) the substance of the relevant provisions of that Act, of other acts affecting import treatment, and of actions taken thereunder.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United

States of America, including but not limited to sections 502, 504, and 604 of the Trade Act, do proclaim that:

(1) General headnote 3(e)(v)(A) to the TSUS is modified by striking out "Chile" from the enumeration of independent countries whose products are eligible for benefits under the GSP.

(2) No article the product of Chile and imported into the United States after the effective date of this Proclamation shall be eligible for preferential treatment under the GSP.

(3) This Proclamation shall be effective with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after the sixtieth (60th) day following the date of the publication of this Proclamation in the *Federal Register*.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 24th day of Dec., in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:57 p.m., December 28, 1987]

Letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President of the Senate on the Status of Chile With Respect to the Generalized System of Preferences December 24, 1987

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am writing concerning the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) and Chile. The GSP program is authorized by the Trade Act of 1974, as amended ("the Act").

I intend to suspend indefinitely Chile's status as a GSP beneficiary for failure to comply with section 502(b)(7) (19 U.S.C. 2462(b)(7)) of the Act concerning internationally recognized worker rights. My deci-

sion will take effect at least 60 days from the date of this letter.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: Identical letters were sent to Jim Wright, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and George Bush, President of the Senate.

Memorandum on the Status of Chile With Respect to the Generalized System of Preferences

December 24, 1987

Memorandum for the United States Trade Representative

Subject: Action Concerning the Generalized System of Preferences

Pursuant to subsections 502(b)(7), 502(c)(7), and section 504 of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the Act) (19 U.S.C. 2462(b)(7), 2462(c)(7) and 2464), I am hereby acting to modify the application of duty-free treatment under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) currently being afforded to Chile.

Specifically, after considering various private sector requests for review concerning worker rights in Chile, and in accordance with section 502(b)(7) of the Act, I have

determined that Chile, which was previously designated as a beneficiary country, is not taking steps to afford internationally recognized worker rights. Therefore, I intend to notify the Congress of the United States and the Government of Chile of my intention to suspend indefinitely the GSP eligibility of Chile.

This determination shall be published in the *Federal Register*.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:09 p.m., December 28, 1987]

Note: The memorandum was printed in the "Federal Register" of December 30.

Proclamation 5759—Increasing the Rates of Duty on Certain Products of the European Community

December 24, 1987

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

1. I have determined, pursuant to section 301(a) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the Act) (19 U.S.C. 2411), that the "Council Directive Prohibiting the Use in Livestock Farming of Certain Substances Having a Hormonal Action" (the Directive), adopted in December 1985 by the European Community (EC), is inconsistent with the provisions of, or otherwise denies benefits to the United States under, a trade agreement; or is unjustifiable or unreasonable and constitutes a burden or restriction on United States commerce. Unless European Community member states are allowed derogations to continue their present importation practices, the Directive will prohibit imports into the European Community of any meat produced from animals treated with growth hormones, effective

January 1, 1988, thereby severely disrupting exports of United States meat to the European Community. The need for such a prohibition is not supported by valid scientific evidence. Accordingly, the United States considers that the Directive constitutes a disguised restriction on international trade.

2. Section 301(a)(1) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2411(a)(1)) authorizes the President to take all appropriate and feasible action within his power to enforce the rights of the United States under any trade agreement, and to respond to any act, policy, or practice of a foreign government or instrumentality that he determines is inconsistent with the provisions of, or otherwise denies benefits to the United States under, a trade agreement, or is unjustifiable, unreasonable, or discriminatory and burdens or restricts United States commerce. Section 301(b) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2411(b)) authorizes the President to suspend, withdraw, or prevent

the application of benefits of trade agreement concessions with respect to, and to impose duties or other import restrictions on, the products of such foreign government or instrumentality for such time as he determines appropriate. Pursuant to section 301(a)(2) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2411(a)(2)), such actions can be taken on a nondiscriminatory basis or solely against the foreign government or instrumentality involved. Section 301(d)(1) of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2411(d)(1)) authorizes the President to take action on his own motion.

3. I have decided, pursuant to subsections 301 (a), (b), and (d)(1) of the Act, to increase United States import duties on certain articles the product of the European Community, as described in the Tariff Schedules of the United States and set forth in Annex A to this Proclamation. In the event that the Tariff Schedules of the United States are superseded by the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States, I have decided to increase United States import duties on the articles listed in Annex B that are the product of the European Community. I have further determined to suspend the application of increased duties so long as the European Community member states continue their present importation practices with respect to United States exports of relevant meat products.

Now, Therefore, I, Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, acting under the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes of the United States, including but not limited to subsections 301 (a), (b), and (d)(1) and section 604

of the Act (19 U.S.C. 2483), do proclaim that:

(1) Subpart B of part 2 of the Appendix to the Tariff Schedules of the United States (19 U.S.C. 1202) is modified as set forth in Annex A to this Proclamation.

(2) In the event that the Tariff Schedules of the United States are superseded by the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States, the latter shall be modified as set forth in Annex B to this Proclamation as of the effective date of that Schedule.

(3) The United States Trade Representative is authorized to suspend, modify, terminate, or terminate the suspension of the increased duties imposed by this Proclamation, upon publication in the *Federal Register* of his determination that such action is in the interest of the United States.

(4) This Proclamation, including the imposition of increased duties and their immediate suspension, shall be effective with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after January 2, 1988.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this 24th day of Dec., in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and twelfth.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:58 p.m., December 28, 1987]

Note: The annexes to the proclamation were printed in the "Federal Register" of December 30.

Memorandum on Imports From the European Economic Community

December 24, 1987

Memorandum for the United States Trade Representative

Subject: Determination under Section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974

I have determined, pursuant to section

301(a) of the Trade Act of 1974, as amended (the Act) (19 U.S.C. 2411), that the "Council Directive Prohibiting the Use in Livestock Farming of Certain Substances Having a Hormonal Action" (the Directive), adopted in December 1985 by the Europe-

an Community (EC), is inconsistent with the provisions of, or otherwise denies benefits to the United States under, a trade agreement; or is unjustifiable or unreasonable and constitutes a burden or restriction on United States commerce. I have also determined, pursuant to subsections 301(a), (b), and (d)(1) of the Act, to increase U.S. customs duties on certain products of the European Community. I am taking this action to enforce United States rights under a trade agreement and to respond to unjustifiable or unreasonable acts, policies, and practices of the European Community that burden or restrict United States commerce. However, I have determined to suspend the application of increased duties so long as the EC permits its member states to continue their present importation practices with respect to United States exports of relevant meat products.

Statement of Reasons

The European Community adopted the Hormone Directive in December 1985. It is scheduled to become effective with respect to imports on January 1, 1988. Unless EC member states are allowed derogations to continue their present importation practices, implementation of the Directive will prohibit imports into the European Community of any meat produced from animals treated with growth hormones, thereby severely disrupting exports of U.S. meat to the European Community. Such a prohibition is not supported by valid scientific evidence. Accordingly, the United States considers that the imposition of import restrictions under the Directive constitutes a disguised restriction on international trade.

The United States has repeatedly protested the Directive both bilaterally and within the framework of the Agreement on Technical Barriers to Trade ("Standards Code") of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In January 1987, the United States requested consultations with the EC under Article 14.1 of the Standards Code. These consultations were held in February and April without satisfactory results. On April 29, 1987, the United States requested the GATT Committee on Technical Barriers to Trade to investigate the matter. The Committee met in May, June, July, and

September. That investigation failed to yield a solution because of EC insistence, against the weight of scientific evidence, that consumption of meat from animals treated with growth hormones is dangerous to human health. On July 15, 1987, the United States asked for the formation of a Technical Experts Group (TEG) under Article 14.9 of the Standards Code, in order to examine the scientific basis, if any, for the EC claim. The EC blocked, and continues to block, the formation of such a group of experts. Additional consultations have failed to yield meaningful progress on the underlying issue. Accordingly, it is appropriate to proclaim countermeasures.

However, the European Community has provided assurances that all member states will be permitted to continue, and will continue, their present practices with regard to the importation of U.S. meat products for an additional 12 months. Therefore, I am suspending the application of those measures so long as the EC member states continue their present importation practices with respect to United States exports of relevant meat products. I expect the European Community to allow appropriate dispute settlement procedures to proceed expeditiously.

On November 25, 1987, I announced my intention to raise customs duties to a level of 100 percent ad valorem on as much as \$100 million in EC exports to the United States in response to the implementation of the Directive. I also announced that the products against which retaliatory action would be taken would be selected after a comment period ending on December 11, 1987. Finally, I announced that the sanctions would be effective soon after January 1, 1988, unless the EC had acted by that time to ensure that the Directive does not impede United States meat exports.

This determination shall be published in the *Federal Register*.

RONALD REAGAN

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:10 p.m., December 28, 1987]

Note: The memorandum was printed in the "Federal Register" of December 30.

White House Statement on Imports From the European Economic Community

December 24, 1987

The President today signed a proclamation imposing and temporarily suspending duties on approximately \$100 million worth of exports from the European Community (EC) to the United States. This implements his November 23 decision to retaliate against an EC unfair trade practice, but to suspend the sanctions for as long as it does not restrict U.S. meat exports to Europe. The action follows careful analysis of comments received in public hearings.

In December 1985 the EC decided to ban the sale or import of meat produced from animals treated with growth hormones, effective January 1, 1988. This action would bar \$100 million in U.S. meat sales to the EC. The ban was announced as a health measure; however, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration and a prestigious panel of international scientific experts have concluded that use of such hormones poses no health hazards.

The EC recently voted to allow meat imports to continue for an additional year; therefore, the President has suspended today's sanctions provided U.S. meat ex-

ports to Europe continue without interruption. He has instructed the U.S. Trade Representative to monitor the situation. If U.S. meat exports to the Community are found to be interrupted during this period, the Trade Representative is authorized to reimpose the sanctions. The President hopes that a permanent solution can be found to this problem based on scientific evidence over the next year.

This action is being taken under authority granted to the President in section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974. This administration has been more aggressive in using this enforcement tool against unfair trade practices than any previous administration. Today's actions are intended to maintain unimpeded access for American producers in a fair, competitive marketplace, without improper interference from foreign governments. The President intends to continue to pursue aggressive enforcement of these laws and, when necessary, take retaliatory measures equal in severity to those unfair trade practices aimed at American exporters.

Executive Order 12620—Delegation of Authority With Respect to the Administration of Justice Program

December 24, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States, including the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered that Executive Order No. 12163, as amended, is further amended by inserting at the end of the first sentence of subsection 6 of Section 1-201, the following phrase:

“, and all functions conferred by Section 534 of the Act.”

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 24, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 3:08 p.m., December 28, 1987]

Radio Address to the Nation on Voluntarism December 26, 1987

My fellow Americans:

Nancy and I hope you and your family are enjoying this holiday season. This is a time of two religious observances which go to the heart of America's Judeo-Christian heritage: Christmas and Hanukkah. This is also a traditional time of merriment and good cheer, a time of family and home and of Christmas trees and gift-giving. That spirit of generosity that is so evident during the holiday season is something we've tried to foster during the past 7 years of this administration. Here at the White House, we call it the Private Sector Initiative Program. You probably think of it as good, old-fashioned Americanism—neighbor helping neighbor.

One of the opportunities my current job affords me is having the access to information that gives me a broad picture of what is happening throughout our country. There is always much to improve. But I can assure you that the spirit of good will and benevolence, an aspect of our national character recognized since the early days of our Republic, remains a vibrant part of the American way of life. You may be surprised to learn, for example, that since 1980 charitable giving in the United States has increased 77 percent, from \$49.08 billion to \$87.22 billion in 1986. I don't think there's any better gauge for the soul of a nation or the essential goodness of a people than an accounting of their personal involvement in helping others, either through donations of money or time. And voluntarism is still a strong force in communities throughout our country.

The stories are as numerous as they are heartwarming. One of them is about an engineer from Vicksburg, Mississippi, named Bob Carver. For 5 years straight, Bob spent the holiday season driving a truck to raise money for the Salvation Army. To date, he has raised over \$20,000, which has bought Christmas toys and food for the needy, sent children to summer camp, and helped pay the utility bills for the elderly. Bob uses his annual leave to haul cargo for his tractor-

trailer rig, which is affectionately known as the "Santa Express." The profits go to helping others. God bless you, Bob.

Then there's Ruth Heywood, of Casa Grande, Arizona—a single woman, 74 years old, living only on her pension benefits. Even though her own financial resources are limited, she overflows with love and is dedicated to helping others. Each year she spearheads a local effort to provide the needy and the poor in spirit a festive Thanksgiving and Christmas celebration. Ruth provides the energy and the inspiration. As the holiday season approaches, she visits grocers all over town to solicit donations of food, plates, and utensils. She coordinates transportation and arranges meals to be delivered to the homebound. She also handwrites hundreds of invitations and personally gives them to the less-fortunate citizens of her community. Every year people who thought they were unloved and forgotten are shown that people do care. The people of Casa Grande are proud of Ruth. We can all be proud of her.

I recently received a letter from David Rayl of Bald Knob, Arkansas, telling me about how, with hard work and private and corporate donations, he is able to play Santa to hundreds of needy families. His yearly project makes a lot of kids happy who otherwise might face a bleak holiday. David, who teaches at a local elementary school, added in his letter, "Perhaps you're not too interested in something this small, but small things add up to big things." Well, I happen to believe that it is the small things, the little acts of love and kindness happening every day across this country, that make us a great nation. Yes, small things add up to big things. This country can be no greater than the goodness of its people.

Most of us know someone like Bob Carver, Ruth Heywood, or David Rayl. Down deep, who cannot but respect such heroes? I'd like to think there's a little of them in each and every American. Certainly, from our earliest days, we weren't waiting for the Government or depending on

the bureaucracy before we helped each other. President Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "I deem it the duty of every man to devote a certain portion of his income for charitable purposes, and that it is his further duty to see it so applied as to do the most good of which it is capable."

Helping others is just our way, part of our national character. Perhaps it reflects that we as a people not only enjoy this holiday every year as time off from work but also

take to heart the spiritual meaning of Christmas and Hanukkah.

Finally, Nancy and I want to wish each of you our very best wishes for the New Year. Until next week, thanks for listening, and God bless you.

Note: The President recorded his address on December 23 in the Roosevelt Room at the White House for broadcast on December 26 at 12:06 p.m.

Statement on the Eighth Anniversary of the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan

December 27, 1987

This is the time of year when Americans gather in the company of their families and friends, make resolutions for the New Year, and reflect on the year gone by. It is precisely at this time, when we are thankful for our blessings of liberty, that we should remember the valiant struggle of a brave people located far from our shores.

Eight years ago, on December 27, 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in an unprovoked and blatant affront to both human decency and international law. The Soviets promptly installed a series of puppet dictators and since then have attempted ruthlessly and systematically to destroy the ability of the Afghan people to resist. Despite 8 years of occupation, they have not been able to subdue the proud people of Afghanistan.

Some 5 million Afghans have fled the ravages of this Soviet war on their homeland and the oppression the Soviet Army has imposed. As many as 1 million Afghans have been killed. In destroying crops, factories, homes, schools, and mosques, the Soviet Union has sought to deprive its enemy—the whole Afghan nation—of the means to support and feed themselves, to sustain their culture and their faith, and thereby to bring them to their knees. But the Afghan people will not be conquered. With an abiding faith in God and a passionate love of freedom, they have shown the world what price free people are willing to pay to remain

free. They remind us that freedom is not a gift but a cherished prize to be won and preserved by ceaseless struggle.

On a number of occasions I have invited the Soviet leadership to explore all opportunities to bring peace to Afghanistan. We have welcomed recent Soviet statements of an intent to withdraw. Unfortunately, their deeds have yet to match their words. General Secretary Gorbachev and I discussed this issue during our recent meetings here in Washington. At that time I asked him to announce a timetable for troop withdrawal, including dates when this withdrawal would begin and end. I call once again on the Soviet Union to translate its declared intentions into reality by promptly and irrevocably withdrawing all Soviet forces from Afghanistan. Let 1988 be the year of action, the year that will see the Soviet Union end once and for all its brutal occupation of Afghanistan. After 8 long years and despite their unrelenting efforts, the Soviets simply have failed to defeat the Afghan resistance on the battlefield. At the same time, the world has repeatedly and clearly called for the prompt withdrawal of all Soviet troops. The United Nations most recently approved by record votes resolutions against the Soviet occupation and abuse of human rights in Afghanistan.

The people of Afghanistan have, as much as any people in history, won the right to freedom and independence. We applaud

their commitment and steadfastness, for their cause is the cause of free people everywhere. Let us pray that in the year to

come a free and independent Afghanistan will again take its place among the community of nations.

Executive Order 12621—President's Task Force on Market Mechanisms

December 29, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, it is hereby ordered that Section 2(b) of Executive Order 12614 of November 5, 1987, is amended to read: "The Task Force shall submit its recommendations to the President no later than January 8, 1988."

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 29, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:59 a.m., December 30, 1987]

Note: The Executive order was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 30.

Statement on Signing the United States-Japan Fishery Agreement Approval Act of 1987

December 29, 1987

I am pleased to sign H.R. 3674, the "United States-Japan Fishery Agreement Approval Act of 1987." The Act provides congressional approval of an important agreement concerning our fishery relationship with Japan, and it enacts a number of constructive marine environmental measures. I believe, however, that two provisions of the Act must be carefully construed to avoid raising substantial constitutional questions.

Sections 4004 and 4006 of H.R. 3674 direct that the Secretary of Commerce "shall immediately" initiate negotiations with foreign governments that conduct driftnet fishing operations that result in the

taking of the marine resources of the United States. In light of the President's constitutional responsibility to conduct diplomatic initiatives, including the responsibility to determine the timing of those initiatives, I believe that these sections must be construed as advisory.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 29, 1987.

Note: H.R. 3674, approved December 29, was assigned Public Law No. 100-220. The statement was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on December 30.

Executive Order 12622—Adjustments of Certain Rates of Pay and Allowances

December 31, 1987

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including sections 108 and 110 of Public Law 100-202, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. Statutory Pay Systems. The rates of basic pay and salaries of the following statutory pay systems are set forth on the schedules attached hereto and made a part hereof:

(a) The General Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5332(a)) at Schedule 1;

(b) The Foreign Services Schedule (22 U.S.C. 3963) at Schedule 2; and

(c) The schedules for the Department of Medicine and Surgery, Veterans Administration (38 U.S.C. 4107) at Schedule 3.

Sec. 2. Senior Executive Service. Pursuant to the provisions of section 5382 of title 5, United States Code, the rates of basic pay for members of the Senior Executive Service are set forth on Schedule 4 attached hereto and made a part hereof.

Sec. 3. Executive Salaries. The rates of pay or salaries for the following offices and positions are set forth on the schedules attached hereto and made a part hereof:

(a) The Executive Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5312-5316) at Schedule 5;

(b) The Vice President (3 U.S.C. 104) and Congressional Salaries (2 U.S.C. 31) at Schedule 6; and

(c) Salaries for justices and judges (28

U.S.C. 5, 44(d), 135, 252) and for other judicial officers (28 U.S.C. 153(a), 172(b)) at Schedule 7.

Sec. 4. Uniformed Services. Pursuant to section 601 of Public Law 100-180, as amended by section 110(b) of Public Law 100-202, the rates of monthly basic pay (37 U.S.C. 203(a)), the rates of basic allowances for subsistence (37 U.S.C. 402), and the rates of basic allowances for quarters (37 U.S.C. 403(a)) for members of the uniformed services as set forth at Schedule 8 attached hereto and made a part hereof.

Sec. 5. Effective Dates. The rates of monthly basic pay and allowances for subsistence and quarters for members of the uniformed services provided for herein are effective on January 1, 1988. All other schedules provided for herein are effective on the first day of the first applicable pay period beginning on or after January 1, 1988.

Sec. 6. Executive Order No. 12578 of December 31, 1986, is superseded.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 31, 1987.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 11:02 a.m., January 4, 1988]

Note: The schedules were printed in the "Federal Register" of January 5, 1988.

Statement by Assistant to the President for Press Relations Fitzwater on the Veterans' Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act of 1987

December 31, 1987

The President today signed H.R. 2945, the Veterans' Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act of 1987. This legislation will provide, as proposed by the administration, a 4.2-percent cost-of-living increase in the

monthly benefit checks of over 2.2 million veterans with service-connected disabilities and their dependents and to about 310,000 surviving spouses and children of veterans whose deaths were service-connected. The

4.2-percent increase is the same as the percentage increase that Social Security beneficiaries and veterans pensioners will receive.

The increase is effective December 1 and payable at the beginning of January. However, the substantial lead time required to make computer system changes will result in March payments being the first to reflect the increase. The March payment will also include a lump sum adjustment for the January and February payments.

The administration earlier this year submitted to the Congress a legislative propos-

al to make the cost-of-living adjustment automatic for veterans' compensation programs. This would place compensation recipients on par with veterans' pension and Social Security recipients, who will see the 4.2-percent increase in their January payments. Enactment of the administration's legislative proposal will assure a similar delay will not occur again.

Note: H.R. 2945, approved December 31, was assigned Public Law No. 100-227.

Appendix A—Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this book.

July 5

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

July 6

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—members of the White House staff, for the issues briefing luncheon.

July 7

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger.

July 9

The President met at the White House with:
—Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—corporate sponsors of the Vote America Foundation, an organization which promotes voter registration among young adults;
—Secretary of Labor William E. Brock III, to discuss the international trade bill;
—Secretary of Agriculture Richard Lyng, to discuss the farm economy and issues affecting the agricultural community.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to terms of 2 years:

Secretary of Labor William E. Brock III. This is a reappointment.

Attorney General Edwin Meese III. This is a reappointment.

The President sent to the Congress a request for fiscal year 1988 language to help implement the President's productivity improvement program by allowing participating Federal agencies to use no more than 50 percent of its productivity savings to pay bonuses to the employees and

managers who produced the productivity improvement and to fund projects that have productivity improvement potential. This transmittal also includes a request for an additional \$680,000 in fiscal year 1988 for the legislative branch.

In the afternoon, the President hosted a senatorial reception in the Residence at the White House.

July 10

The President met at the White House with:
—Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

The White House announced that the President met with David Packard and former members of the President's Blue Ribbon Commission on Defense Management to discuss the progress made over the past year in implementing the Commission's 1986 recommendations for improvements in defense management and organization. The President warmly praised the former Commissioners for the quality of the Commission's work and their continued interest, and expressed special appreciation to Mr. Packard.

The President declared that a major disaster exists in Oklahoma as a result of heavy rains and flooding that occurred during the period of May 19–31. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide funds to supplement State and local efforts to repair the damage.

July 14

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—the Republican congressional leadership.

July 15

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—Thomas Loeffler, Principal Coordinator for Central America in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs, and Cresencio Arcos, Jr., Principal Coordinator for Public Diplomacy on Central America in the White

House Office of Communications, to discuss the administration's request for assistance for the Nicaraguan democratic resistance;

- the Vice President, for lunch;
- Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

July 16

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- the Cabinet, to discuss the mid-year budget review;
- Edwin Goldwasser, national commander of the Jewish War Veterans.

July 17

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

The President declared that major disasters exist in Iowa and Ohio as a result of severe storms and flooding. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

July 19

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

July 20

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- members of the White House staff, for the issues briefing luncheon;
- the Economic Policy Council, to discuss the Federal Government's role in the development of superconductivity and to review obstacles to its commercial development;
- William H. Webster, Director of Central Intelligence.

In an Oval Office ceremony, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Nouhoum Samassekou of Mali, Alhaji Hamzat Ahmadu of Nigeria, Roberto Martinez Ordonez of Honduras, Zivorad Kovacevic of Yugoslavia, Moshe Arad of Israel, and Siaosi Taimani 'Aho of Tonga.

The President transmitted to the Congress the 19th annual report on developments under the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965, which covered calendar year 1984.

July 21

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- the Republican congressional leadership, to discuss catastrophic illness medical insurance legislation, international trade legislation, and the increase of the public debt limit;
- Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger.

The President transmitted to the Congress the 15th annual report on Federal Advisory Committees, which covered fiscal year 1986.

July 22

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- members of the White House Science Council, to discuss superconductivity;
- Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

The President sent to the Congress a request of \$100,927,000 in additional fiscal year 1988 appropriations to provide \$79,187,000 to restore funding withheld due to the Kassebaum-Solomon restrictions required by Public Law 99-93. The restrictions required the partial withholding of the U.S. assessed contributions to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. The purpose of these restrictions was to encourage the United Nations to adopt certain financial and administrative reforms. At the urging of the United States and other concerned nations, reforms have been adopted that the administration believes constitute a sufficient first step toward fulfilling the intent of Public Law 99-93. The proposal also includes \$21,740,000 to restore the shortfall in the U.S. contribution to the United Nations resulting from the decline in the value of the dollar.

July 23

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- the Vice President, for lunch;
- the National Drug Policy Board.

July 24

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—U.S. District Court Judge William S. Sessions, to discuss Judge Session's nomination to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The White House announced that President Reagan has invited President El Hadj Omar Bongo of Gabon to make an official working visit to the United States. President Bongo has accepted the invitation and will meet with President Reagan at the White House on July 31.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

July 26

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

July 28

The President met at the White House with Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

In the evening, the President attended a dinner honoring Paul A. Volcker, former Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, at the Department of State.

July 29

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- the Vice President, for lunch;
- Secretary of State George P. Shultz;
- local participants in the Special Olympics.

July 30

The President met at the White House with: —the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

- the Multiple Sclerosis Mother and Father of the Year for 1986, Susan Jackson and Art Chaykyn, and for 1987, Alka Khatarpal and Daniel Shellington.

The White House announced that it had been agreed that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State George P. Shultz will meet in Washington on September 15–17.

July 31

The President met at the White House with: —the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

- national leaders of the American Legion.

The White House announced that Their Imperial Highnesses the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan will visit the United States for approximately 20 days in October at the invitation of the President and Mrs. Reagan.

The President sent to the Congress amended fiscal year 1988 appropriations requests for the following:

- \$23 million for International Security Assistance to support the Government of Jordan's West Bank-Gaza development program. This program would promote economic development in the West Bank and Gaza. This increase would be offset by a \$32-million reduction in the fiscal year 1988 appropriations request for the Department of Defense.
- \$28 million for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to initiate the procurement of launch services for two Delta-class launch vehicles. These vehicles would be used to launch the Roentgen Satellite in 1990 and the Extreme Ultraviolet Explorer in 1991. Increased outlays associated with this request would be offset by outlay reductions in other NASA programs.

In the afternoon, the President went to Bethesda Naval Medical Center to have a basal cell epithelioma, a type of skin cancer, removed from his nose. In the evening, following the operation, he returned to the White House. The White House announced that the surgery had gone well and that the President was in excellent health.

August 3

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President and Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President;
 - members of the White House staff, for the issues briefing luncheon;
 - Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger.

August 4

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President and Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President;
 - the Republican congressional leadership, to discuss the public debt limit, catastrophic illness medical insurance legislation, and diplomatic peace initiatives for Central America;
 - William H. Webster, Director of Central Intelligence.

The President transmitted to the Congress the annual reports of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which covered calendar year 1986.

August 5

- The President met at the White House with:

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- the Vice President and Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President;
- the congressional leadership, to discuss a diplomatic peace initiative for Central America;
- leaders of the Nicaraguan democratic resistance;
- Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

August 6

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President and Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President;
 - the Democratic congressional leadership, to discuss the Central American peace initiative;
 - the Vice President, for lunch;
 - Life Achievement Award winners from Puerto Rico.

The President declared that a major disaster exists in Minnesota as a result of heavy rains, tornadoes, and flooding that began on July 20. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement the State's recovery efforts.

August 7

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President and Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President;
 - Representatives Robert K. Dornan of California, David Dreier of California, Duncan Hunter of California, and Howard C. Nielson of Utah, to discuss their trip to Panama, El Salvador, and Honduras;
 - a group of chefs who had served heads of state;
 - Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

The President sent to the Congress a request for an additional \$78.4 million in fiscal year 1987 for the Veterans Administration. \$25 million of the supplemental appropriation would provide funds to cover a projected shortfall in the Vietnam-era GI bill readjustment benefits program. The funding shortfall is due to a higher number of veterans remaining in training during the summer months. \$53.4 million would provide for increases in the veterans compensation program, which makes payments to veterans with service-connected disabilities. The unexpected increases in this program are due to actual benefits levels that are higher, on average, than in the past.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

August 9

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

August 10

- The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- Gen. John W. Vessey, Jr., Special Presidential Emissary for POW-MIA issues, to discuss his recent trip to Hanoi;
- the Cabinet, to hear a report from former Chief Justice Warren E. Burger on the "We the People" events planned for September in observance of the 200th anniversary of the Constitution;
- David S. Ruder, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission;
- the Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs.

August 11

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

August 12

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - Presbyterian leaders;
 - M. Danny Wall, Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board;
 - Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

August 13

The White House announced that an unidentified low-flying aircraft intruded into restricted airspace as Marine One approached the President's ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA. The unknown aircraft was tracked to John Wayne Airport in Orange County, CA, where the pilot was detained for questioning by the Secret Service.

August 18

In the morning, the President discussed with Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the release of Charles Glass, the American journalist kidnaped 2 months ago in Beirut, Lebanon.

August 24

The White House announced that the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic would hold public meetings on September 9 at the National Press Club and on September 10 in the Department of Commerce auditorium.

August 25

The President left his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA, and traveled to Los Angeles, where he stayed at the Century Plaza Hotel.

August 28

In the morning, the President met at the Century Plaza Hotel with leaders of the law enforcement community supporting the nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

August 29

In the morning, the President left Los Angeles and traveled to his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA.

September 5

The President declared that a major disaster exists in Wyoming as a result of underground methane gas leaks in the Gillette area that began earlier this year. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance.

September 6

The President returned to the White House following his vacation in California.

September 8

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—Republican State legislative candidates.

September 9

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

The President transmitted to the Congress the 10th annual report on Federal energy conservation programs undertaken during fiscal year 1986.

September 11

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

The President announced his intention to nominate Representative George W. Crockett, Jr., of Michigan to be designated a U.S. Representative to the 42d Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

September 13

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

September 14

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—Roh Tae Woo, Presidential nominee of South Korea's Democratic Justice Party;
—Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Hanford Dole, to discuss her resignation;
—U.S. Jaycees State presidents.

September 15

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—the Republican congressional leadership;
—major donors to the National Republican Congressional Committee.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be a Representative and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the 42d Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Representative:

Vernon A. Walters, Permanent United States Representative to the United Nations.

Alternate Representatives:

Patricia Mary Byrne, Deputy United States Representative to the Security Council of the United States.

Hugh Montgomery, Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations.

Lester B. Korn, Representative of the United States of America on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

September 16

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—President Abdou Diouf of Senegal and Dr. Thomas Odhiambo of Kenya, the corecipients of Project Hunger's award for African leadership;
—Seth Mourton, the Arthritis Foundation poster child.

The President announced his intention to nominate the following individuals to be the Rep-

representative and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the 31st Session of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency:

Representative:

John S. Herrington, Secretary of Energy. He will be accorded the personal rank of Ambassador during the tenure of his service in this capacity.

Alternate Representatives:

Richard T. Kennedy, Ambassador at Large.
Bruce Chapman, Representative of the United States of America to the Vienna Office of the United Nations and Deputy Representative of the United States of America to the International Atomic Energy Agency.
Lando W. Zech, Jr., Chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

September 17

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

The President sent to the Congress amended fiscal year 1988 appropriations requests for the following:

—\$737,978,000 for the Department of Energy to purchase oil for the Strategic Petroleum Reserve at a rate of 100,000 barrels a day beginning in fiscal year 1988. This increase would help implement the proposals set forth in the President's energy message to the Congress of May 6, 1987, and the energy security report issued by the Department of Energy. This proposal would not affect fiscal year 1988 outlays, because this increase would be offset by receipts from the sale of Great Plains Coal Gasification Plant.

—Offsetting \$1 million amendments to the Department of the Interior that will help provide an additional \$15,600,000 to continue the cleanup and related activities of the Kesterson Reservoir and the San Luis Drain in the Central Valley Project in California. A total of \$18,400,000 in fiscal year 1988 funds will be used for this cleanup. This increase would be fully offset by reductions in other Bureau of Reclamation programs.

The President also transmitted fiscal year 1988 appropriations requests totaling \$468,000 for the legislative branch.

September 18

The President met at the White House with:—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C.

Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—Louisiana Republican leaders;
—Secretary of State George P. Shultz;
—representatives of the Hispanic Scholarship Fund.

The President announced his intention to nominate Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr., for reappointment to a 2-year term as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Admiral Crowe has served as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff since October 1985.

The President transmitted to the Congress the annual report of the Rehabilitation Services Administration, which covered fiscal year 1986.

The President sent to the Congress amendments reducing the fiscal year 1988 request for appropriations by \$288.3 million. These reductions are possible because of a reestimate of the cost of Federal Government contributions to the Federal Employee Retirement System (FERS). These amendments affect all activities of the executive branch of the Federal Government except those that are defense-related. Recent congressional action on defense-related appropriations requests has made further reductions in this area unwise and inconsistent with a strong national defense.

The President announced his intention to award the Presidential Medal of Freedom to former Chief Justice Warren E. Burger and Judge Irving Kaufman at a White House ceremony on October 7.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

September 20

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

September 22

The President met at the White House with:—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—President Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica;
—conservative leaders.

The President transmitted to the Congress the eighth annual report of the Department of Energy, which covered 1986.

The President designated Charles E. Cobb, Jr., Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Trade Development, International Trade Administration, as a member of the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. He will succeed Louis F. Laun.

September 23

The President met at the White House with:

- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- Natan and Avital Shcharanskiy;
- Kenneth McBride, Boys Clubs of America Youth of the Year;
- Dean Kleckner, of the American Farm Bureau;
- Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger.

The President sent to the Congress amended fiscal year 1988 appropriations requests to provide \$1,500,000 to help complete the visitors center parking facility at Arlington National Cemetery. An additional \$1,250,000 would be provided from available funds. The increase would be fully offset by a proposed reduction in Army Corps of Engineers-civil construction activities.

September 24

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - the Vice President, for lunch;
 - representatives of the Associated Builders and Contractors;
 - the leadership of the Order of the Sons of Italy in America;
 - Lord Plumb, President of the European Parliament;
 - Scott Halverson, the 1987 Asthma and Allergy Foundation poster child.

The President transmitted the following reports to the Congress:

- the eighth annual report of the Federal Labor Relations Authority, which covered fiscal year 1986;
- the 1986 annual reports of the Department of Labor, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission under the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970;
- the 1986 annual report of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education;
- the report on world food needs and production and agricultural trade prepared in accordance with section 1113 of the Food Security Act of 1985;
- the 15th annual report on the administration of the Federal Railroad Safety Act of 1970.

September 25

- The President met at the White House with:
- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President;
 - King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sofia of Spain, for lunch.

The President announced his intention to appoint Robert W. McVey, Director of the Alaska Region, National Marine Fisheries Service, Department of Commerce, as a U.S. Commissioner of the International North Pacific Fisheries Commission for a term expiring June 4, 1991. This is a reappointment.

September 28

- The President met at the White House with:
- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - members of the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation, for lunch.

September 29

- The President met at the White House with:
- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - William H. Webster, Director of Central Intelligence.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following to be members of the Board of Governors of the American National Red Cross for terms of 3 years. These are reappointments.

Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Defense.

Donald Ian MacDonald, Special Assistant to the President for Drug Abuse Policy and Administrator of the Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration, Department of Health and Human Services.

The President sent to the Congress an amended fiscal year 1988 appropriations request to provide \$2 million to help implement the Department of the Interior's Financial Integration Review for Management System (FIRM). The implementation of FIRM would result in significant cost savings and efficiency improvements by standardizing and integrating administrative and accounting systems throughout the Department. The increase would be fully offset by proposed reductions in other Department of the Interior activities. This transmittal also includes amended fiscal year 1988 appropriations requests totaling \$5,930,000 for the legislative branch.

September 30

The President met at the White House with Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

In the afternoon, the President hosted a reception for the Republican Eagles in the Residence at the White House.

October 1

The President met at the White House with:

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- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- Senators Robert Dole of Kansas, Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, to discuss the Supreme Court nomination of Robert H. Bork;
- Judge Robert H. Bork;
- business leaders, to discuss the Supreme Court nomination of Robert H. Bork;
- U.S. Ambassadors Leonard Rochwarger (Fiji), James H. Michel (Guatemala), Peter R. Sommer (Malta), and Julian M. Niemczyk (Czechoslovakia), prior to their departure for their overseas posts;
- officers of the International Union of Pure and Applied Physics.

October 2

- The President met at the White House with:
- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - the Economic Policy Council;
 - Senators Dennis DeConcini of Arizona and J. James Exon of Nebraska, to discuss the Supreme Court nomination of Robert H. Bork.

In the morning, the President hosted a farewell reception for Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Hanford Dole in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

October 4

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

October 5

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - President Joaquim Alberto Chissano of Mozambique;
 - members of the White House staff, for the issues briefing luncheon.

October 6

- The President met at the White House with:
- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - Crown Prince Akihito of Japan;
 - the board of directors of Associated Press.

The President sent to the Congress offsetting, amended fiscal year 1988 appropriations requests to implement a routine technical adjustment that would transfer funding for the Army Corps of Engineers-Civil regulatory functions from the op-

eration and maintenance, general budget account, to a new account entitled general regulatory functions. This adjustment would reflect recent congressional action on the Army Corps of Engineers-Civil fiscal year 1988 appropriations request.

In the evening, the President telephoned Robert H. Bork to discuss Judge Bork's nomination to the Supreme Court and to express his desire to see the confirmation process resolved by a vote on the floor of the Senate.

Later in the evening, the President hosted a dinner for Crown Prince Akihito and Crown Princess Michiko in the Residence at the White House.

October 7

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - Viktor P. Nikonov, a member of the Soviet Politburo and Deputy Chairman of the Agro-Industrial Committee;
 - Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

The President declared that a major disaster exists in southern California as a result of earthquakes that occurred on October 1. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

October 8

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - the congressional leadership;
 - Richard Berkley, president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors;
 - John Smith, president of the National Conference of Black Mayors;
 - Republican congressional and gubernatorial candidates.

In an Oval Office ceremony, the President was given a replica of the U.S. Navy memorial statue of "The Lone Sailor" by Rear Adm. William Thompson, USN, Ret., and John P. Cosgrove, chairman of the Navy Memorial Dedication Committee.

October 9

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—Deng Pufang, who is the son of Deng Xiaoping, Chairman of China's Central Military Commission.

Later in the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

October 12

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

October 13

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- William H. Webster, Director of Central Intelligence.

The White House announced that President Reagan has invited President Chaim Herzog of Israel to make a state visit to the United States on November 10 and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of Israel for an informal meeting on November 20. These meetings reflect the continued close relationship between the United States and Israel in seeking peace and stability in the Middle East.

October 14

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

October 15

The President met at the White House with:

- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- the Senate Steering Committee, to discuss the Supreme Court nomination of Robert H. Bork, taxes, and Secretary of State Shultz' meeting in Moscow with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze;
- Secretary of State George P. Shultz;
- Secretary of the Treasury James A. Baker III and Beryl W. Sprinkel, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, for a briefing on the Nation's economy and the 1987 Federal budget deficit;
- Earl L. Stock, the new commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The President sent to the Congress an amended fiscal year 1988 appropriations request to provide a reduction of \$2,094,000 for the Department of the Treasury, Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. This reduction is possible due to a reestimate of the cost of Federal contributions to the Federal Employee Retirement System.

October 16

The President met at the White House with:
—Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
—Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger.

In the evening, the President accompanied Mrs. Reagan to the Bethesda Naval Hospital, where she underwent breast surgery the following day. The President returned to the White House later in the evening.

October 17

In the afternoon, the President met at the White House with his advisers to consider an appropriate response to Iran's missile attack on a U.S.-flagged ship, the *Sea Isle City*, in the Persian Gulf on October 16.

October 18

In the evening, the President met at the White House with the congressional leadership to discuss the U.S. reprisal against Iran and the overall U.S. policy in the Persian Gulf.

October 19

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

- Secretary of Commerce-designate C. William Verity, Jr., and family;
- members of the White House staff, for the issues briefing luncheon;
- the Commission on Merchant Marine and Defense, to receive the Commission's annual report;
- President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda.

October 20

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

In an Oval Office ceremony, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Ousman Ahmadou Sallah of The Gambia, John Reginald Dumas of Trinidad and Tobago, Ion Stoichici of Romania, Renagi R. Lohia of Papua New Guinea, Abdul Amir al-Anbari of Iraq, and Aloys Uwimana of Rwanda.

October 21

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

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—President José Simeon Azcona Hoyo of Honduras.

October 22

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—Theo Waigel, leader of the West German Christian Socialist Union;

—the U.S. Savings Bonds Volunteer Committee, to receive the 1987 final report and kick off the 1988 savings bond campaign.

In an Oval Office ceremony, the President observed the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Public Broadcasting Act.

October 23

The President met at the White House with Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Deputy Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

The President announced the appointment of the following individuals to the Presidential Board of Advisors on Private Sector Initiatives:

J. Patrick Barrett, chairman and chief executive officer, Avis, Inc.;

James E. Duffy, president of communications, ABC-TV;

John A. Meyers, chairman, magazine group, Time, Inc.;

James D. Robinson III, chairman and chief executive officer, American Express Co.;

Martin R. Shugrue, Jr., vice chairman and chief operating officer, Pan American Airways;

John T. Walsh, vice president, Project HOPE.

The Presidential Board of Advisors on Private Sector Initiatives works to encourage charitable giving, voluntarism, public-private partnerships, and corporate social responsibility.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

October 25

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

In the afternoon, the President met at the White House with Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs to receive a report on their recent meetings with Soviet leaders in Moscow.

October 26

The President met at the White House with:

—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—the congressional leadership, to discuss the upcoming negotiations with Congress on reducing the Federal deficit;

—His Holiness Vasken I, patriarch of the Armenian Apostolic Church;

—Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

In the afternoon, the President attended the National Republican Senatorial Committee Inner Circle Luncheon at the Shoreham Hotel.

October 27

In the morning, the President and Mrs. Reagan traveled to Phoenix, AZ, where Mrs. Reagan made funeral arrangements for her mother, Edith Davis, who died on October 26. The President returned to Washington, DC, later that evening.

October 28

The White House announced that the President has invited Prime Minister Giovanni Giuseppe Gorla of Italy to make an official working visit to the United States on December 16.

October 29

The President met at the White House with:

—Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—the Telephone Pioneers of America;

—the U.S. Motocross team.

The President sent to Congress amended fiscal year 1988 appropriations requests that would provide the following:

—a net reduction of \$10,300,000 for the Department of Defense-Military. This results from a reduction of \$42,300,000 in the Navy research, development, test, and evaluation (RDT&E) account that supersedes a reduction of \$32,000,000 for the Navy operation and maintenance (O&M) account that was transmitted to the Congress on July 31, 1987, to offset the outlay effect of a proposal to provide additional funds to support the Government of Jordan's West Bank-Gaza development program. This change is necessary, because naval operations in the Middle East have made O&M funding more critical than RDT&E funding.

—transfer of an additional \$15,348,000 from Health Care Trust Funds for the Department of Health and Human Services to fund the implementation of an administrative appeals process to adjudicate disputes concerning Medicare benefits claims. The appeals process is required by section 9341 of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1986. The increased outlays associated with this proposal would be offset by making Medicare the

secondary payer to all types of no-fault liability insurance.

Also included in this transmittal is a fiscal year 1988 request for the legislative branch for \$1,847,000.

In the afternoon, the President hosted a reception in the Residence at the White House for members of Citizens of America, a national civic organization that supports the President's economic and national security programs.

October 30

The President met at the White House with:—Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;—Secretary of State George P. Shultz, to discuss negotiations on the Soviet-U.S. summit.

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Phoenix, AZ, to attend the funeral service for Mrs. Reagan's mother, Edith Luckett Davis.

November 1

In the afternoon, the President returned to Washington, DC, after attending the funeral service for Mrs. Reagan's mother, Edith Luckett Davis, in Phoenix, AZ.

November 2

The President met at the White House with:—Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;—the Cabinet, to discuss the Supreme Court nomination of Douglas H. Ginsburg, the economy and the stock market, and the Soviet-U.S. summit.

In the afternoon, the President hosted a farewell reception for Secretary of Labor William E. Brock III in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

November 3

The President met at the White House with:—Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;—the Republican congressional leadership, to discuss negotiations to reduce the Federal deficit.

The President declared that a major disaster exists in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands as a result of damage caused by Typhoon Lynn, which struck the Commonwealth on October 18–19. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide funds to supplement State and local efforts to repair public facilities.

In the evening, the President hosted a reception for Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies in the Residence at the White House.

November 4

The President met at the White House with:—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;—Irina Ratushinskaya, a poet and human rights activist who emigrated from the Soviet Union in 1986;—William H. Webster, Director of Central Intelligence;—the Vice President, for lunch;—members of the Presidential Task Force on Market Mechanisms, to discuss the points to be covered in the task force's report on the securities market;—Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the White House Conference for a Drug Free America:

Naya Arbiter, of Arizona. Since 1981 Ms. Arbiter has been director of Therapeutic Communities at Amity, Inc., in Tuscon, AZ.

Robert L. Backman, of Utah. Since 1985 Mr. Backman has been executive director of the missionary department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, UT.

Peter Bell, of Minnesota. Since 1975 Mr. Bell has been executive director of the Institute on Black Chemical Abuse in Minneapolis, MN.

James Bowerman, of Maryland. Since 1970 Mr. Bowerman has been principal of the Perry Hall High School in Baltimore, MD.

Mrs. Joan A. Brann, of California. Since 1984 Mrs. Brann has been project director of Parents in Action in Oakland, CA.

William E. Coletti, Jr., of Florida. Mr. Coletti is currently a student at St. Petersburg Junior College.

Jill K. Cubberly, of Ohio. Ms. Cubberly is currently a student at the University of Cincinnati.

Robert R. Dempsey, of Florida. Since 1982 Mr. Dempsey has been commissioner of the Florida Department of Law Enforcement in Tallahassee, FL.

Frank J. Dinoto, of California. Since 1986 Mr. Dinoto has been president of Kiwanis International in Indianapolis, IN.

Lora H. Donoho, of Ohio. Since 1976 Mrs. Donoho has been director of athletics at Mount Vernon Nazarene College in Mount Vernon, OH.

Brice B. Durbin, of Kansas. Since 1976 Mr. Durbin has been executive director of the National Federation of State High School Associations in Kansas City, MO.

Thomas M. Garvin, of Illinois. Since 1978 Mr. Garvin has been president and chief executive officer at Keebler Co. in Elmhurst, IL.

Thomas James Gleaton, Jr., of Georgia. Since 1977 Mr. Gleaton has been president and treasurer of PRIDE in Atlanta, GA.

Gordon R. Grimm, of Minnesota. Since 1986 Mr. Grimm has been director of health promotion and prevention for the Hazelden Foundation in Center City, MN.

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Victor Herbert, of New York. Since 1985 Mr. Herbert has been superintendent for the Dropout Prevention Program in New York, NY.

Mrs. Anne Hale Johnson, of Maryland. Mrs. Johnson is currently involved with her program of Safe Travel America.

Robert L. Johnson, of the District of Columbia. Since 1980 Mr. Johnson has been president and founder of Black Entertainment Television in Washington, DC.

Lloyd D. Johnston, of Michigan. Since 1978 Mr. Johnston has been program director for the Institute for Social Research in Ann Arbor, MI.

John Ernest Lamp, of Washington. Since 1981 Mr. Lamp has been U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Washington in Spokane, WA.

Ben H. Love, of New Jersey. Since 1985 Mr. Love has been chief scout executive of Boy Scouts of America in Irving, TX.

N. Hector McGeachy, Jr., of North Carolina. Since 1945 Mr. McGeachy has been senior partner at McGeachy & Hudson in Fayetteville, NC.

Jeremiah Milbank, of Connecticut. Since 1948 Mr. Milbank has been president of Boys Club of America in New York, NY.

T. Otto Moulton, of New Hampshire. Since 1980 Mr. Moulton has been president of Committees of Correspondence, Inc., in Topsfield, MA.

Ruben B. Ortega, of Arizona. Since 1980 Mr. Ortega has been chief of police for the city of Phoenix, AZ.

Fred B. Pearce, Oregon. Since 1982 Mr. Pearce has been sheriff of Multnomah County in Portland, OR.

Betty F. Pilsbury, of South Carolina. Since 1984 Mrs. Pilsbury has been national president of Girl Scouts of the United States of America in New York, NY.

Stanton E. Samenow, Ph.D., of Virginia. Since 1978 Dr. Samenow has been a clinical psychologist in Alexandria, VA.

Mel Sembler, of Florida. Since 1962 Mr. Sembler has been chairman of the board at the Sembler Co. in St. Petersburg, FL.

Sidney Shankman, M.D., of Maryland. Since 1969 Dr. Shankman has been executive director and founder of Second Genesis in Bethesda, MD.

Grant A. Shrum, of Maryland. Since 1982 Mr. Shrum has been president and chief executive officer of the National 4-H Council in Chevy Chase, MD.

Larkin I. Smith, of Mississippi. Since 1984 Mr. Smith has been sheriff for Harrison County in Gulfport, MS.

David J. Stern, of New York. Since 1984 Mr. Stern has been commissioner of the National Basketball Association in New York, NY.

Jose Szapocznik, of Florida. Since 1983 Mr. Szapocznik has been director of the Miami World Health Organization Collaborating Center and professor of psychiatry at the University of Miami in Miami, FL.

Marty M. Tapscott, of the District of Columbia. Since 1986 Mr. Tapscott has been chief of police for the Flint Police Department in Flint, MI.

Melissa A. Tuemler, of Virginia. Since 1987 Miss Tuemler has been student liaison for the Department of Education, Office of Vocational and Adult Education in Washington, DC.

Judge Reggie B. Walton, of the District of Columbia. Since 1986 Judge Walton has been Deputy Presiding

Judge of the Criminal Division for the Superior Court of the District of Columbia.

C. Kevin Wanzer, of Indiana. Mr. Wanzer is currently a student at Butler University.

In the evening, the President attended a reception for the Republican National Committee at the Decatur House.

November 5

The President met at the White House with:—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—NATO Secretary General Peter Lord Carvington;

—Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger; —leaders of the Alzheimer's Disease Association.

In an Oval Office ceremony, the President bestowed the Presidential Citizens Medal on David Paton, M.D., for his development of the ORBIS program to promote international health care and good will. ORBIS is a not-for-profit organization which operates an aircraft to teach and demonstrate ophthalmic advances to doctors and nurses around the world.

The Citizens Medal is awarded to recognize citizens of the United States who have performed exemplary deeds of service for their country or their fellow citizens.

November 6

The President met at the White House with:—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—the Italian Defense Minister Valerio Zanone; —Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

November 8

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

November 9

The President met at the White House with:—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—Swiss Justice Minister Elisabeth Kopp.

November 10

The President met at the White House with:—Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—Dr. James Hobson, president of Focus on the Family.

The President declared that a major disaster exists in areas of New York as a result of severe rain and snow storms that began on October 4. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide funds to supplement State and local efforts to repair the damage.

November 12

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- Secretary of the Treasury James A. Baker III; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and James C. Miller III, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, to discuss the status of the Federal deficit reduction negotiations with the Congress;
- Representative Frank R. Wolf of Virginia;
- Representative Robert S. Walker of Pennsylvania;
- Senators Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Joseph R. Biden, Jr., of Delaware to discuss the nomination of Anthony M. Kennedy to the Supreme Court of the United States;
- John P. Comer and Mylio Kraja, national commander and executive director, respectively, of the American Legion.

In an Oval Office ceremony, the President received the official 1987 Christmas Seals of the American Lung Association from Tom and Dick Smothers, the 1987 Christmas Seal chairpersons, and Carol Kawanami, president of the American Lung Association.

November 13

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

November 15

The President returned to the White House from a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

November 16

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- members of the White House staff, for the issues briefing luncheon.

November 17

The President met at the White House with:

- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- the Republican congressional leadership, to discuss the housing bill;
- Representative Robert S. Walker of Pennsylvania, to discuss the space program;
- a group of Congressmen who recently visited Central America, to discuss their observations;
- leaders of the Jewish community, to discuss the upcoming summit with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev and the administration's concern for human rights in the Soviet Union.

The President transmitted to the Congress the Stikine River Region Access Study, pursuant to section 1113 of the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act.

November 18

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following to be members of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation:

James H. Burnley IV, Secretary of Transportation-designate. He would succeed Elizabeth Hanford Dole.

Gordon Grant Riggie, Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Administration at the White House. He would succeed Johnathan S. Miller.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the White House Conference for a Drug Free America. These are new positions.

Kenneth Barun, of Texas. Since 1986 Mr. Barun has been vice president and executive director of Ronald McDonald Children's Charities in Oakbrook, IL.

Peter B. Bensinger, of Illinois. Since 1981 Mr. Bensinger has been president of Bensinger, DuPont & Associates in Chicago, IL.

Edward F. Calesa, of Texas. Since 1971 Mr. Calesa has been chief executive officer of Health Learning Systems, Inc., West Palm Beach, FL.

Donald M. Delzer, of Oregon. Since 1984 Mr. Delzer has been president of the board of directors of the National Federation of Parents for Drug-Free Youth, Silver Spring, MD.

J. Douglas Holladay, of Virginia. Mr. Holladay is currently vice president of the investment banking division at Goldman-Sachs and Co., New York, NY.

Shana Lowitz, of Illinois. Mrs. Lowitz is currently a member of the Chicago executive board of the American Jewish Committee in Chicago, IL.

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William B. Mayo, Jr., of Arkansas. Since 1971 he has been director of physical education and athletics for the Blytheville (Arkansas) School District.

Herman E. Rush, of California. Mr. Rush is currently chairman and chief executive officer of Coca-Cola Telecommunications, Inc., in Burbank, CA.

Manya S. Ungar, of New Jersey. Mrs. Ungar is currently the president of the National PTA in Chicago, IL.

Leroy S. Zimmerman, of Pennsylvania. Since 1980 Mr. Zimmerman has been attorney general of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, PA.

In the afternoon, the President hosted a farewell reception for Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger in the Roosevelt Room at the White House.

November 19

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - the Cabinet, to discuss the budget, the nomination of Anthony M. Kennedy to the Supreme Court, and Central America;
 - Brandon Campbell, the Epilepsy Foundation poster child.

November 20

- The President met at the White House with:
- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

The President declared that a major disaster exists in areas of Texas as a result of severe storms and tornadoes that occurred on November 15–16. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide funds to supplement State and local efforts to repair the damage.

November 22

In the evening, the President attended a piano concert performed by Vladimir Feltsman at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

November 23

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

The President appointed Secretary of the Interior Donald P. Hodel as Chairman of the Interagency Committee for the Purchase of United States Savings Bonds, for a term of 2 years. He will succeed former Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger.

November 24

The President discussed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Force reduction negotiations with Secretary of State George P. Shultz in a telephone conversation at his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA.

November 25

The President met at his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA, with Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs; and Rhett B. Dawson, Assistant to the President for Operations, to discuss the Intermediate-range Nuclear Force reduction negotiations, the arrangements for the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit, and the implementation of the Federal deficit reduction plan.

The President declared that a major disaster exists in the Federated States of Micronesia as a result of Typhoon Nina, which occurred on November 21. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide funds to supplement Micronesian efforts to repair the damage.

The President announced that the following individuals have agreed to serve as members of the Presidential delegation to observe Haitian elections. The elections will be held on November 29.

Roger Allan Moore, general counsel of the Republican National Committee—chief of delegation.

Representative Jaime B. Fuster of Puerto Rico.

Representative Benjamin A. Gilman of New York.

Representative Walter E. Fauntroy of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Fred Brooks, chief executive officer, MacGregor Sporting Goods.

Mr. William Doherty, executive director, American Institute for Free Labor Development.

Ms. Paula Dobriansky, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights.

Ms. Kathleen Lawrence, Heron, Burchette, Ruckert, and Rothwell.

Ms. Ladonna Lee, International Foundation for Electoral Systems.

Mr. Mario Paredes, executive director, Northeast Regional Pastoral, Center for Hispanics.

Mr. Bruce McColm, deputy director, Freedom House.

Monsignor William Murphy.

Mr. George T. Benston, professor, Emory University.

Mr. Thomas C. Reed, chairman of the board, Quaker Hill Development.

Mr. Ernst Exceus, Managing Director, Latin American Affairs, Council of the Americas.

November 29

The President returned to Washington, DC, after spending the Thanksgiving holiday at his ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA.

November 30

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- King Olav V of Norway;
- the Cabinet, to discuss the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit and the Federal deficit reduction plan.

The President declared that a major disaster exists in areas of Louisiana as a result of tornadoes and severe flooding, which occurred on November 15. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide funds to supplement State and local efforts to repair the damage.

December 1

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

December 2

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- the Republican congressional leadership, to discuss the Federal deficit reduction plan;
- the vice chairmen of the Republican National Committee inaugural anniversary dinner;
- Secretary of State George P. Shultz;
- the University of Maryland women's field hockey team, who won the 1987 National Collegiate Athletic Association championship.

The President announced his intention to appoint or designate the following individuals to be members of the White House Conference for a Drug Free America. These are new positions.

Robert K. Corbin, of Arizona. Since 1978 Mr. Corbin has been attorney general of Arizona in Phoenix.

John C. Danforth, of Missouri. Since 1976 Mr. Danforth has been U.S. Senator from Missouri.

William Douglas Fritts, Jr., of Vermont. Since 1985 Mr. Fritts has been director of political affairs for the Health Insurance Association of America in Washington, DC.

Robert P. Keim, of New York. Since 1966 Mr. Keim has been president of the Advertising Council, Inc., in New York, NY.

Mary Jeanne Kreek, of New York. Since 1967 Dr. Kreek has been associate professor and physician at Rockefeller University in New York, NY.

Diane H. Marowitz, of Ohio. Since 1983 Mrs. Marowitz has been national vice president for the National Council of Jewish Women, and since 1984 she has

been program coordinator for the YWCA in Cincinnati, OH.

Patrick J. Purcell, of Connecticut. Since 1986 Mr. Purcell has been publisher and president of the New York Post and since 1984 the president and publisher of the Boston Herald.

Joseph E. Santucci, Jr., of the District of Columbia. Since 1986 Mr. Santucci has been associate general counsel for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in Washington, DC.

Ivan L. Sidney, of Arizona. Since 1981 Mr. Sidney has been tribal chairman of the Hopi Tribe in Kykotsmovi, AZ.

December 3

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- Members of Congress;
- Hugh T. Farley, departing chairman of the Council of State Governments;
- Jessica Riley, the poster child for Better Hearing and Speech Month.

December 4

The President met at the White House with:

- the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
- the congressional leadership;
- Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

The White House announced that the Aggregate Report on Personnel for the fiscal year 1987, prepared pursuant to title 3, United States Code, section 113, is being transmitted to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate.

December 6

In the afternoon, the President hosted a reception in the Residence at the White House for the recipients of Kennedy Center Honors for Lifetime Achievements. Following the reception, the President attended the 10th annual gala honoring the recipients at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

December 7

The President met at the White House with the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

In the morning, the President spoke with British Prime Minister Thatcher by telephone about the Prime Minister's recent meetings with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in London and the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit.

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December 9

The White House announced that the President has invited Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita to make an official working visit to the United States. The Prime Minister has accepted the invitation and will meet with the President at the White House on January 13.

December 11

The President met at the White House with:
—the congressional leadership;
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

The President sent to the Congress technical fiscal year 1988 General Provision appropriation language that would make funding available from existing agency resources for national security and emergency preparedness telecommunications initiatives and an amended fiscal year 1988 appropriations request to provide \$3,200,000 to establish a health care quality improvement databank. This databank is required by the Health Care Quality Improvement Act of 1986 and would establish a national system for the receipt, storage, and dissemination of information on medical malpractice judgments and settlements, disciplinary actions taken by State licensing boards, and adverse professional review actions taken by health care organizations. This databank would be an important component of efforts to address the problem of medical liability and malpractice. This increase would be totally offset by a reduction in another program with reduced funding requirements.

The President announced the following individuals to be members of the White House Conference for a Drug Free America. These are initial appointments.

Denise Austin, of Virginia. Mrs. Austin is currently a fitness expert and hostess of "Getting Fit with Denise Austin" on ESPN, sports network in Washington, DC.

Avis Birely, of Maryland. Since 1986 Mrs. Birely has been publicity chairman for the Montgomery County Federation of Republican Women in Rockville, MD.

Thomas H. Bruinooge, of New Jersey. Mr. Bruinooge is currently owner of Bruinooge & Associates in Rutherford, NJ.

Lady P. Dodge, of California. Mrs. Dodge has been involved in numerous civic and political activities.

Bobby Heard, of Texas. Mr. Heard is currently a student at the University of Texas.

Richard A. Herndobler, of Oregon. Since 1983 Mr. Herndobler has been national director of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks drug awareness program in Ashland, OR.

Robert Martinez, of Florida. Mr. Martinez is currently Governor of Florida.

Linda McCausland, of Colorado. Ms. McCausland is currently an investor.

L. Jay Oliva, of New York. Since 1983 Mr. Oliva has been chancellor & executive vice president for academic affairs at New York University.

Harold M. Voth, of Kansas. Since 1981 Mr. Voth has been chief of staff of the Topeka VA Medical Center.

In the afternoon, the President left the White House for a weekend at Camp David, MD.

December 13

The President returned to the White House for a weekend stay at Camp David, MD.

Later in the afternoon, the President and Mrs. Reagan attended the taping of NBC's "Christmas in Washington" at the National Building Museum. While at the museum, they placed gifts under the Christmas tree for Children's Hospital.

December 14

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—members of the White House staff, for the issues briefing luncheon;

—the Cabinet, to discuss the recent Soviet-U.S. summit and the Federal budget.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the White House Conference for a Drug Free America:

Leonard S. Matthews, of Illinois. Since 1979 Mr. Matthews has been president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies in New York, NY.

Creighton J. Hale, of Pennsylvania. Since 1983 Mr. Hale has been president and chief executive officer for Little League Baseball, Inc., in Williamsport, PA.

George R. Doering, Jr., of New York. Since 1984 Mr. Doering has been director of Youth Counseling Services for the Town of Ramapo in Spring Valley, NY.

Daryl F. Gates, of California. Since 1978 Mr. Gates has been chief of police for the Los Angeles Police Department in California.

December 15

The President met at the White House with:
—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;

—the Republican congressional leadership, to discuss the Federal budget;

—the Republican Task Force on the INF treaty;

—the Vice President, for lunch;

—William H. Webster, Director of Central Intelligence;

—members of the American Friends of Lubavitch.

In the evening, the President hosted the Congressional Christmas Ball in the Residence at the White House.

December 16

The President met at the White House with:—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;—Anthony M. Kennedy.

In the evening, the President hosted a Christmas party for the White House press corps in the Residence at the White House.

December 17

The President met at the White House with:—the Vice President; Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President; and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;—Secretary of State George P. Shultz;—officers of the Future Farmers of America;—M. Alan Woods, Administrator of the Agency for International Development.

The President announced his intention to appoint the following individuals to be members of the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations for a term of 2 years:

W. L. Lyons Brown, Jr., of Kentucky. He will succeed Don A. Sebastiani. Since 1983 Mr. Brown has been chairman and chief executive officer of the Brown-Foreman Corp. in Louisville.

James E. Burke, of New Jersey. Mr. Burke will succeed F. Keith Adkinson. Since 1976 he has been chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Johnson & Johnson in New Brunswick.

John R. Faust, Jr., of Oregon. This is a reappointment. Since 1979 Mr. Faust has been a senior partner for the law firm of Schwabe, Williamson & Wyatt in Portland.

Stanley C. Gault, of Ohio. He will succeed Robert P. Visser. Since 1980 Mr. Gault has been chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Rubbermaid, Inc., in Wooster.

Allen F. Jacobson, of Minnesota. He will succeed Leonard A. Lauder. Since 1986 Mr. Jacobson has been chairman and chief executive officer of 3M Corp. in St. Paul.

John N. Palmer, of Mississippi. He will succeed J. Kenneth Robinson. Since 1973 Mr. Palmer has been chairman and president of Mobile Communications Corp. in Jackson.

Edmund T. Pratt, Jr., of New York. This is a reappointment. Since 1972 Mr. Pratt has been chairman and chief executive officer for Pfizer, Inc., in New York City.

John A. Rollwagen, of Minnesota. He will succeed Henry Y. Hwang. Since 1981 Mr. Rollwagen has been chairman and chief executive officer of Cray Research, Inc., in Minneapolis.

Jack Sheinkman, of New York. He will succeed J. Steven Rhodes. Since 1987 Mr. Sheinkman has been president

of Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers' Union, AFL-CIO in New York City.

Alvin V. Shoemaker, of New Jersey. He will succeed Harold M. Messmer, Jr. Since 1983 Mr. Shoemaker has been chairman of the board of First Boston Corp. in New York City.

Gordon B. Zacks, of Ohio. He will succeed Kenneth A. Lazarus. Since 1984 Mr. Zacks has been chairman of the board and chief executive officer of R.G. Barry Corp. in Pickerington.

The President declared that major disasters exist in the following areas:

—Puerto Rico, as a result of severe storms and torrential rains that occurred on November 24;

—Arkansas, as a result of tornadoes that occurred on December 14.

The President directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement local recovery efforts.

In an Oval Office ceremony, the President presented the International Maritime Heritage Award to Comdr. David M. Cashman, who accepted the award for the U.S.S. *Constitution*.

In the evening, the President hosted a Christmas party for the White House press corps in the Residence at the White House.

December 18

The President met at the White House with:—Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;—the Republican congressional leadership, to discuss the Federal budget and the continuing appropriations resolution.

The President sent to the Congress fiscal year 1988 General Provision appropriations language that would increase general transfer authority within the Department of Defense from \$1.5 billion to \$4 billion. This increase would enable the Department to transfer the necessary funds between accounts to absorb the added costs of 1988 military and civilian pay raises, increased Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services (CHAMPUS) costs, higher fuel costs, and the higher dollar costs overseas resulting from the decline in the value of the dollar. Also included in this transmittal are amended fiscal year 1988 appropriations requests totaling \$169,200,000 for the Veterans Administration to fund workload increases in mandatory entitlement programs.

December 19

The President hosted Christmas parties for members of the U.S. Secret Service and the Executive Office of the President staff in the Residence at the White House.

Appendix A / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

December 21

- The President met at the White House with:
- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - Members of Congress, to discuss efforts to secure ratification of the Intermediate-range Nuclear Force reduction treaty;
 - members of the White House staff, for the issues briefing luncheon;
 - John J. Phelan, Jr., chairman and chief executive officer of the New York Stock Exchange, to receive a report on private sector initiatives.

In an Oval Office ceremony, the President received diplomatic credentials from Ambassadors Awadh Bader Al-Shanfari of Oman, Juan B. Sosa of Panama, Victor Mosquera of Colombia, Juergen Ruhfus of the Federal Republic of Germany, Benjamin Bounkoulou of the Congo, Friedrich Hoess of Austria, Wilfred I. Kendall of the Marshall Islands, and Jesse B. Marehalau of Micronesia.

In the evening, the President hosted a Christmas party for members of the U.S. Secret Service in the Residence at the White House.

December 22

- The President met at the White House with:
- Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs;
 - Secretary of Defense Frank C. Carlucci.

In the evening, the President hosted a Christmas party for members of the White House senior staff in the Residence at the White House.

December 23

The President met at the White House with Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President, and Colin L. Powell, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

December 24

In the morning, the President telephoned several members of the Armed Forces who are serving overseas to express his appreciation for their service to the Nation.

December 27

The President and Mrs. Reagan left the White House for a trip to California. In the afternoon, they arrived in Los Angeles and went to the Century Plaza Hotel.

December 28

In the afternoon, the President telephoned Mrs. Amy Jo Strong to express his condolences for the loss of her husband, U.S. Navy Petty Officer Ronald Strong, who was killed in a terrorist attack on a USO club in Barcelona, Spain.

December 29

The President and Mrs. Reagan left Los Angeles and traveled to the home of Walter and Leonore Annenberg in Palm Springs, where they stayed through January 2.

December 31

The President declared that a major disaster exists in areas of Arkansas as a result of flooding, which began on December 24. He directed the Federal Emergency Management Agency to provide assistance to supplement State and local recovery efforts.

Appendix B—Nominations Submitted to the Senate

The following list does not include promotions of members of the Uniformed Services, nominations to the Service Academies, or nominations of Foreign Service officers.

Withdrawn July 6

Harry O'Connor,
of California, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting for a term expiring March 26, 1991 (reappointment), which was sent to the Senate on March 17, 1987.

Submitted July 7

Robert H. Bork,
of the District of Columbia, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, vice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., retired.

David S. Ruder,
of Illinois, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term of 5 years expiring June 5, 1991, vice John S.R. Shad, resigned.

Submitted July 9

Kathleen A. Buck,
of Virginia, to be General Counsel of the Department of Defense, vice H. Lawrence Garrett III.

Submitted July 10

James A. Parker,
of New Mexico, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Mexico, vice Howard C. Bratton, retired.

Submitted July 13

Stephen J. Ledogar,
of Connecticut, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, for the rank of Ambassador during the tenure of his service as United States Representative to the European Conventional Arms Negotiations and the Representative of the United States of America for Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations.

Leonard Rochwarger,
of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of

America to Fiji and to serve concurrently and without additional compensation as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Tonga, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Tuvalu, and Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Kiribati.

Theresa Anne Tull,
of New Jersey, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Co-operative Republic of Guyana.

James B. Moran,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Seychelles.

Roger F. Martin,
of Wisconsin, to be a member of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board for the remainder of the term expiring June 30, 1989, vice Lee H. Henkel, Jr., resigned.

William F. Sullivan,
of Virginia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Corporation for Housing Partnerships for the term expiring October 27, 1989, vice Edward Sulzberger, term expired.

Submitted July 15

The following-named persons to be members of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation for the terms indicated (new positions):

For a term of 2 years:

Hans M. Mark, of Virginia.

For terms of 6 years:

George D. Hardy, of Maryland.

Lt. Gen. William W. Quinn, U.S. Army, Ret., of the District of Columbia.

Appendix B / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

Alan Greenspan,
of New York, to be a member of the Board of
Governors of the Federal Reserve System for the
unexpired term of 14 years from February 1,
1978, vice Paul A. Volcker, resigned.

Alan Greenspan,
of New York, to be Chairman of the Board of
Governors of the Federal Reserve System for a
term of 4 years, vice Paul A. Volcker, resigned.

Withdrawn July 15

Jean K. Elder,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health
and Human Services, vice Dorcas R. Hardy, re-
signed, which was sent to the Senate on February
5, 1987.

Submitted July 20

Robert J. Wortham,
of Texas, to be United States Attorney for the
Eastern District of Texas for the term of 4 years
(reappointment).

Submitted July 22

David C. Treen,
of Louisiana, to be United States Circuit Judge
for the Fifth Circuit, vice Albert Tate, Jr., de-
ceased.

Submitted July 27

Michael B. Mukasey,
of New York, to be United States District Judge
for the Southern District of New York, vice Abra-
ham D. Sofaer.

Dean Burch,
of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of
Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and
Excellence in Education Foundation for a term of
6 years (new position).

Jerald Conway Newman,
of New York, to be a member of the National
Commission on Libraries and Information Sci-
ence for a term expiring July 19, 1992 (reappoint-
ment).

Aram Bakshian, Jr.,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of
the National Council on the Humanities for a
term expiring January 26, 1992, vice George Al-
exander Kennedy, term expired.

Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr.,
of Indiana, to be a member of the Board of Di-
rectors of the Overseas Private Investment Cor-
poration for a term expiring December 17, 1989,
vice Paul J. Manafort, Jr., resigned.

Submitted July 28

Max L. Friedersdorf,
of Florida, for the rank of Ambassador in his
capacity as United States Representative to the
Conference on Disarmament.

William L. Dwyer,
of Washington, to be United States District Judge
for the Western District of Washington, vice
Donald S. Voorhees, retired.

Submitted July 31

Peter R. Sommer,
of the District of Columbia, to be Ambassador
Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United
States of America to the Republic of Malta.

Richard L. Voorhees,
of North Carolina, to be United States District
Judge for the Western District of North Carolina,
vice David Bryan Sentelle, elevated.

Sam R. Cummings,
of Texas, to be United States District Judge for
the Northern District of Texas, vice Halbert O.
Woodward, retired.

Submitted August 3

Samuel A. Alito, Jr.,
of New Jersey, to be United States Attorney for
the District of New Jersey for the term of 4
years, vice W. Hunt Dumont, resigned.

Submitted August 5

John K. Meagher,
of Virginia, to be a Deputy Under Secretary of
the Treasury, vice J. Michael Hudson, resigned.

R. James Woolsey,
of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of
Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and
Excellence in Education Foundation for a term of
2 years (new position).

Submitted August 6

David M. Walker,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Labor,
vice Dennis Miles Kass, resigned.

Daniel F. Lopez Romo,
of Puerto Rico, to be United States Attorney for
the District of Puerto Rico for the term of 4
years (reappointment).

William D. Breese,
of Georgia, to be United States Marshal for the Middle District of Georgia for the term of 4 years, vice John W. Stokes, Jr., resigned.

Joy Cherian,
of Maryland, to be a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission for the remainder of the term expiring July 1, 1988, vice Fred William Alvarez, resigned.

Submitted August 7

William Caldwell Harrop,
of New Jersey, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Zaire.

William Henry Houston III,
of Mississippi, for the rank of Ambassador during his tenure of service as United States Negotiator on Textile Matters.

Stephen M. Duncan,
of Colorado, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice James H. Webb, Jr., resigned.

Jeffrey M. Samuels,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Commissioner of Patents and Trademarks, vice Margaret Muth Laurence.

Rear Adm. Wesley V. Hull,
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission, vice John D. Bossler.

William Schneider, Jr.,
of New York, to be a member of the General Advisory Committee of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, vice Colin Spencer Gray, resigned.

Thomas G. Pownall,
of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of Trustees of the Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation for a term of 2 years (new position).

Frederic N. Andre,
of Indiana, to be a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission for a term expiring December 31, 1992 (reappointment).

Francis H. Fay,
of Alaska, to be a member of the Marine Mammal Commission for the term expiring May 13, 1988, vice William Evans, resigned.

Thomas J. Ashcraft,
of North Carolina, to be United States Attorney for the Western District of North Carolina for the term of 4 years, vice Charles R. Brewer, term expired.

Robert E. Cowen,
of New Jersey, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Third Circuit, vice James Hunter III, retired.

Stephen S. Trott,
of Virginia, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit, vice Joseph T. Sneed, retired.

Wade Brorby,
of Wyoming, to be United States Circuit Judge for the Tenth Circuit, vice James E. Barrett, retired.

Nicholas H. Politan,
of New Jersey, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Jersey, vice Herbert J. Stern, resigned.

Richard J. Arcara,
of New York, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of New York, vice John T. Elfvin, retired.

Submitted September 9

David H. Shinn,
of Washington, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Burkina Faso.

Bill K. Perrin,
of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Cyprus.

Robert Maxwell Pringle,
of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Mali.

The following-named persons to be Representatives of the United States of America to the 42d Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Doug Bereuter, United States Representative from the State of Nebraska.

Pearl Bailey, of Arizona.

William S. Sessions,
of Texas, to be Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for the term of 10 years, vice William H. Webster.

Appendix B / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

T. Burton Smith, Jr.,
of California, to be a member of the Board of Regents of the Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences for a term expiring May 1, 1993, vice James F.X. O'Rourke, term expired.

Don W. Wilson,
of Michigan, to be Archivist of the United States (new position).

Marjorie B. Kampelman,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba for a term of 1 year (new position).

Ira D. Hall, Jr.,
of Connecticut, to be a Governor of the United States Postal Service for the remainder of the term expiring December 8, 1990, vice Peter E. Voss, resigned.

Tom C. Korologos,
of Virginia, to be a member of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy for a term expiring July 1, 1990 (reappointment).

C. William Verity, Jr.,
of Ohio, to be Secretary of Commerce.

Submitted September 10

Deane Roesch Hinton,
of Illinois, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, with the personal rank of Career Ambassador, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Costa Rica.

Richard C. Howland,
of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Suriname.

Malcolm J. Howard,
of North Carolina, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of North Carolina, vice a new position created by P.L. 98-353, approved July 10, 1984.

Alan F. Holmer,
of Virginia, to be a Deputy United States Trade Representative, with the rank of Ambassador, vice M. Alan Woods.

Submitted September 11

Milton Frank,
of California, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Kingdom of Nepal.

George W. Crockett, Jr.,
United States Representative from the State of Michigan, to be a Representative of the United States of America to the 42d Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Paul V. Niemeyer,
of Maryland, to be United States District Judge for the District of Maryland, vice Frank A. Kaufman, retired.

Franklin S. Van Antwerpen,
of Pennsylvania, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, vice Alfred L. Luongo, deceased.

John A. McKay,
of Alaska, to be United States Marshal for the District of Alaska for the term of 4 years, vice William H. Opel, resigned.

Alfonso Solis,
of New Mexico, to be United States Marshal for the District of New Mexico for the term of 4 years, vice Rudolph G. Miller, resigned.

Submitted September 14

Richard Noyes Viets,
of Florida, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Portugal.

Dean Whipple,
of Missouri, to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Missouri, vice Ross T. Roberts, deceased.

Alfred M. Wolin,
of New Jersey, to be United States District Judge for the District of New Jersey, vice Robert E. Cowen, elevated.

Submitted September 15

The following-named persons to be a Representative and Alternate Representatives of the United States of America to the 42d Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

Representative:

Vernon A. Walters, of Florida.

Alternate Representatives:

Patricia Mary Byrne, of Ohio.

Hugh Montgomery, of Virginia.

Lester B. Korn, of California.

Arthur L. Burnett, Sr.,
of the District of Columbia, to be an Associate
Judge of the Superior Court of the District of
Columbia for a term of 15 years, vice Luke C.
Moore, retired.

Grant C. Peterson,
of Washington, to be an Associate Director of the
Federal Emergency Management Agency, vice
Samuel W. Speck, Jr., resigned.

Frank Q. Nebeker,
of Virginia, to be Director of the Office of Gov-
ernment Ethics for a term of 5 years, vice David
H. Martin, resigned.

Submitted September 16

The following-named persons to be the
Representative and Alternate Representatives of
the United States of America to the 31st Session
of the General Conference of the International
Atomic Energy Agency:

Representative:

John S. Herrington, of California.

Alternate Representatives:

Richard T. Kennedy, of the District of Colum-
bia.

Bruce Chapman, of Washington.

Lando W. Zech, Jr., of Virginia.

Submitted September 18

Edward F. Harrington,
of Massachusetts, to be United States District
Judge for the District of Massachusetts, vice
Andrew A. Caffrey, retired.

Submitted September 21

Charles Franklin Dunbar,
of Maine, a career member of the Senior Foreign
Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Am-
bassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of
the United States of America to the Yemen Arab
Republic.

William W. Treat,
of New Hampshire, to be an Alternate Repre-
sentative of the United States of America to the
42d Session of the General Assembly of the
United Nations.

Alan Greenspan,
of New York, to be United States Alternate Gov-
ernor of the International Monetary Fund for a
term of 5 years, vice Paul A. Volcker, resigned.

O. Donaldson Chapoton,
of Texas, to be an Assistant Secretary of the
Treasury, vice J. Roger Mentz, resigned.

Henry M. Ventura,
of California, to be an Assistant Secretary of the
Interior, vice Gerald Ralph Riso.

Alfred A. DelliBovi,
of New York, to be Urban Mass Transportation
Administrator, vice Ralph Leslie Stanley, re-
signed.

William H. LeBlanc III,
of Louisiana, to be a Commissioner of the Postal
Rate Commission for the remainder of the term
expiring November 22, 1988, vice Henrietta Faye
Guiton, resigned.

Submitted September 23

Stuart A. Summit,
of New York, to be United States Circuit Judge
for the Second Circuit, vice Irving R. Kaufman,
retired.

Laurence J. Whalen,
of Oklahoma, to be a Judge of the United States
Tax Court for a term expiring 15 years after he
takes office, vice William A. Goffe, term expired.

Cynthia Jeanne Grassby Baker,
of Colorado, to be Superintendent of the Mint of
the United States at Denver, vice Nora Walsh
Hussey, resigned.

Frank H. Conway,
of Massachusetts, to be a member of the Foreign
Claims Settlement Commission of the United
States for the term expiring September 30, 1990
(reappointment).

Deborah Gore Dean,
of Maryland, to be an Assistant Secretary of
Housing and Urban Development, vice Alfred
Clinton Moran, resigned.

Submitted September 25

Herbert Stuart Okun,
of the District of Columbia, to be a Representa-
tive of the United States of America to the 42d
Session of the General Assembly of the United
Nations.

Mark D. Siljander,
of Michigan, to be an Alternate Representative of
the United States of America to the 42d Session
of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Everett Alvarez, Jr.,
of Maryland, to be a member of the Board of
Regents of the Uniformed Services University of
the Health Sciences for a term expiring May 1,
1993, vice Perry Albert Lambird, term expired.

Appendix B / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

Joshua M. Javits,
of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the National Mediation Board for the term expiring July 1, 1989, vice Charles L. Woods, term expired.

Joseph Trippe Nall,
of North Carolina, to be a member of the National Transportation Safety Board for the term expiring December 31, 1992 (reappointment).

Submitted September 30

Robert S. Gawthrop III,
of Pennsylvania, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, vice J. William Ditter, Jr., retired.

Robert P. Ruwe,
of Virginia, to be a Judge of the United States Tax Court for a term expiring 15 years after he takes office, vice Charles R. Simpson, retired.

Submitted October 1

John R. Silber,
of Massachusetts, to be a member of the Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba for a term expiring October 27, 1989 (reappointment).

Beverly Fisher White,
of Florida, to be a member of the National Museum Services Board for a term expiring December 6, 1990, vice Caroline H. Hume, term expired.

The following-named persons to be members of the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace for terms expiring January 19, 1991:

William R. Kintner, of Pennsylvania (reappointment).

Morris I. Leibman, of Illinois (reappointment).
Sidney Lovett, of Connecticut (reappointment).
Richard John Neuhaus, of New York (reappointment).

Elspeth Davies Rostow, of Texas (new position).
W. Bruce Weinrod, of the District of Columbia (reappointment).

Submitted October 2

George Southall Vest,
of Maryland, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Career Minister, for the personal rank of Career Ambassador in recognition of especially distinguished service over a sustained period.

William S. Rose, Jr.,
of South Carolina, to be an Assistant Attorney General, vice Roger Milton Olsen, resigned.

Earl E. Gjelde,
of Virginia, to be Under Secretary of the Interior, vice Ann Dore McLaughlin, resigned.

Melvin N.A. Peterson,
of California, to be chief scientist of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (new position).

Withdrawn October 2

Dorothy Livingston Strunk,
of Maryland, to be Assistant Secretary of Labor for Mine Safety and Health, vice David A. Zegeer, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on April 23, 1987.

Submitted October 6

Fred S. Hoffman,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice Robert B. Simms, resigned.

Robert Clifton Duncan,
of Massachusetts, to be Director of Defense Research and Engineering, vice Donald Alden Hicks, resigned.

Submitted October 9

John R. Davis, Jr.,
of California, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Poland.

Kathleen C. Bailey,
of California, to be an Assistant Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, vice Lewis A. Dunn, resigned.

The following-named persons to be members of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science for the terms indicated:

For the remainder of the term expiring July 19, 1991:

Raymond J. Petersen, of Connecticut, vice Kenneth Y. Tomlinson, resigned.

For terms expiring July 19, 1992:

Sally Jo Vasicko, of Indiana, vice John E. Juergensmeyer, term expired.

Julia Li Wu, of California (reappointment).

Submitted October 16

Linus D. Wright,
of Texas, to be Under Secretary of Education, vice Gary L. Bauer, resigned.

Marianthi Lansdale, of California, to be a member of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs for a term expiring May 8, 1990, vice Mary Jo Arndt, term expired.

Dianne E. Ingels, of Colorado, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Institute of Building Sciences for a term expiring September 7, 1988, vice Charles A. Doolittle, Jr., term expired.

Submitted October 28

Robert W. Page, Sr., of Texas, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Army, vice Robert K. Dawson, resigned.

The following-named persons to be Members of the National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs for terms expiring May 8, 1990:

Esther Kratzer Everett, of New York (reappointment).

Helen J. Valerio, of Massachusetts (reappointment).

Carolynn Reid-Wallace, of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities for a term expiring January 26, 1992, vice Samuel DuBois Cook, term expired.

Withdrawn October 28

Charles A. Moser, of Virginia, to be a member of the National Council on the Humanities for a term expiring January 26, 1992, vice Samuel DuBois Cook, term expired, which was sent to the Senate on March 3, 1987.

Submitted November 2

James H. Burnley IV, of North Carolina, to be Secretary of Transportation.

Robert B. Costello, of Michigan, to be Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, vice Richard P. Godwin, resigned.

J. Joseph Lydon, of Massachusetts, to be a member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years expiring July 1, 1990, vice Henry Bowen Frazier III, term expired.

Submitted November 5

Frank C. Carlucci, of Virginia, to be Secretary of Defense.

Mary Ann Weyforth Dawson, of the District of Columbia, to be Deputy Secretary of Transportation, vice James H. Burnley IV.

April Catherine Glaspie, of California, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Iraq.

Kenneth Conboy, of New York, to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of New York, vice Robert L. Carter, retired.

Chandler L. van Orman, of Maryland, to be Administrator of the Economic Regulatory Administration, vice Marshall A. Staunton, resigned.

Submitted November 9

Henry Anatole Grunwald, of New York, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Austria.

Frank Ernest Schwelb, of the District of Columbia, to be an Associate Judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals for the term of 15 years, vice Frank Q. Nebeker, retired.

Cheryl M. Long, of the District of Columbia, to be an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia for the term of 15 years, vice Donald S. Smith, retired.

Submitted November 10

Richard Huntington Melton, of Virginia, a career member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Nicaragua.

David C. Miller, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the African Development Foundation for a term expiring September 22, 1993, vice Patsy Baker Blackshear, term expired.

Linda J. Fisher, of Ohio, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice Milton Russell, resigned.

Appendix B / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

Bradley P. Holmes,
of New York, to be a member of the Federal Communications Commission for the term expiring June 30, 1990, vice Mark S. Fowler, resigned.

Submitted November 18

David A. Ezra,
of Hawaii, to be United States District Judge for the District of Hawaii, vice Samuel P. King, retired.

Tony Michael Graham,
of Oklahoma, to be United States Attorney for the Northern District of Oklahoma for the term of 4 years, vice Layn R. Phillips, resigned.

Patrick J. Fiedler,
of Wisconsin, to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Wisconsin for the term of 4 years, vice John R. Byrnes, term expired.

John E. Fryatt,
of Wisconsin, to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Wisconsin for the term of 4 years, vice Joseph P. Stadtmueller, resigned.

Submitted November 20

Robert Lee McElrath,
of Tennessee, to be a member of the National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement for a term expiring September 30, 1990 (reappointment).

Submitted November 24

Sydney J. Olson,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services, vice Dorcas R. Hardy, resigned.

Robert Roberto, Jr.,
of New York, to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of New York, vice Henry Bramwell, retired.

Kenneth M. Hoyt,
of Texas, to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of Texas, vice Carl O. Bue, Jr., retired.

James Eldon Wilson,
of Alabama, to be United States Attorney for the Middle District of Alabama for the term of 4 years, vice John C. Bell, term expired.

Edgar W. Ennis, Jr.,
of Georgia, to be United States Attorney for the Middle District of Georgia for the term of 4 years, vice Joe D. Whitley, resigned.

Charles L. Grizzle,
of Kentucky, to be an Assistant Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, vice Howard M. Messner, resigned.

Submitted November 30

Anthony M. Kennedy,
of California, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, vice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., retired.

Submitted December 1

Ann Dore McLaughlin,
of the District of Columbia, to be Secretary of Labor.

Withdrawn December 1

Fred S. Hoffman,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice Robert B. Sims, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on October 6, 1987.

Frank J. Gaffney, Jr.,
of Pennsylvania, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice Richard N. Perle, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on April 22, 1987.

Submitted December 2

Leonard H.O. Spearman, Sr.,
of Texas, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Republic of Rwanda.

William Robert Hair,
of West Virginia, to be United States Marshal for the Northern District of West Virginia for the term of 4 years, vice Ronald A. Donell, resigned.

Marvin T. Runyon,
of Tennessee, to be a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the term expiring May 18, 1996, vice Richard Merrell Freeman, resigned.

Submitted December 4

Mark Sullivan III,
of Maryland, to be General Counsel for the Department of the Treasury, vice Robert Michael Kimmitt, resigned.

T.S. Ary,
of Oklahoma, to be Director of the Bureau of Mines, vice Robert Carlton Horton, resigned.

Susan E. Phillips,
of Virginia, to be a Federal Trade Commissioner
for the term of 7 years from September 26, 1987,
vice Patricia Price Bailey, term expired.

Alvin H. Bernstein,
of Rhode Island, to be a member of the National
Council on the Humanities for a term expiring
January 26, 1992, vice Charles Ray Ritcheson,
term expired.

Thomas F. Faught, Jr.,
of Pennsylvania, to be an Assistant Secretary of
the Navy, vice Melvyn R. Paisley, resigned.

Rudy Lozano,
of Indiana, to be United States District Judge for
the Northern District of Indiana, vice Michael S.
Kanne, elevated.

Grace Flores-Hughes,
of Texas, to be Director, Community Relations
Service, for a term of 4 years, vice Gilbert G.
Pompa, deceased.

Submitted December 11

Richard Salisbury Williamson,
of Illinois, to be an Assistant Secretary of State,
vice Alan Lee Keyes, resigned.

Wendy Lee Gramm,
of Texas, to be a Commissioner of the Commodity
Futures Trading Commission for the remain-
der of the term expiring April 13, 1990, vice
Susan Meredith Phillips, resigned.

Wendy Lee Gramm,
of Texas, to be Chairman of the Commodity Fu-
tures Trading Commission, vice Susan Meredith
Phillips, resigned.

Submitted December 15

José M. Deetjen,
of California, to be a member of the Board of
Directors of the Inter-American Foundation for a
term of 6 years (new position).

J. Wade Gilley,
of Virginia, to be a member of the National Ad-
visory Council on Educational Research and Im-
provement for a term expiring September 30,
1990, vice Gwyneth Gayman, term expired.

Jay Kenneth Katzen,
of Virginia, to be a member of the Board of
Directors of the African Development Founda-
tion for the remainder of the term expiring Feb-
ruary 9, 1990, vice Milton Frank.

Susan Wing,
of Illinois, to be a member of the Federal Com-
munications Commission for the remainder of
the term expiring June 30, 1988, vice Mary Ann
Weyforth Dawson.

Susan Wing,
of Illinois, to be a member of the Federal Com-
munications Commission for a term of 5 years
from July 1, 1988 (reappointment).

Frank G. Zarb,
of New York, to be a Director of the Securities
Investor Protection Corporation for a term expir-
ing December 31, 1989, vice James W. Fuller,
term expired.

Hershey Gold,
of California, to be a member of United States
Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy for a
term expiring July 1, 1990 (reappointment).

Submitted December 17

Charles A. Banks,
of Arkansas, to be United States Attorney for the
Eastern District of Arkansas for the term of 4
years, vice George Washington Proctor, resigned.

Grant S. Green, Jr.,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of De-
fense, vice Robert Clifton Duncan.

Robert J. Kabel,
of Virginia, to be a member of the Foreign
Claims Settlement Commission of the United
States for the term expiring September 30, 1989,
vice Joseph Wentling Brown, term expired.

Submitted December 18

David M. Ebel,
of Colorado, to be United States Circuit Judge for
the Tenth Circuit, vice William E. Doyle, retired.

Vaughn R. Walker,
of California, to be United States District Judge
for the Northern District of California, vice Spen-
cer M. Williams, retired.

Jack T. Camp, Jr.,
of Georgia, to be United States District Judge for
the Northern District of Georgia, vice Charles A.
Moye, Jr., retired.

Kimba M. Wood,
of New York, to be United States District Judge
for the Southern District of New York, vice Con-
stance Baker Motley, retired.

Appendix B / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

Lowell A. Reed,
of Pennsylvania, to be United States District
Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania,
vice Anthony J. Scirica, elevated.

Alfred C. Schmutzer, Jr.,
of Tennessee, to be United States District Judge
for the Eastern District of Tennessee, vice Robert
L. Taylor, retired.

Submitted December 19

Emmett Ripley Cox,
of Alabama, to be United States Circuit Judge for
the Eleventh Circuit, vice John C. Godbold, re-
tired.

Paul R. Michel,
of Virginia, to be United States Circuit Judge for
the Federal Circuit, vice Phillip B. Baldwin, re-
tired.

Stephen M. Reasoner,
of Arkansas, to be United States District Judge for
the Eastern District of Arkansas, vice William
Ray Overton, deceased.

J. Daniel Howard,
of Tennessee, to be an Assistant Secretary of De-
fense, vice Robert B. Sims, resigned.

C. Anson Franklin,
of Virginia, to be an Assistant Secretary of
Energy (Congressional, Intergovernmental, and
Public Affairs), vice A. David Rossin, resigned.

Submitted December 22

Howard E. Levitt,
of New York, to be United States District Judge
for the Eastern District of New York, vice Mark
A. Costantino, retired.

Appendix C—Checklist of White House Press Releases

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary which are not included in this book.

Released July 6

Transcript:

Press briefing on the U.S. proposal on international agricultural trade reform—by Secretary of Agriculture Richard Lyng and U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter

Released July 8

Advance text:

Remarks to citizens in New Britain, CT

Announcement:

President's trip on July 13 to Danville, IN, to address State and local government officials and business leaders, and to Indianapolis, IN, to address the National Association of Counties annual convention

Released July 10

Statement:

Superficial contusion on the President's lower eyelid—by Col. John Hutton, Jr., Physician to the President

Announcement:

The President's address at the Federal Conference on the Commercial Applications of Superconductivity

Announcement:

Nomination of James A. Parker to be United States District Judge for the District of New Mexico

Released July 13

Advance text:

Remarks to community leaders in Danville, IN

Advance text:

Remarks at the annual convention of the National Association of Counties in Indianapolis, IN

Released July 16

Fact sheet:

All-America Cities Awards

Transcript:

Press briefing on a United Nations Security Council resolution calling for an end to the Iran-Iraq war—by Vernon A. Walters, U.S. Representative to the United Nations and Representative in the Security Council

Released July 17

Announcement:

Nomination of Robert J. Wortham to be the United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Texas

Released July 21

Fact sheet:

Take Pride in America ceremony

Released July 22

Announcement:

Nomination of David C. Treen to be United States Circuit Judge for the Fifth Circuit

Released July 23

Fact sheet:

Developing drug therapies for AIDS

Fact sheet:

Pediatric AIDS

Released July 24

Advance text:

Remarks to the Captive Nations Conference

Announcement:

Nomination of Michael B. Mukasey to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of New York

Released July 27

Advance text:

Remarks to Broan Manufacturing Co. employees in Hartford, WI

Advance text:

Remarks at a luncheon hosted by the Rotary Club in West Bend, WI

Advance text:

Remarks to citizens in Port Washington, WI

Appendix C / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

Released July 28

Transcript:
Press briefing on developments in the field of superconductivity—by William R. Graham, Science Advisor to the President and Director of the Office of Science and Technology Policy

Advance text:
Remarks at the Federal Conference on Commercial Applications of Superconductivity

Fact sheet:
The President's superconductivity initiative

Fact sheet:
INF proposal

Released July 29

Advance text:
Remarks to the National Law Enforcement Council

Statement:
Removal of a small lesion from the President's nose—by Col. John Hutton, Jr., Physician to the President

Released July 30

Fact sheet:
Meeting with Central American Peace Scholarship students

Released July 31

Announcement:
Nomination of Sam R. Cummings to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Texas

Announcement:
Nomination of Richard L. Voorhees to be United States District Judge for the Western District of North Carolina

Statement:
Excision of tissue diagnosed as containing basal cell epithelioma from the President's nose—by Col. John Hutton, Jr., Physician to the President

Released August 3

Announcement:
Nomination of Samuel A. Alito, Jr., to be United States Attorney for the District of New Jersey

Released August 5

Transcript:
Press briefing on the Central American peace initiative—by Secretary of State George P. Shultz

Transcript:
Press briefing on discussions with the President regarding support for the Nicaraguan democratic resistance and the Central American peace initiative—by the members of the directorate of the Nicaraguan democratic resistance

Released August 6

Announcement:
Nomination of William D. Breese to be United States Marshal for the Middle District of Georgia

Announcement:
Nomination of Daniel F. Lopez Romo to be United States Attorney for the District of Puerto Rico

Transcript:
Press briefing on the outlook for the Nation's economy and revised economic projections for the mid-session budget review—by Beryl W. Sprinkel, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers

Released August 7

Announcement:
Nomination of Thomas J. Ashcraft to be United States Attorney for the Western District of North Carolina

Announcement:
Nomination of Wade Brorby to be United States Circuit Judge for the Tenth Circuit

Announcement:
Nomination of Robert E. Cowen to be United States Circuit Judge for the Third Circuit

Announcement:
Nomination of Stephen S. Trott to be United States Circuit Judge for the Ninth Circuit

Announcement:
Nomination of Nicholas H. Politan to be United States District Judge for the District of New Jersey

Announcement:
Nomination of Richard J. Arcara to be United States District Judge for the Western District of New York

Released August 10

Transcript:
Press briefing on his recent visit to Hanoi—by Gen. John W. Vessey, Jr., Special Presidential Emissary for POW-MIA issues

Released August 12

Advance text:
Address to the Nation on the Iran arms and *contra* aid controversy and administration goals

Excerpts:
Address to the Nation on the Iran arms and *contra* aid controversy and administration goals

Released August 13

Advance text:
Remarks to Nebraska civic and community leaders in North Platte, NE

Advance text:
Remarks to citizens in North Platte, NE

Transcript and addendum:
Conference call with the press regarding the intrusion into restricted airspace by an unidentified low-flying aircraft as Marine One approached the President's ranch in Santa Barbara County, CA—by Marlin Fitzwater, Assistant to the President for Press Relations

Released August 24

Announcement:
Public meetings of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic

Fact sheet:
Task Force on Adoption

Released August 25

Fact sheet:
Radio Liberación message

Released August 26

Advance text:
Remarks at the Town Hall of California luncheon in Los Angeles, CA

Released August 27

Transcript:
Press briefing on their meeting with the President to discuss the Central American peace plan and continued U.S. assistance—by the leaders of the Nicaraguan democratic resistance

Released August 28

Announcement:
Participants in the President's meeting with law enforcement leaders supporting the Supreme Court nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork

Fact sheet:
Judge Robert H. Bork and criminal law

Transcript:
Press briefing on support within the law enforcement community for the nomination of Judge Robert H. Bork to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States—by Gov. James R. Thompson, Jr., of Illinois; Dewey R. Stokes, president of the Fraternal Order of Police; and Donald Baldwin, executive director of the National Law Enforcement Council

Released September 3

Fact sheet:
President's Commission on Privatization

Transcript:
Press briefing on the President's Commission on Privatization—by David F. Linowes, Chairman

Released September 9

Announcement:
Nomination of Malcolm J. Howard to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of North Carolina

Released September 10

Fact sheet:
Bicentennial of the Constitution essay winners

Advance text:
Remarks at the arrival ceremony for Pope John Paul II in Miami, FL

Announcement:
Nomination of John A. McKay to be United States Marshal for the District of Alaska

Announcement:
Nomination of Paul V. Niemeyer to be United States District Judge for the District of Maryland

Announcement:
Nomination of Franklin S. Van Antwerpen to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Announcement:
Nomination of Alfonso Solis to be United States Marshal for the District of New Mexico

Transcript:
Remarks of Pope John Paul II upon his arrival in Miami, FL

Appendix C / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

Transcript:

Remarks of Pope John Paul II following a meeting with the President in Miami, FL

Released September 14

Announcement:

Nomination of Dean Whipple to be United States District Judge for the Western District of Missouri

Announcement:

Nomination of Alfred M. Wolin to be United States District Judge for the District of New Jersey

Released September 15

Fact sheet:

Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers

Transcript:

Press briefing on Soviet-U.S. diplomatic talks—by Secretary of State George P. Shultz

Announcement:

Nomination of Arthur L. Burnett, Sr., to be an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia

Released September 17

Advance text:

Remarks at the "We the People" celebration marking the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution in Philadelphia, PA

Advance text:

Remarks at a fundraising luncheon for Senator John Heinz in Philadelphia, PA

Released September 18

Transcript:

Press briefing on the Soviet-U.S. diplomatic talks—by Secretary of State George P. Shultz

Announcement:

Nomination of Edward F. Harrington to be United States District Judge for the District of Massachusetts

Released September 21

Advance text:

Address to the 42d Session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, NY

Released September 23

Announcement:

Nomination of Stuart A. Summit to be United States Circuit Judge for the Second Circuit

Announcement:

Nomination of Laurence J. Whalen to be a Judge of the United States Tax Court

Released September 24

Announcement:

Seventh annual President's Volunteer Action Awards program

Released September 29

Advance text:

Remarks at the annual Board of Directors meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank Group

Announcement:

Nomination of Robert S. Gawthrop III to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Announcement:

Nomination of Robert P. Ruwe to be a Judge of the United States Tax Court

Released October 1

Transcript:

Endorsements of Judge Robert H. Bork

Released October 7

Fact sheet:

Minority Enterprise Development Week

Advance text:

Address before the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States

Fact sheet:

Presidential Medal of Freedom

Announcement:

President's trip on October 13 to Somerset, NJ, to address employees of Somerset Technologies and the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, and to Whippany, NJ, to address a fundraiser for the New Jersey State Republican Committee

Released October 9

Statement:

Senate consideration of his nomination to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States—by Robert H. Bork

Transcript:

Press briefing on the U.S. Information Agency Voluntary International Council—by Charles Z. Wick, Director of the U.S. Information Agency, and Rupert Murdoch and Edward Bennett Williams, Cochairmen of the Council

Released October 15

Fact sheet:
The Record-Breaking Peacetime Expansion: A Summary of Economic Accomplishments

Transcript:
Press briefing on the Nation's economy and the Federal budget deficit—by Secretary of the Treasury James A. Baker III and Beryl W. Sprinkel, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers

Advance text:
Remarks at the third annual Governors Club Dinner

Released October 16

Fact sheet:
Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1987

Released October 17

Statement:
Mrs. Reagan's cancer surgery—by Marlin Fitzwater, Assistant to the President for Press Relations

Statement:
Mrs. Reagan's cancer surgery—by Col. John E. Hutton, Jr., Physician to the President

Released October 18

Statement:
Mrs. Reagan's cancer surgery—by Col. John E. Hutton, Jr., Physician to the President

Released October 20

Transcript:
Press briefing on the emergency deficit control measures for fiscal year 1988—by James C. Miller III, Director of the Office of Management and Budget

Fact sheet:
New initiatives in India-U.S. relations

Released October 26

Fact sheet:
Iran trade sanctions

Released October 28

Advance text:
Remarks to the corps of cadets of the U.S. Military Academy in West Point, NY

Released October 29

Fact sheets (2):
Douglas H. Ginsburg

Released November 4

Announcement:
Nomination of Kenneth Conboy to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of New York

Released November 5

Fact sheet:
Child Safety Partnership awards

Released November 7

Statement:
Withdrawal from further consideration as the nominee to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States—by Douglas H. Ginsburg

Released November 9

Announcement:
White House Task Force on Puerto Rico membership

Announcement:
Nomination of Cheryl M. Long to be an Associate Judge of the Superior Court of the District of Columbia

Announcement:
Nomination of Frank Ernest Schwelb to be an Associate Judge of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals

Released November 10

Fact sheet:
Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act of 1987

Released November 11

Fact sheet:
Anthony M. Kennedy, nominee to the Supreme Court of the U.S.

Released November 13

Fact sheet:
Tariff on Brazilian exports

Fact sheet:
Young American Medals ceremony

Appendix C / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

Released November 17

Announcement:
Nomination of David A. Ezra to be United States District Judge for the District of Hawaii

Released November 18

Fact sheet:
Presidential Awards for Excellence in Science and Mathematics Teaching

Announcement:
Nomination of Patrick J. Fiedler to be United States Attorney for the Western District of Wisconsin

Announcement:
Nomination of John E. Fryatt to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Wisconsin

Announcement:
Nomination of Tony Michael Graham to be United States Attorney for the Northern District of Oklahoma

Released November 20

Transcript:
Press briefing on the Federal deficit reduction plan—by Secretary of the Treasury James A. Baker III and James C. Miller III, Director of the Office of Management and Budget

Released November 23

Announcement:
Nomination of Robert Roberto, Jr., to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of New York

Announcement:
Nomination of Kenneth M. Hoyt to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of Texas

Announcement:
Nomination of Edgar W. Ennis, Jr., to be United States Attorney for the Middle District of Georgia

Announcement:
Nomination of James Eldon Wilson to be United States Attorney for the Middle District of Alabama

Fact sheet:
Tariff on European Community exports

Released November 24

Advance text:
Remarks to employees of Martin Marietta Denver Astronautics in Waterton, CO

Fact sheet:
The President's trip to Jacksonville, Florida on December 1

Released November 25

Transcript:
Press briefing on the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces negotiations, the Cuban inmate riots in Louisiana and Georgia, the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit, and the Federal deficit reduction plan—by Howard H. Baker, Jr., Chief of Staff to the President

Released December 1

Announcement:
Nomination of William Robert Hair to be United States Marshal for the Northern District of West Virginia

Released December 2

Transcript:
Press briefing on the preliminary report of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic—by James D. Watkins, Chairman of the Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic

Transcript:
Press briefing on the AIDS virus and Federal efforts to monitor its nationwide impact—by Secretary of Health and Human Services, Otis R. Bowen and James O. Mason, Director of the Centers for Disease Control

Released December 3

Announcement:
Nomination of Rudy Lozano to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Indiana

Released December 4

Fact sheet:
Task Force on Adoption

Released December 5

Transcript:
Press briefing on the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting—by Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Michael H. Armacost, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Rozanne Ridgway, Assistant Secretary of State for Political and Military Affairs H. Allen Holmes, and Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs Richard Schifter

Released December 7

Transcript:

Press briefing on the NATO-Warsaw Pact conventional forces balance—by Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Political and Military Affairs William F. Burns and Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs Charles Thomas

Released December 8

Fact sheet:

Background information on the conference table and the signing pens used by the President and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev during the signing ceremony of the INF treaty

Released December 9

Transcript:

Informal exchange between Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev and the White House press corps

Released December 17

Announcement:

Nomination of Charles A. Banks to be United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Arkansas

Released December 18

Announcement:

Nomination of Jack T. Camp, Jr., to be United States District Judge for the Northern District of Georgia

Announcement:

Nomination of David M. Ebel to be United States Circuit Judge for the Tenth Circuit

Announcement:

Nomination of Lowell A. Reed to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania

Announcement:

Nomination of Kimba M. Wood to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of New York

Announcement:

Nomination of Alfred C. Schmutzer, Jr., to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Tennessee

Announcement:

Nomination of Stephen M. Reasoner to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Arkansas

Announcement:

Nomination of Paul R. Michel to be United States Circuit Judge for the Federal Circuit

Released December 21

Announcement:

Nomination of Emmett Ripley Cox to be United States Circuit Judge for the Eleventh Circuit

Released December 22

Announcement:

Nomination of Howard E. Levitt to be United States District Judge for the Eastern District of New York

Released December 23

Transcript:

Press briefing on the administration's economic forecast for 1988–1993—by Beryl W. Sprinkel, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers

Released December 24

Fact sheet:

Tariff on European Economic Community exports

Appendix D—Acts Approved by the President

Approved July 6

S.J. Res. 117 / Public Law 100-64
Designating July 2, 1987, as “National Literacy Day”

Approved July 10

H.R. 626 / Public Law 100-65
To provide for the conveyance of certain public lands in Cherokee, De Kalb, and Etowah Counties, Alabama, and for other purposes

H.R. 2480 / Public Law 100-66
To extend temporarily the governing international fishery agreement between the United States and the Republic of Korea, and for other purposes

H.J. Res. 181 / Public Law 100-67
Commemorating the bicentennial of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787

S.J. Res. 15 / Public Law 100-68
Designating the month of November 1987 as “National Alzheimer’s Disease Month”

S.J. Res. 51 / Public Law 100-69
To designate the period commencing on July 27, 1987, and ending on August 2, 1987, as “National Czech American Heritage Week”

S.J. Res. 75 / Public Law 100-70
To designate the week of August 2, 1987, through August 8, 1987, as “National Podiatric Medicine Week”

Approved July 11

H.R. 1827 / Public Law 100-71
Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1987

H.R. 2166 / Public Law 100-72
To amend the Small Business Act and the Small Business Investment Act of 1958

Approved July 15

S.J. Res. 138 / Public Law 100-73
To designate the period commencing on July 13, 1987, and ending on July 26, 1987, as “U.S. Olympic Festival—’87 Celebration”, and to designate July 17, 1987, as “U.S. Olympic Festival—’87 Day”

Approved July 17

H.R. 436 / Public Law 100-74
To designate the Federal Building and United States Courthouse at 316 North Robert Street, St. Paul, Minnesota, as the “Warren E. Burger Federal Building and United States Courthouse”

Approved July 20

S.J. Res. 85 / Public Law 100-75
To designate the period commencing on August 2, 1987, and ending on August 8, 1987, as “International Special Olympics Week”, and to designate August 3, 1987, as “International Special Olympics Day”

Approved July 21

H.J. Res. 122 / Public Law 100-76
To designate the week beginning July 16, 1987, as “Snow White Week”

Approved July 22

H.R. 558 / Public Law 100-77
Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act

Approved July 24

S.J. Res. 88 / Public Law 100-78
To designate the period commencing November 15, 1987, and ending November 21, 1987, as “Geography Awareness Week”

Approved July 28

S.J. Res. 160 / Public Law 100-79
To designate July 25, 1987 as “Clean Water Day”

Approved July 30

H.R. 3022 / Public Law 100-80
To provide for a temporary extension of the public debt limit

Approved July 31

S.J. Res. 76 / Public Law 100-81
To designate the week of October 4, 1987, through October 10, 1987, as “Mental Illness Awareness Week”

Appendix D / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

Approved August 4

S.J. Res. 151 / Public Law 100-82

To designate August 1, 1987, as "Helsinki Human Rights Day"

S. 1020 / Public Law 100-83

To confer the honorary status of Librarian of Congress Emeritus on Daniel J. Boorstin

Approved August 10

H.R. 3190 / Public Law 100-84

To provide for a temporary increase in the public debt limit

S. 958 / Public Law 100-85

To dedicate the North Cascades National Park to Senator Henry M. Jackson

H.R. 27 / Public Law 100-86

Competitive Equality Banking Act of 1987

S. 1193 / Private Law 100-1

To authorize a certificate of documentation for the vessel F/V CREOLE

Approved August 11

S.J. Res. 121 / Public Law 100-87

Designating August 11, 1987, as "National Neighborhood Crime Watch Day"

Approved August 13

H.J. Res. 313 / Public Law 100-88

Designating the month of August 1987 as "National Child Support Enforcement Month"

Approved August 18

H.R. 318 / Public Law 100-89

Ysleta del Sur Pueblo and Alabama and Coushatta Indian Tribes of Texas Restoration Act

H.R. 348 / Public Law 100-90

To amend title 39, United States Code, to extend to certain officers and employees of the United States Postal Service the same procedural and appeal rights with respect to certain adverse personnel actions as are afforded under title 5, United States Code, to Federal employees in the competitive service

H.R. 921 / Public Law 100-91

To require the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a study to determine the appropriate minimum altitude for aircraft flying over national park system units

H.R. 1403 / Public Law 100-92

To designate the United States Post Office Building located in St. Charles, Illinois, as the "John E. Grotberg Post Office Building"

H.R. 1444 / Public Law 100-93

Medicare and Medicaid Patient and Program Protection Act of 1987

H.R. 2309 / Public Law 100-94

To amend the Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Act

H.R. 2855 / Public Law 100-95

Wampanoag Tribal Council of Gay Head, Inc., Indian Claims Settlement Act of 1987

H.J. Res. 216 / Public Law 100-96

To support a ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war and a negotiated solution to the conflict

S. 769 / Public Law 100-97

Excellence in Minority Health Education and Care Act

S. 1371 / Public Law 100-98

To designate the Federal building located at 330 Independence Avenue, SW, Washington, District of Columbia, as the "Wilbur J. Cohen Federal Building"

S. 1577 / Public Law 100-99

To extend certain protections under title 11 of the United States Code, the Bankruptcy Code

S. 1597 / Public Law 100-100

To amend the Farm Disaster Assistance Act of 1987 to extend the reporting date for the ethanol cost effectiveness study

S.J. Res. 44 / Public Law 100-101

To designate November 1987, as "National Diabetes Month"

S.J. Res. 49 / Public Law 100-102

To designate September 18, 1987, as "National POW/MIA Recognition Day"

S.J. Res. 87 / Public Law 100-103

To designate November 17, 1987, as "National Community Education Day"

S.J. Res. 108 / Public Law 100-104

To designate October 6, 1987, as "German-American Day"

S.J. Res. 109 / Public Law 100-105

To designate the week beginning October 4, 1987, as "National School Yearbook Week"

Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987 / Appendix D

S.J. Res. 157 / Public Law 100-106

To designate the month of October 1987, as "Lupus Awareness Month"

Approved August 20

H.R. 812 / Public Law 100-107

Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Improvement Act of 1987

H.R. 2971 / Public Law 100-108

Uniform Cotton Clasing Fees Act of 1987

H.R. 3085 / Public Law 100-109

To amend the Water Resources Development Act of 1986 relating to the level of flood protection provided by the flood control project for Lock Haven, Pennsylvania

H.J. Res. 335 / Public Law 100-110

Designating the week of September 13 through September 19, 1987, as "National Reye's Syndrome Awareness Week"

S. 1591 / Public Law 100-111

To temporarily restrict the ability to document foreign-built fish processing vessels under the laws of the United States

S.J. Res. 175 / Public Law 100-112

To recognize the efforts of the United States Soccer Federation in bringing the World Cup to the United States in 1994

Approved August 21

S. 1550 / Public Law 100-113

Federal Triangle Development Act

Approved September 23

H.J. Res. 134 / Public Law 100-114

Designating the week of September 20, 1987, through September 26, 1987, as "Emergency Medical Services Week"

Approved September 24

S.J. Res. 22 / Public Law 100-115

To designate the period commencing September 21, 1987, and ending on September 27, 1987, as "National Historically Black Colleges Week"

Approved September 28

H.J. Res. 224 / Public Law 100-116

Designating the week of October 18, 1987, through October 24, 1987, as "Benign Essential Blepharospasm Awareness Week"

S. 1596 / Public Law 100-117

To extend the period for waivers of State eligibility requirements to enable certain States to qualify for child abuse and neglect assistance

S.J. Res. 135 / Public Law 100-118

To designate October 1987 as "Polish American Heritage Month"

Approved September 29

H.J. Res. 324 / Public Law 100-119

Increasing the statutory limit on the public debt

Approved September 30

H.J. Res. 362 / Public Law 100-120

Making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1988, and for other purposes

H.R. 1163 / Public Law 100-121

To amend section 902(e) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to revise criminal penalties relating to certain aviation reports and records offenses

S.J. Res. 191 / Public Law 100-122

To provide for the extension of certain programs relating to housing and community development, and for other purposes

Approved October 5

S. 1532 / Public Law 100-123

Relating to the payment for telecommunications equipment and certain services furnished by the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper of the Senate

S.J. Res. 84 / Public Law 100-124

To designate October 1987 as "National Down Syndrome Month"

Approved October 8

H.J. Res. 355 / Public Law 100-125

Designating September 27, 1987, as "Gold Star Mothers Day"

S.J. Res. 142 / Public Law 100-126

To designate the day of October 1, 1987, as "National Medical Research Day"

Approved October 9

H.R. 1744 / Public Law 100-127

To amend the National Historic Preservation Act to extend the authorization for the Historic Preservation Fund

Appendix D / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

Approved October 14

S.J. Res. 72 / Public Law 100-128

To designate the week of October 11, 1987, through October 17, 1987, as "National Job Skills Week"

S.J. Res. 110 / Public Law 100-129

To designate October 16, 1987, as "World Food Day"

Approved October 15

H.R. 242 / Public Law 100-130

To provide for the conveyance of certain public lands in Oconto and Marinette Counties, Wisconsin

H.J. Res. 338 / Public Law 100-131

Designating October 15, 1987, as "National Safety Belt Use Day"

Approved October 16

H.R. 797 / Public Law 100-132

To authorize the donation of certain non-Federal lands to Gettysburg National Military Park and to require a study and report on the final development of the park

H.R. 1205 / Public Law 100-133

To direct the Secretary of Agriculture to release a reversionary interest of the United States in certain land located in Putnam County, Florida, and to direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain mineral interests of the United States in such land to the State of Florida

H.R. 2035 / Public Law 100-134

To amend the Act establishing Lowell National Historical Park, and for other purposes

H.R. 2249 / Public Law 100-135

To change the title of employees designated by the Librarian of Congress for police duty and to make the rank structure and pay for such employees the same as the rank structure and pay for the Capitol Police

S. 1691 / Public Law 100-136

To provide interim extensions of collection of the Veterans' Administration housing loan fee and of the formula for determining whether, upon foreclosure, the Veterans' Administration shall acquire the property securing a guaranteed loan, and for other purposes

Approved October 21

S. 1574 / Public Law 100-137

To combine the Senators' Clerk Hire Allowance Account and the Senators' Official Office Expense Account into a combined single account to

be known as the "Senators' Official Personnel and Office Expense Account", and for other purposes

Approved October 23

H.R. 3226 / Public Law 100-138

To amend the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986 to permit certain participants in the White House Conference for a Drug Free America to be allowed travel expenses, and for other purposes

Approved October 26

H.R. 1567 / Public Law 100-139

Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Tribe of Indians Distribution of Judgment Funds Act of 1987

S. 1666 / Public Law 100-140

To amend title 5, United States Code, to provide for the extension of physicians comparability allowances and to amend title 37, United States Code, to provide for special pay for psychologists in the commissioned corps of the Public Health Service

Approved October 28

H.R. 2741 / Public Law 100-141

1988 Olympic Commemorative Coin Act

H.J. Res. 234 / Public Law 100-142

To designate the month of November in 1987 as "National Hospice Month"

S.J. Res. 163 / Public Law 100-143

To designate the month of November 1987, as "National Family Bread Baking Month"

S.J. Res. 168 / Public Law 100-144

Designating the week beginning October 25, 1987, as "National Adult Immunization Awareness Week"

S.J. Res. 198 / Public Law 100-145

To designate the week beginning on November 2, 1987, and ending on November 8, 1987, as "National Tourette Syndrome Awareness Week"

Approved October 29

S. 1417 / Public Law 100-146

Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act Amendments of 1987

Approved October 30

H.R. 2782 / Public Law 100-147

National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act of 1988

Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987 / Appendix D

S. 1628 / Public Law 100-148

To extend the Aviation Insurance Program for five years

Approved November 2

H.R. 317 / Public Law 100-149

To amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act by designating a segment of the Merced River in California as a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System

Approved November 3

H.R. 799 / Public Law 100-150

To designate a segment of the Kings River in California as a wild and scenic river, and for other purposes

H.R. 2893 / Public Law 100-151

To reauthorize the Fishermen's Protective Act

H.R. 3325 / Public Law 100-152

To designate the segment of Corridor V in the State of Alabama as the Robert E. (Bob) Jones, Jr. Highway

Approved November 5

H.R. 2937 / Public Law 100-153

Indian Law Technical Amendments of 1987

S.J. Res. 209 / Public Law 100-154

To provide for the extension of certain programs relating to housing and community development, and for other purposes

Approved November 6

S.J. Res. 171 / Public Law 100-155

Designating the week beginning November 8, 1987, as "National Women Veterans Recognition Week"

Approved November 9

H.R. 307 / Public Law 100-156

To designate the Federal Building and United States Post Office located at 315 West Allegan Street in Lansing, Michigan, as the "Charles E. Chamberlain Federal Building and United States Post Office"

H.R. 1366 / Public Law 100-157

To provide for the transfer of certain lands in the State of Arizona, and for other purposes

H.J. Res. 309 / Public Law 100-158

Providing support for the Civic Achievement Award Program in Honor of the Office of Speaker of the House of Representatives

S. 442 / Public Law 100-159

To amend chapter 9 of title 17, United States Code, regarding protection extended to semiconductor chip products of foreign entities

Approved November 10

H.R. 614 / Public Law 100-160

To designate the new United States courthouse in Birmingham, Alabama, as the "Hugo L. Black United States Courthouse"

H.J. Res. 368 / Public Law 100-161

Designating the week of November 8 through November 14, 1987, as "National Food Bank Week"

H.J. Res. 394 / Public Law 100-162

Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1988, and for other purposes

Approved November 12

S.J. Res. 154 / Public Law 100-163

To designate the period commencing on November 15, 1987, and ending on November 22, 1987, as "National Arts Week"

Approved November 13

H.J. Res. 97 / Public Law 100-164

To recognize the Disabled American Veterans Vietnam Veterans National Memorial as a memorial of national significance

H.J. Res. 130 / Public Law 100-165

To designate the week beginning November 22, 1987, as "National Family Caregivers Week"

S.J. Res. 66 / Public Law 100-166

To designate the week of November 22, 1987, through November 28, 1987, as "National Family Week"

Approved November 17

H.R. 3428 / Public Law 100-167

To provide for the distribution within the United States of the film entitled "America The Way I See It"

S.J. Res. 174 / Public Law 100-168

Designating the week beginning November 15, 1987, as "African American Education Week"

S.J. Res. 205 / Public Law 100-169

Expressing the sense of the Congress that United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3379 (XXX) should be overturned, and for other purposes

Appendix D / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

S.J. Res. 220 / Public Law 100-170

To provide for the extension of certain programs relating to housing and community development, and for other purposes

Approved November 19

S.J. Res. 53 / Public Law 100-171

To designate the period commencing November 22, 1987, and ending November 28, 1987, as "American Indian Week"

S.J. Res. 97 / Public Law 100-172

To designate the week beginning November 22, 1987, as "National Adoption Week"

S. 423 / Private Law 100-2

For the relief of Kil Joon Yu Callahan

Approved November 23

H.R. 3457 / Public Law 100-173

Poultry Producers Financial Protection Act of 1987

H.R. 3295 / Private Law 100-3

For the relief of Nancy L. Brady

Approved November 24

S. 247 / Public Law 100-174

To designate the Kern River as a national wild and scenic river

Approved November 29

H.R. 1451 / Public Law 100-175

Older Americans Act Amendments of 1987

Approved November 30

S.J. Res. 98 / Public Law 100-176

To designate the week of November 29, 1987, through December 5, 1987, as "National Home Health Care Week"

Approved December 1

S. 1158 / Public Law 100-177

Public Health Service Amendments of 1987

Approved December 2

H.R. 2112 / Public Law 100-178

Intelligence Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1988

Approved December 3

H.J. Res. 404 / Public Law 100-179

To provide for the temporary extension of certain programs relating to housing and community development, and for other purposes

Approved December 4

H.R. 1748 / Public Law 100-180

National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989

S. 1452 / Public Law 100-181

Securities and Exchange Commission Authorization Act of 1987

Approved December 7

S. 1822 / Public Law 100-182

Sentencing Act of 1987

S.J. Res. 105 / Public Law 100-183

To designate December 7, 1987, as "National Pearl Harbor Remembrance Day" on the occasion of the anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor

Approved December 8

H.R. 148 / Public Law 100-184

Michigan Wilderness Act of 1987

Approved December 11

H.R. 3483 / Public Law 100-185

Criminal Fine Improvements Act of 1987

S. 860 / Public Law 100-186

To designate "The Stars and Stripes Forever" as the national march of the United States of America

S. 1267 / Public Law 100-187

De Soto National Trail Study Act of 1987

S.J. Res. 136 / Public Law 100-188

To designate the week of December 13, 1987 through December 19, 1987, as "National Drunk and Drugged Driving Awareness Week"

S.J. Res. 146 / Public Law 100-189

Designating January 8, 1988, as "National Skiing Day"

Approved December 14

S.J. Res. 35 / Public Law 100-190

Relating to the commemoration of January 28, 1988, as a "National Day of Excellence"

Approved December 15

H.R. 2939 / Public Law 100-191

Independent Counsel Reauthorization Act of 1987

Approved December 16

S. 578 / Public Law 100-192

To amend the National Trails System Act to designate the Trail of Tears as a National Historic Trail

H.J. Res. 425 / Public Law 100-193

Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1988, and for other purposes

Approved December 17

H.J. Res. 412 / Public Law 100-194

To congratulate King Bhumibol Adulyadej of Thailand on his sixtieth birthday on December 5, 1987

Approved December 18

H.J. Res. 199 / Public Law 100-195

Designating April 1988 as "Actors' Fund of America Appreciation Month"

S. 649 / Public Law 100-196

To amend the Reclamation Authorization Act of 1976 (90 Stat. 1324, 1327)

Approved December 20

H.J. Res. 431 / Public Law 100-197

Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1988, and for other purposes

Approved December 21

H.R. 2672 / Public Law 100-198

Veterans' Home Loan Program Improvements and Property Rehabilitation Act of 1987

H.J. Res. 426 / Public Law 100-199

Authorizing the hand enrollment of the budget reconciliation bill and of the full-year continuing resolution for fiscal year 1988

H.J. Res. 427 / Public Law 100-200

To provide for the temporary extension of certain programs relating to housing and community development, and for other purposes

Approved December 22

H.R. 2325 / Public Law 100-201

To authorize the acceptance of a donation of land for addition to Big Bend National Park, in the State of Texas

H.J. Res. 395 / Public Law 100-202

Making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1988, and for other purposes

H.R. 3545 / Public Law 100-203

Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987

H.R. 1777 / Public Law 100-204

Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1988 and 1989

H.R. 1191 / Private Law 100-4

For the relief of Jose Maria Vas

H.R. 1390 / Private Law 100-5

For the relief of Chu Pei Yun (Zhu Bei Yun)

H.R. 3319 / Private Law 100-6

For the relief of Susan A. Sampeck

Approved December 23

H.R. 1994 / Public Law 100-205

To amend the boundaries of Stones River National Battlefield, Tennessee, and for other purposes

H.R. 2416 / Public Law 100-206

To establish the Jimmy Carter National Historic Site and Preservation District in the State of Georgia, and for other purposes

H.R. 3700 / Public Law 100-207

To designate the Federal building located at 600 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois, as the "Harold Washington Social Security Center"

H.R. 3712 / Public Law 100-208

To designate the United States Livestock Insects Laboratory in Kerrville, Texas, as the "Knipling-Bushland Research Laboratory"

H.J. Res. 376 / Public Law 100-209

To designate the Clarks Hill Dam, Reservoir, and Highway transversing the Dam on the Savannah River, Georgia and South Carolina, as the J. Strom Thurmond Dam, Reservoir, and Highway

H.R. 1863 / Private Law 100-7

For the relief of Helen Ying-Yu-Lin

Approved December 24

H.R. 390 / Public Law 100-210

To provide that a special gold medal be presented to Mary Lasker for her humanitarian contributions in the areas of medical research and education, urban beautification and the fine arts, and for other purposes

H.R. 2121 / Public Law 100-211

To authorize and direct the National Park Service to assist the State of Georgia in relocating a highway affecting the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park in Georgia

Appendix D / Administration of Ronald Reagan, 1987

H.R. 2639 / Public Law 100-212

To repeal the Brown-Stevens Act concerning certain Indian tribes in the State of Nebraska

H.R. 2689 / Public Law 100-213

Arms Control and Disarmament Amendments Act of 1987

H.J. Res. 255 / Public Law 100-214

Designating the third week in May 1988 as "National Tourism Week"

S. 1642 / Public Law 100-215

To designate the United States Post Office at 600 Franklin Avenue in Garden City, New York, as the "John W. Wydler United States Post Office"

Approved December 29

H.R. 519 / Public Law 100-216

To direct the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission to issue an order with respect to Docket No. EL-85-38-000

H.R. 3289 / Public Law 100-217

To amend the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945

H.R. 3427 / Public Law 100-218

To allow the obsolete submarine United States ship Blenny to be transferred to the State of Maryland before the expiration of the otherwise applicable 60-day congressional review period

H.R. 3492 / Public Law 100-219

Rural Crisis Recovery Program Act of 1987

H.R. 3674 / Public Law 100-220

United States-Japan Fishery Agreement Approval Act of 1987

H.R. 3734 / Public Law 100-221

To recognize the significance of the administration of the Federal-Aid Highway System and to

express appreciation to Ray A. Barnhart for his dedicated efforts in improving the Federal-Aid Highway System

H.J. Res. 430 / Public Law 100-222

Calling upon the Soviet Union to immediately grant permission to emigrate to all those who wish to join spouses or fiances in the United States

Approved December 30

H.R. 2310 / Public Law 100-223

Airport and Airway Safety and Capacity Expansion Act of 1987

H.R. 2974 / Public Law 100-224

To amend title 10, United States Code, to make technical corrections in provisions of law enacted by the Military Retirement Reform Act of 1986

Approved December 31

H.R. 403 / Public Law 100-225

To establish the El Malpais National Monument and the El Malpais National Conservation Area in the State of New Mexico, to authorize the Masau Trail, and for other purposes

H.R. 2583 / Public Law 100-226

To authorize additional appropriations for the San Francisco Bay National Wildlife Refuge

H.R. 2945 / Public Law 100-227

Veterans' Compensation Cost-of-Living Adjustment Act of 1987

S. 1684 / Public Law 100-228

Seminole Indian Land Claims Settlement Act of 1987

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Administrative Conference of the U.S., Council Member—956
Vice Chairman—1407

Advisory Board for Radio Broadcasting to Cuba, members—189, 956, 1095

Advisory Board of the Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, member—563

Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, members—644, 681, 957

Advisory Committee on Federal Pay, member—1514

Advisory Committee to the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corporation
Chairman—1521
Members—1408, 1521

Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations, members—344, 645, 685, 737, 813, 838, 888, 957, 1232

Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, members—598, 645

African Development Foundation, Board of Directors, members—562, 1275, 1521

Agriculture Department
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Rural Telephone Bank, Board of Directors, members—97, 651
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Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army—311
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Aviation Safety Commission
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Members—241, 472

Barry Goldwater Scholarship and Excellence in Education Foundation, Board of Trustees, members—809, 847, 902, 923

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Board for International Broadcasting
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Members—40, 497, 670

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Assistant Secretaries
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Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad
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Corporation for Public Broadcasting, Board of Directors, members—234, 280, 343, 397, 646

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 - Economic Regulatory Administration, Administrator—1266
 - Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, Chairman and member—664
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- Environmental Protection Agency
 - Assistant Administrators
 - Administration—1364
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- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
 - General Counsel—45
 - Members—225, 458
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- Export-Import Bank of the U.S., Board of Directors, member—647
- Federal Communications Commission
 - Chairman—112
 - Members—1294, 1512
- Federal Council on the Aging, member—1514
- Federal Election Commission, members—647
- Federal Emergency Management Agency
 - Associate Director State and Local Programs and Support—1021
 - National Defense Stockpile Manager—140
- Federal Home Loan Bank Board
 - Chairman—413
 - Members—413, 813
- Federal Labor Relations Authority
 - Chairman—444
 - Members—444, 1254
- Federal Service Impasses Panel, members—105
- Federal Maritime Commission, Commissioner—528
- Federal National Mortgage Association, Board of Directors, members—550
- Federal Reserve System, Board of Governors, member—38
- Federal Retirement Thrift Investment Board, member—14
- Federal Trade Commission, member—1424
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 - Under Secretary—342
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- Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education, members—497, 528, 713, 903, 984
- Interior Department
 - Assistant Secretary (Policy, Budget and Administration)—1050
 - Bureau of Mines, Director—1423
 - Under Secretary—1111
- International Boundary and Water Commission, U.S. and Mexico, U.S. Commissioner—349
- International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes, Panel of Arbitrators, member—887
- International Conference on Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking, U.S. delegate, rank of Ambassador—561
- International Exposition in Brisbane, U.S. exhibition, Commissioner General, rank of Ambassador—36
- International Monetary Fund
 - U.S. Alternate Governor—1052
 - U.S. Executive Director—45
- International Pacific Halibut Commission, Commissioners—1530
- Interstate Commerce Commission, member—919
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 - Assistant Attorneys General
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 - Office of Justice Programs—165
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 - Federal Bureau of Investigation, Director—870
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- Kansas-Nebraska Big Blue River Compact Administration, U.S. Representative—940
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 - Assistant Secretaries
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National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement, members—41, 109, 397, 445, 1348, 1514
National Advisory Council on Indian Education, members—412, 849
National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs, members—673, 705, 1179, 1202
National Afro-American History and Culture Commission, members—647, 970
National Archives and Records Administration, Archivist of the U.S.—955
National Cancer Advisory Board, member—509
National Capital Planning Commission, member—310
National Commission on Agricultural Finance, members—177, 1407
National Commission for Employment Policy, members—149, 177, 309
National Commission on Libraries and Information Science
Chairman—498, 839
Members—38, 839, 1149
National Consumer Cooperative Bank, Board of Directors, member—580
National Corporation for Housing Partnerships, Board of Directors, members—163, 813
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National Council on the Handicapped
Chairperson—189
Members—40, 105, 189, 354, 445, 509
National Council on Vocational Education, members—809, 937
National Credit Union Administration Board, member—665
National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities
Institute of Museum Services, National Museum Services Board, members—41, 216, 271, 1100
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National Mediation Board, member—1077
National Railroad Passenger Corporation (Amtrak), Board of Directors, members—40, 398
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National Security Council
Executive Secretary—1369
Senior staff—133
National Summit Conference on Education, Executive Committee, members—310, 738
National Transportation Safety Board, members—45, 1077
National Year of the Americas, Special Representative, rank of Ambassador—396
Navy Department
Assistant Secretary (Research, Engineering and Systems)—1406
Commandant of the Marine Corps—663
Secretary—151
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U.S. Negotiator on Textile Matters, rank of Ambassador—921
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Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, Board of Directors, member—1530
Postal Rate Commission, Commissioners—355, 1052
Presidential Board of Advisors on Private Sector Initiatives
Chairman—1138
Members—97, 420, 1138
Vice Chairman—1138
Presidential Commission on the Human Immunodeficiency Virus Epidemic
Chairman—718
Members—718, 862, 1315
President's Cancer Panel, Chairman and member—724
President's Child Safety Partnership, member—205

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- President's Commission on Executive Exchange, member—150
- President's Commission on Privatization, Chairman and members—993
- President's Commission on White House Fellowships, members—666, 887, 930
- President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities, members—648
- President's Committee on Mental Retardation, members—648, 673, 849, 888, 889
- President's Committee on the National Medal of Science, members—271, 350
- President's Export Council
 - Member—412
 - Vice Chairman—205
- President's National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee
 - Chairman—177
 - Members—272, 810, 850, 958
 - Vice Chairman—177
- Securities and Exchange Commission
 - Chairman—673
 - Members—408, 673
- Securities Investor Protection Corporation,
 - Board of Directors
 - Members—42, 1515
 - Vice Chairman—1515
- Selective Service System, Director—563
- Smithsonian Institution
 - John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, Board of Trustees, members—839, 889
 - Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Board of Trustees, members—580, 706
- South Pacific Commission, U.S. Representative and Alternate Representative—923
- Special Negotiator for Central America, rank of Ambassador—1297
- State Department
 - Ambassadors
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 - Bangladesh—541
 - Belize—723
 - Brunei Darussalam—348
 - Bulgaria—268
 - Burkina Faso—936
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 - Rwanda—1397
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 - Tuvalu—814
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 - Yemen Arab Republic—1051
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 - Assistant Secretaries
 - Diplomatic Security—44
 - International Organization Affairs—1319
 - Counselor—21
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 - Inspector General—270
 - Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations, U.S. Representative, rank of Ambassador—800, 1051
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 - Marshall Islands—402
 - Micronesia—562
 - Strategic Nuclear Arms, Deputy U.S. Negotiator, rank of Ambassador—98
 - Under Secretary for Coordinating Security Assistance Programs—20
- State Justice Institute, Board of Directors, member—412
- Supreme Court of the U.S., Associate Justice—736, 1324
- Tennessee Valley Authority, Board of Directors, Chairman and member—1020
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 - Deputy Secretary—1153
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 - Administrator—609
 - Deputy Administrator—397
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 - Urban Mass Transportation Administration, Administrator—1053
- Treasury Department
 - Assistant Secretary (Tax Policy)—1050
 - Deputy Secretary—344
 - Deputy Under Secretary (Legislative Affairs)—901
 - General Counsel—1431
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- United Nations
 - Agencies for Food and Agriculture, U.S. Representative, rank of Ambassador—402
 - Economic and Social Council
 - Commission on Narcotic Drugs, U.S. Representative—579
 - Deputy U.S. Representative—132
 - Human Rights Commission, U.S. Representative—940
 - U.S. Representative, rank of Ambassador—596
 - European Office, U.S. Representative—36
 - General Assembly
 - U.S. Alternate Representatives to the 42d Session—1057, 1078
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 - Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy Conference, U.S. Coordinator, rank of Ambassador—279
- United Nations Day, U.S. National Chairman—501
- United Service Organizations, Inc., Board of Governors, member—1182
- U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, member—42, 959, 1512
- U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
 - Assistant Director (Nuclear and Weapons Control)—1140
 - General Advisory Committee
 - Chairman—920
 - Members—41, 342, 665, 920
- U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council
 - Chairperson—109
 - Members—548, 599, 835, 1233
- U.S. Information Agency, Inspector General—348
- U.S. Institute of Peace, Board of Directors, members—1100
- U.S. International Development Cooperation Agency
 - Agency for International Development
 - Administrator—379
 - Assistant Administrator (Bureau of Africa)—562
 - Overseas Private Investment Corporation, Board of Directors, members—672, 839
- U.S. International Trade Commission, member—162
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 - Chairman—471
 - Executive Director—471
 - Member—1424
- White House fellows, 1987–1988 class—620
- White House Office
 - Assistants to the President—92, 1279
 - Assistant to the President and Cabinet Secretary—152
 - Assistant to the President for Communications and Planning—315
 - Assistant to the President and Director of Communications—161
 - Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs—306
 - Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs—1286
 - Assistant to the President for Operations—300
 - Assistant to the President for Policy Development—93
 - Assistant to the President for Political and Intergovernmental Affairs—162
 - Assistant to the President for Press Relations—20
 - Chief of Staff to the President—185
 - Chief of Staff's transition team, member—207
 - Communications Office, Principal Coordinator for Public Diplomacy on Central America—831
 - Consultant to the White House—306
 - Counsel to the President—208
 - Deputy Assistant to the President—1288
 - Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Administration—975
 - Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of the Office of Political Affairs—246
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